

CONSTRUCTION OF THREAT: AFRIKAANSNESS AS AN IDENTITY IN CRISIS
IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Psychology, University
of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

By

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment/partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Graduate Programme in Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

I declare that this dissertation/thesis is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Name of Supervisor

As the candidate's supervisor I have approved this thesis for submission.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the memory of my parents,
the late Fanie and Sylvia Alberts, for their love, interest
and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

In a South African society in transformation it is well known that 'white' Afrikaans-speaking South Africans are experiencing social change as a painful process. Against this background the purpose of the study was to investigate the construction of identities of being Afrikaners during family conversations between school-going Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in the post-apartheid context. A qualitative research design was utilized to investigate the phenomenon of negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in depth, openness and rich detail. A social constructionist meta-theoretical perspective underpinned the study. Theoretical perspectives from discursive psychology, as well as the dialogical self theory, formulated by Hermans and colleagues, framed the analysis and interpretation of the data. In contrast to conventional psychological approaches to the study of adolescent identity, such as the neo-Eriksonian identity status model developed by Marcia, *identity* was conceptualised as discursively produced between speakers in dialogue, and in particular social, cultural and historical contexts.

Nine Afrikaner families, consisting of both parents and at least one school-going adolescent, between 16 and 18 years of age, were invited to take part in family conversations about their 'white' Afrikaner identity. The nine family conversations were managed as focus groups (Wilkinson, 2004), and the purpose was to allow family members to talk freely and interact with one another around their experiences as 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the post-apartheid society. A discursive and rhetorical analysis, using Billig's (1996) rhetorical approach, was utilized to analyse the transcribed texts of the family conversations.

The analysis revealed that when Afrikaners talk about their identities of being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid context their discourse involves talk about being threatened. Afrikaners seem to experience a sense of threat in relation to the stigma of being branded as 'oppressors' and 'racists' under apartheid, and they often utilize the discursive strategy of constructing themselves as victims and the Other as a powerful opponent or enemy. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the threat narratives contained an ambivalent structure. This ambivalent structure can be seen in the use of disclaimers, mitigations and other forms of racism denial in the construction of these threat narratives. These are the routine discursive manoeuvres of social face-keeping when talking about the Other. Analysis of the interview transcripts revealed that discourses of the past were often recited in the construction of threat narratives. In unpacking the Afrikaner threat narratives, it was shown how the participants recited ways of talking that were dominant in the apartheid era in making sense of changing realities in post-apartheid South Africa. The discourse of the 'Swart Gevaar' (Black Danger) seems to be one of the most pervasive discourses in the production of the threat narratives, and it is used to construct a powerful Enemy that wants to harm the language, culture and interests of Afrikaners.

The analysis indicated that Afrikaner adolescents and their parents often collaborated in producing identities of threat and apartheid in conversation. However, during the dialogue forms of contradiction, contestation and discursive struggle also emerged. There were occasions during the dialogue where the adolescents utilized discursive and rhetorical resources from being embedded in de-segregated settings. These ways of talking can be characterized as 'non-threat talk' and 'non-separation/apartheid talk'.

From a discursive and dialogical self theory perspective, identities are taken up as ways of doing or enacting identities in discourse and in dialogue, and not as universal and timeless structures of personality (such as the neo-Eriksonian identity status model). In trying to understand the complex identity struggles of Afrikaner adolescents in a tension-filled and rapidly changing society like South Africa, it is necessary to utilize theoretical and methodological tools that are appropriate in dealing with the complexity and multiplicity of identity responses that emerge in these contexts. For this reason the dialogical self theory was found to be a useful theoretical perspective in making sense of the multiplicity of voices or identities that emerge in a heterogeneous and globalizing society like South Africa.

"The enduring tragedy of the Afrikaner ... is that he is a white African who refuses to come to terms with his own continent and its people (wishing) to be here but apart, and after more than three centuries the sadness of the Afrikaner is that he still has not come home." (Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, quoted in Brink, 1998, p. 124)

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH QUESTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

On 14 January 2008 19-year-old Johann Nel took his father's .303 rifle and drove to the nearby Skielik informal settlement, a residential area inhabited by black South Africans outside of the town of Swartruggens in the North West Province, and opened fire shouting, "Kom uit, julle bleddie k---rs! Ek wil julle vandag doodmaak, julle swart gatte" ("Come out you bloody k----rs! Today I want to kill you, you black arseholes"). Enoch Matshelanoka (10) was on his way to fetch water with a play cart made from a crate for carrying cooldrink bottles. After Nel had fired shots at him, he fell over into the cart and died. Elizabeth Moiphitini, a two-month-old baby and her mother, Annah, were shot at close range of about 40 cm. Some of the residents were busy doing washing, while others were working in their gardens.

Nel was found guilty on four counts of murder, eleven on attempted murder and one each on being unlawfully in possession of a fire arm and ammunition. This incident of blatant racist killings shocked and outraged citizens in South Africa and all over the world. Dr Irma Labuschagne, a well respected South African forensic criminologist, testified in court that Nel could not deal with his fear of the 'Swart Gevaar' (Black Danger). His fear was embedded in language such as "we will be attacked and killed by blacks", reported Labuschagne. This fear of black people was transformed into a deep-seated hatred for the 'Swart Gevaar' (Black Danger). He believed that there was a war out there and that the enemy needed to be controlled and conquered.

Clinical psychologist, Kobus Truter, testified that Johann Nel was socially and culturally isolated when his parents took him out of mainstream schooling so that he could

do his formal education in the privacy of his parents' home. Truter concluded that the idea of a rainbow nation did not exist for this family, as well as for many Afrikaner residents of Swartruggens.

There is no doubt that this brief case study is an extreme example of a young Afrikaner who acted out his sense of threat in a bizarre and unimaginable way in the post-apartheid context. However, from listening to how ordinary 'white' Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (WASSAs) talk in everyday conversations, and from watching South African television programmes, listening to local radio stations (particularly 'talk' shows) or reading newspapers and magazines, one is struck by the pervasiveness of a sense of threat in the discourse among Afrikaners. *It is noticeable that when Afrikaners talk about their identities as being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid context, their discourse involves talk about being threatened.* For example, the tremendous outcry among particularly Afrikaner organizations, like AfriForum and the Afrikanerbond, and ordinary Afrikaner citizens against the suspended president of the ANC Youth League, Julius Malema's controversial statements and provocative conduct, is a case in point.

In a recent article (18 September 2011) in 'Rapport' Sunday newspaper the University of Johannesburg political scientist, Piet Croucamp, wrote that Julius Malema is an "Antjie Somers" figure (in other words, a figure that is used to induce threat and fear in the hearts and minds of people; traditionally in the Afrikaans culture parents used this mythical figure to discipline their children by inducing fear and threat) for 'white' South Africans in general and Afrikaners in particular. Croucamp argues in his analysis that Malema does not have the political influence and power that is often ascribed to him by 'white' commentators, and that he does not represent the (imagined) perils of our

future, but Afrikaners often use him (most probably unintentionally) to induce fear and a sense of threat amongst themselves.

In an open letter to Kallie Kriel of AfriForum in *Die Burger* (26/09/11), Adriaan Basson, assistant editor of *City Press*, asks some challenging questions to Kriel. Basson questions Kriel and AfriForum's representation of Afrikaners as a threatened community whose basic constitutional and human rights are being constantly undermined and trampled on by the black majority government during the transformation of South African society, and which necessitates AfriForum's resorting to legal action and other forms of 'struggle' to preserve these rights. Basson continues that the premise on which these forms of action are often based is a sense of victimhood. Kriel and AfriForum are challenged to present to their members a more balanced and just representation of Afrikaners' position in the post-apartheid society. Basson argues that the country is running the risk of seeing more Johann Nels emerging when organizations like AfriForum are not educating and informing their supporters about what is truly happening in South Africa regarding the position and rights of Afrikaners.

The pervasiveness of a sense of threat and widespread uncertainty in the discourse among many Afrikaners in the contemporary South Africa context is an indication that Afrikaners are experiencing the transformation from an apartheid past to the post-apartheid, democratic, de-segregating society as a *painful and dislocating* process (De Klerk, 2000; Slabbert, 2000; Steyn, 2004a; Verwey, 2009). It is abundantly evident that many WASSAs are grappling to define and redefine identities of Afrikaansness in fundamentally different historical circumstances in the new political dispensation.

1.2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

From a historical perspective, the subjectivities of the older generation of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers have been powerfully influenced by the ideologies of Christian nationalism and apartheid that prevailed during Afrikaner nationalist rule through to the early 1990's (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). During the apartheid era social life in South Africa, and particularly the organization of relations between racial and cultural groups, was prescribed and enforced by apartheid laws. The lives of black and 'white' South Africans were effectively separated and alienated, with 'whites' in a privileged and dominating position. The identities or voices of Afrikaansness shaped by apartheid discourses seem to continue dominating the lives of many Afrikaners, old and young, in the post-apartheid society. This is obviously problematic for many Afrikaners since the apartheid tradition of the past, written and unwritten, has come to an end in South Africa with the negotiation of a new dispensation in the early 1990's. In the post-1994 era Afrikaners are for the first time in 360 years finding themselves in a situation of living under a black majority government. What happened in 1994 is what generations of 'white' South Africans, including Afrikaners, have feared and dreaded. For many their worst nightmare has become a reality. It is inevitable that identities of Afrikaansness rooted in the discourses and ideologies of the past, will come under severe pressure from the post-apartheid state and voices opposing apartheid and what it stood for. Afrikaners, both old and young, are challenged to negotiate identities of Afrikaansness that are more compatible with the values, ideologies and discourses of the post-apartheid society and move forward from being *settlers* to becoming participating citizens in the new South Africa.

Nuttall (2001) argues that it is often in terms of the *settler* that 'white' identity (including Afrikaner identities) in post-colonial African contexts has been given meaning and content. The notion of the *settler*, in its original understanding, also implies a native, which forms part of a master-slave dialectic and which is based on the occupation and ownership of land. Nuttall (2001) writes that the settler occupies a position of power based on conquest and ownership of the land through violent means. This leads to the dispossession and subjugation of the native owners of that same land. In this dialectic it is often believed that the 'master' will relinquish his power only through force. The settler, in this framework, is marked as 'coming from elsewhere' rather than being 'of the place'. Nuttall (2001) elaborates that the meaning of *settler* begins to shift as there is movement from the politics of conquest and subjugation to the politics of negotiation and belonging.

A question that is relevant here is, can a 'white' person cease being a settler, and if so, under which conditions? Furthermore, the politics of belonging can be differentiated in relation to the notion of belonging apart, as in the apartheid era, or belonging together, as in the post-apartheid situation. In the post-apartheid era 'white' South Africans, including Afrikaners, are confronted with the question of their belonging, including the quality of this belonging.

Nuttall (2001) concludes that a process of mutual negation had to be replaced by a process of mutual recognition. This unifying process then has the potential of leading to a new sense of belonging. It is crucial for 'white' South Africans, including Afrikaners, to move away from the image of being privileged without belonging, and create new identities of whiteness and Afrikaansness, from where they can take up their place as full and participating citizens in the transforming and democratic post-apartheid

society. The anticipation is that embracing new identities of Afrikaansness, including new forms of engagement with the Other, will lead to a decline in senses of threat and existential uncertainty in the experience and discourses of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, both old and young.

1.3. AFRIKANER YOUTH IDENTITIES

There are indications that young Afrikaners are also grappling to shake off the legacy of the apartheid past (Alberts, 2008; Jansen, 2009). Jansen (2009) asks, based on his research and experience with young Afrikaners at the University of Pretoria, why Afrikaner young people, particularly males, are so pessimistic and fatalistic about the future. They are technically post-apartheid young people born at the time of the release from prison of Nelson Mandela with no first hand experience of apartheid, military service and the harsh, institutionalised racial oppression of the past. However, the attitudes and behaviour of Afrikaner young people in relation to black South Africans, as well as the past and future of South Africa often seems to be a mirror image of that of their parents who grew up under apartheid, living the values and ways of talking of the era of 'white' minority rule.

On 24 August 2011 Afrikaans veteran journalist and analyst, Max du Preez, addressed learners at the Pietersburg High School (the school where the late Van Zyl Slabbert matriculated) where he presented the first Frederik van Zyl Slabbert Memorial Lecture. Du Preez's lecture basically focused on the identity struggles of 'white' South Africans, and particularly Afrikaners, in defining and redefining themselves in terms of the post-apartheid society and the African continent. He was critical of Afrikaners who perpetuate colonialism and apartheid by continuing to construct social realities in terms of 'us' and 'them', and

who are exclusively concerned with their own interests in the post-apartheid society. Furthermore, many Afrikaners seem to be quick to embrace an identity of victimhood when things do not go their way. These are examples of identities of Afrikaansness that fail to embrace the new integrating society as participating citizens. Du Preez maintains that South Africans, because of the divided, traumatic and troublesome history which we share, are multiply wounded people and that all of us, both black and white, should have more compassion and patience with one another.

Although young Afrikaners cannot be held directly responsible for the injustices of apartheid, he urged them to be sensitive to the devastating long term impact of decades of oppression and systematic and structural disadvantaging of black South Africans, and to take responsibility for contributing towards undoing the imbalances and ills of the past. Afrikaners need not be caught up in a syndrome of victimhood, nor regress to racist ways of talking and doing in terms of the Other. What is needed is what Du Preez calls a 'charm offensive'. If I understand this concept correctly, it means to take constructive and moral action in the post-apartheid social context which surprises your adversaries and takes the wind out of their sails.

In following South African and international events and local debates in the (Afrikaans) media on a daily basis one observes that the construction of identities of Afrikaansness is a highly contested discursive field. Scholarly interest in questions relating to 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' identity struggles in the post-apartheid society is also on the increase (see Chapter 3 for a review of literature). However, the number of studies which have been completed focusing on Afrikaner young people's identity formation in the contemporary post-apartheid context is limited. For this reason it was decided to embark on the present study.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of the study is to investigate how Afrikaner school-going adolescents are negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue with their parents in Eastern Cape rural settings in contemporary post-apartheid South African circumstances.

How do Afrikaner young people and their parents (collectively or jointly) talk about their experience of being Afrikaans during family conversations in the post-apartheid context? How do they negotiate identities of Afrikaansness collectively in the relative safety and intimacy of a family conversation? It is clear that when Afrikaners talk about their identities of Afrikaansness in contemporary post-apartheid circumstances their discourse involves talking about being *threatened*. How do the families collectively construct *threatened* identities of Afrikaansness during the family conversations: in other words, how is the *threat* produced or put together discursively, and what do they want to achieve with these identity constructions? Are there signs or indications of Afrikaner voices transcending identities rooted in the past?

1.5. CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The study of social, cultural and personal identities has in recent years become one of the most rapidly growing areas of scientific investigation in the social sciences (Côté, 2006; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005). The reason for this development seems to be the dramatic social transformation which is taking place in many societies all over the globe and ordinary citizens and social scientists are confronted with questions of identity, adjustment and change. Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) point out that a lively debate has emerged over the past decade and more in academic circles over the question of the most appropriate conceptualisation of the *construct of*

identity, as well as the most suitable *research strategy* to investigate the construct empirically.

For the purpose of the present study it was decided to utilize a conceptualisation of identity as *discursively produced* in conversation and in context, and not the conventional psychological understanding of identity as an intra-psychic, objective and universal structure of the human personality. The construct of identity is taken up from the perspectives of discursive psychology, social constructionism, as well as from the theoretical perspective of the dialogical self theory as formulated by Hermans and colleagues (for example, Hermans, Kempen & Van Loon, 1992; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). According to this conceptualisation, identity is understood as emerging in dialogue *between* people (Shotter, 1993), in other words collectively, within a particular social context, and not as the ownership of one person (intra-psychic structure) in the individualist sense of the word.

Furthermore, identity is conceptualised as not something stable and static as in the conventional psychological understanding of, for example, the Erikson-Marcia research paradigm. From a discursive point of view identity is dynamic and changeable according to context and relationship and, therefore, complex and multiple. In this sense it is appropriate to talk about *identities* in the plural form. The discursive point of view is critical of the individualist, unitary, centered and de-contextualized conceptualisation of the human person as found in the Erikson-Marcia paradigm. The discursive perspective understands identities as embedded in social, cultural and historical contexts and not as timeless and universal structures of the individual mind, as in the Erikson-Marcia paradigm.

According to Marcia's (1964, 1966, 1980) understanding, informed by Erikson's (1964, 1968) theoretical work, young people in their adolescent years, from all cultures, are

confronted by an identity crisis which they have to resolve in one of four qualitatively different ways. These so-called ego states are the outcomes of a process of development during the adolescent years and labelled as ego identity statuses. The four ego identity statuses are the following: identity achievement, moratorium, and foreclosure and identity diffusion. In the present study the conceptualisation of Marcia's ego identity statuses as intra-psychic structures of the mind is challenged. Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) have advanced the idea of re-interpreting the identity statuses as (identity) performances within a particular social, cultural and historical context. In other words, these statuses can be described as particular ways of talking (or performing identity) which are socially and culturally accepted and sanctioned in a particular historical era. For example, the status of *identity achievement* can be re-interpreted as a way of representing yourself (and your identity) in discourse and in particular social contexts as a powerful evaluator or decision-maker which is most often positively received, specifically with regard to adolescent males, in western, highly industrialized societies.

The critical question is whether this form of identity formation or resolution is universal and applicable in all kinds of cultural contexts. The question can be posed as to what kind of 'identity talk' emerges in the dialogue between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in talking about what it means to be Afrikaans in contemporary South Africa. The present study wants to engage critically with the neo-Eriksonian research paradigm from the perspectives of identity in terms of discursive psychology, social constructionism and the dialogical self theory.

1.6. OUTLINE OF THESIS

In Chapter 1 the research question for the present study has been formulated and introduced. The outline for the remainder of the thesis is as follows: in Chapter 2 the theoretical orientation for the study will be explained. Identity is conceptualised as discursively produced in dialogue and in context, and from the perspectives of discursive psychology, social constructionism and the dialogical self theory. These perspectives are developed as a critique of the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm formulated by Marcia. Chapter 3 focuses on a review of literature and the chapter is divided into two sections: the first section involves a historical narrative, from the early years in the 17th century to the present, of the Afrikaner community as a threatened community in the South African and African situation. The second section contains a discussion of recent literature that confronts the question of Afrikaner identity in post apartheid South Africa, as well as the issues of threat and dislocation among 'white' Afrikaans-speakers. In Chapter 4 the methodological strategy and research design which was used to address the research question, is discussed. Chapter 5 contains a first presentation of the empirical materials of the study. It is a presentation of the findings in terms of the discursive production of threat in the dialogue of the Afrikaner families who participated in the study. It focuses on the question: how is this threat collectively put together or constructed in the talk between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents on the topic of Afrikaner identities in the new South Africa. Chapter 6 is the second empirical chapter: here the main theme of the discourse analysis is a presentation of the findings in terms of how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents negotiated identities of Afrikaansness during the family conversations. The details are presented in terms of forms of collaboration

as well as forms of contestation of identities of Afrikaansness which emerged in the family conversations. In Chapter 7 an interpretation and concluding discussion of the main arguments of the thesis is offered.

The significance of the study lies in the attempt to bring to light in the contemporary South African situation how Afrikaner young people and their parents are constructing Afrikaner identity in conversation in historical times of fundamental social change where the position of Afrikaners as a cultural group has changed from being a politically powerful and dominant group to a minority group and relatively (politically) powerless. The study reveals how Afrikaner families are constructing identities of threat in terms of being Afrikaans in a contemporary South African context, as well as how the young people and their parents are negotiating identities, sometimes collaborating and sometimes contesting identities of Afrikaansness.

CHAPTER 2

STUDYING AFRIKANER YOUTH IDENTITIES IN CONVERSATION: THEORETICAL FRAMING

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of chapter 2 is to provide the theoretical framing that informs the analysis of the construction of Afrikaner youth identities during family conversations in a cultural context of threat, dislocation and uncertainty. The theoretical framework on youth identities will be developed from the perspectives of social constructionism, discursive psychology and the dialogical self theory (DST). The development of this framework will be conducted as a critical engagement with a conventional psychological approach to the study of identity among young people as developed by theorist Erik Erikson (1964, 1968), and the form of operationalization of the construct of ego identity (the identity status paradigm) formulated by James Marcia (1964, 1966). This research approach has been widely used over the past 5 decades and a substantial number of studies emanating from this research paradigm have been published in the USA, Europe and other parts of the world, including South Africa. Chapter 2 will be concluded with a discussion on three theoretical arguments or points of view that are relevant for the development of the overall thesis of the present study. The three perspectives are as follows: firstly, identities as discursively produced in dialogue, social practice and in historical context; secondly, identities as primarily collective; and thirdly, identities as multiple, contradictory and complex in transforming societies like the present day South Africa.

2.2. CONVENTIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF IDENTITY AMONG ADOLESCENTS: ERIKSON AND MARCIA

It has already been mentioned in chapter 1 that many authors agree (for example, Côté, 2006; Hall, 1996; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005) that the study of identities has become one of the fastest growing fields in the social sciences in recent years. One of the main reasons for this development seems to be the dramatic and fundamental social, cultural and economic transformations that are taking place in many societies, including South Africa, in an increasingly globalised world and affecting the subjectivities of both young and old. Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) emphasize that an intensive debate has commenced in relation to the most appropriate conceptualisation of the construct of identity, as well as the most suitable research strategies to investigate the construct empirically. Over the past five decades the theoretical work of Erik Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) has been extremely influential in directing the thinking of theorists, practitioners and researchers as well as stimulating empirical research on the topic of identity formation among adolescents from a conventional psychological point of view.

2.2.1. Erikson's psychosocial construct of ego identity

Erikson's construct of ego identity forms part of an eight stage theory of psychosocial development which extends over the entire life span, commencing from after birth through to old age. For an extensive overview of Erikson's developmental theory a number of sources can be consulted, for example, Erikson (1963), Hall and Lindzey (1978), Hergenbahn (1990) and Alberts (1993).

During each developmental stage a specific psychosocial crisis (for example, basic trust versus mistrust during infancy) or developmental task needs to be confronted by the growing individual. These psychosocial crises are

conceptualised by Erikson as a positive and negative outcome that can be represented on a bipolar continuum for a particular developmental stage. For example, during the stage of adolescence, the psychosocial crisis revolves around developing a sense of identity on the positive side versus developing role confusion or identity diffusion on the negative extreme. A relatively positive resolution of the psychosocial crisis leads to the strengthening of the ego and personality, whereas predominantly negative developments during a particular life stage lead to a weakening and impairment of personality and the capacity to deal with subsequent developmental tasks during later years. The resolution of a particular psychosocial crisis like identity versus role confusion is usually prepared for during psychosocial developments in preceding life stages. This means that the developmental stages are closely integrated and interdependent on one another. According to Erikson (1959), the foundation for the development of ego identity is already established during the first stage of life, namely basic trust versus mistrust. The constructive resolution of the identity crisis during adolescence is also of paramount importance for positive psychological growth during the adulthood years. The identity crisis is never resolved conclusively during adolescence, but is further addressed and worked out during subsequent stages.

Erikson (1963) concurred with Freud on the importance of the role of the ego in understanding personality functioning more broadly, as well as identity formation processes in particular. He agreed that the nature of the ego is partially determined by inborn and instinctual forces. However, Erikson's theoretical vision is dominated by the question of how the ego, including his understanding of ego identity among adolescents, is structured and organised by the social world (including the institutions of society) in which the

individual finds himself or herself. Erikson did not provide a clear and concise definition of ego identity, for which he was criticized by many authors, and often made use of metaphorical language to describe the phenomenon. The following quotation from Erikson (1959) is revealing in this regard:

I can attempt to make the subject matter of identity more explicit only by approaching it from a variety of angles- and by letting the term identity speak for itself in a number of connotations. At one time, then, it will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis; and finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity (p. 102).

It is clear from the above quotation that the formation of ego identity, according to Erikson, is manifested on different levels of consciousness. Erikson (1959) also asserted that the maturing adolescent experiences a sense of identity on a pre-conscious level as a feeling of being at home in his/her own body and situation.

The integrating working of the ego is an important factor in understanding the development of a personal identity from this point of view. Erikson views identity development as the product of the interaction of three sets of forces, namely the unfolding of inborn potential, the influence of the social environment, and the synthesising functioning of the ego. Throughout the childhood years ego-syntheses are being produced and reworked in changing personal and social circumstances. The task of the ego is to integrate meaningful aspects of experience. Erikson (1959) writes as follows:

From a genetic point of view, then, the process of identity formation emerges as an evolving configuration—a configuration which is gradually established by successive ego syntheses and resyntheses throughout childhood; it is a configuration gradually integrating constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favoured capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles (p. 116).

It is evident that identity formation during adolescence is dependent on experiences acquired in the childhood years. The identifications from the childhood years are important building blocks for identity formation. According to Erikson (1959), the configuration that evolves in the process of identity development during adolescence is much more than the sum total of the identifications from childhood. Erikson (1959) formulates the point as follows:

Identity formation, finally, begins where the usefulness of identification ends. It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications, and their absorption in a new configuration, which in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through sub-societies) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is ...(p. 113).

The above discussion serves to give a brief introduction to some of the most basic ideas in Erikson's psychosocial formulation of ego identity and reveals the extent to which Erikson's viewpoint is rooted in a conventional psychological framework referring to intra-psychic structures that direct and explain identity-related behaviour. These issues will be addressed more extensively in the remainder of the chapter.

The conceptualisation of ego identity statuses, the form of operationalization related to the Eriksonian construct of ego identity, as developed by James Marcia (1964, 1966) will be presented in the following section.

2.2.2. Marcia's ego identity status model

James Marcia's (1964, 1980) operationalization of the construct of identity, namely the ego identity status model, has over the past five decades become a widely used methodological approach for the psychological study of identity during adolescence in mostly western cultural contexts.

Marcia (1966) criticized the way that researchers initially had gone about operationalizing Erikson's construct of ego identity. He asserted that his identity status model had been founded on psychosocial principles formulated by Erikson (Marcia, 2001). According to Marcia's model there are four qualitatively different ways of resolving the identity crisis during adolescence. The four outcomes of the process of identity development or ego identity statuses (as Marcia labelled them) are *identity achievement*, *moratorium*, *identity foreclosure* and *identity diffusion*. The ego identity statuses are defined by two principles or criteria that Marcia described as follows: *firstly*, whether or not an adolescent has gone through a crisis or exploration period wherein personally meaningful identity-related alternatives have been considered, and, *secondly*, whether or not the adolescent has committed himself/herself to a clear set of goals, values and roles in society. The ego identity statuses are described as follows: individuals in the *identity achievement* status have gone through a period of decision-making wherein personally meaningful alternatives have been considered and they have committed themselves to clearly defined roles, goals and values. The ego identity status of *moratorium* describes

adolescents who are actively weighing up and grappling with identity alternatives, but have not yet arrived at specific identity-related decisions. They can be seen to be in-crisis. Young people in the *foreclosure* status have in common with identity achievement adolescents that they have committed themselves to particular goals, roles and values. However, it is evident that they have not passed through a decision-making or exploration period. They appear to have uncritically taken over values and life goals from parents or significant people in their lives. The outstanding feature of young people in the *identity diffusion* status is their apparent lack of commitment to meaningful life goals and values irrespective of whether they have gone through a decision-making period or not. These adolescents often seem not to be too much bothered by their lack of direction in life and they sometimes create the impression of having made a decision to be non-committed.

The original "Identity Status Interview" (ISI) developed by Marcia (1964), and later refined by Marcia and colleagues (see Marcia et al., 1993), has been widely used by researchers interested in studying adolescent (and adult) identity formation. Furthermore, objective measuring instruments derived from the ISI have also been developed in addition to the interview format. Possibly the most highly developed and validated group-administered questionnaire form assessing identity status is the *Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status* (EOM-EIS-2) developed by Adams and his colleagues (Adams, Shea & Fitch, 1979; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Marcia (1980, 1993) and other authors (for example, Bourne, 1978a, 1978b; Waterman, 1982; Schwartz, 2001) have provided a number of extensive reviews focusing on the empirical work (apart from recent more critical reviews) that has been conducted since the mid-1960's using the identity status model. Marcia (1993) maintains that the wealth of empirical studies, conducted predominantly in the USA and

western countries (but not exclusively), has revealed clearly discernable profiles of the four identity statuses in terms of a wide variety of variables including personality dimensions, patterns of interaction, and developmental aspects, to mention a few. Schwartz (2001) has estimated that, at the turn of the century, Marcia's contribution, that has been labelled a neo-Eriksonian research paradigm by researchers and commentators, has inspired more than 300 theoretical and empirical publications.

With this brief introduction it is evident how dominant this research paradigm has become among researchers studying identity formation from a conventional psychological point of view. Despite the extensive use and popularity of the paradigm a number of critical voices from among researchers and theoreticians have emerged over the past two decades or more. Reviews with a more critical aim were presented by Côté and Levine (1988), and Van Hoof (1999) who conducted theoretical and critical analyses of the identity status paradigm. These review articles asked critical questions pertaining to amongst other issues: whether the ego identity status paradigm, as formulated by Marcia, appropriately conceptualises and operationalizes Erikson's construct of ego identity; how a number of Eriksonian concepts related to identity formation are not integrated into the paradigm; how Marcia used some ostensibly "Eriksonian" concepts in ways that were at variance with the original meaning of the terms; the fact that the identity status model neglects the sine qua non of Eriksonian identity, namely a sense of temporal-spatial continuity; criticism of aspects of the validity of the identity statuses; and criticism regarding the use of the identity status model to study identity *development*. The review articles elicited intensive debate and discussion from scholars working within the identity status paradigm (for example, Waterman, 1988; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999).

Further critical review articles were forthcoming at the turn of the millennium (for example, Schwartz, 2001; Côté, 2006). In his review Schwartz (2001) discusses alternative theories related to identity formation that have been developed since the end of the 1980's in an attempt to address aspects of Erikson's theory that have not been sufficiently dealt with by the Marcia identity status model. These include the work of Berzonsky (1989, 1990) and the formulation of what he called *identity styles*; Grotevant (1987), who has launched an in-depth investigation of the exploration process, and Kurtines's (1999) focus on personal identity framed from a social and cultural perspective. In their reviews both Schwartz (2001) and Côté (2006) have offered taxonomies for organizing and systematising the increasingly diversified developments within the field of what Côté has termed, Identity Studies.

From the perspective of the present thesis two important articles appeared recently. The article by Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) appeared in a special 2005-edition of *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, as a target article wherein they critically engaged with conventional approaches to the study of identity, including the Erikson and Marcia work on identity, from the point of view of postmodernist perspectives. This article elicited intense debate and discussion from researchers working within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm as well as researchers from other approaches (for example, symbolic interactionist perspective). Phoenix and Rattansi (2005) responded to these contributions from the perspective of postmodernist thinking. The conceptualisation and methodological approach used in the present study is closely related to the perspectives which Phoenix and Rattansi offer in these two articles.

2.3. CONSTRUCTIONIST AND DISCURSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF IDENTITIES: CRITIQUE ON ERIKSON AND MARCIA

The social constructionist and discursive theoretical framework, employed in the present study, is fundamentally at variance with the conventional thinking in psychology utilized by Erikson and Marcia.

2.3.1. Identities as embedded in context versus a de-contextualised and individualist perspective

I am in agreement with Sorell and Montgomery's (2001) argument that "grand theories such as Erikson's sacrifice attention to the diversity of human experience in the service of abstract, universal principles" (p. 106). Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) have also maintained that conventional approaches to the study of identity, like the neo-Eriksonian identity status approach of Marcia, have frequently resulted in the decontextualisation and the individualisation of young people's identities. The theoretical framework of the present study views the self and identity as embedded in context. The construction of identities of Afrikaansness and whiteness by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are investigated in local contexts of joint action in family conversations in a rural Eastern Cape setting. This point of departure brings into focus a number of related and fundamental perspectives on which the investigation rests, in particular, the view of social science as constructionist scholarship in contrast to a positivist view of science.

2.3.1.1. Constructionist scholarship versus a positivist psychological approach to the study of identity

From a constructionist perspective the science of psychology is fundamentally a cultural and historical activity (Gergen, 1973; Kvale, 2003). Gergen (1996), for example, talks about the growing realization among scholars of the

historical perishability of social psychological knowledge. Social constructionists challenge the positivist conception that the task for social scientists is to uncover and accurately represent universal processes of the mind (that exist independently of the knowing subject) through the application of objective methods of study. From a social constructionist perspective these so-called universal processes of the mind for example, cognition, perception, motivation, attitudes, prejudice and identity, the subject matter of conventional psychology, are socially constructed themselves. These "objective" processes are constructed in discourse by a community of scholars that share a particular scientific viewpoint and approach. Theoreticians and researchers working within a particular scientific paradigm and meta-theoretical point of view bring their forestructure of understanding to the interpretation of scientific evidence (Gadamer, 1975; Kuhn, 1970). In terms of the present study, the Eriksonian construct of *ego identity*, as well as the construct of *ego identity statuses* formulated by Marcia, are viewed as socially constructed by the researchers working within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm in (mostly) western cultural contexts and in a particular historical period, and not as objective, timeless, intra-psychic structures of the human personality.

Gergen (1996) and Kvale (2003) maintain that research claims which purport to have uncovered universal processes of the human mind, for example identity formation processes, are an example of the arrogation of some western scholars that fail to understand that their approach represents a uniquely western way of theorising the mind. Shotter (1992) makes clear that postmodern and social constructionist approaches to scientific work represent "a shift from what goes on in the heads of individuals to an interest in the (largely social) nature of their surroundings, and what these can (or will)

'allow', 'permit' or 'afford'" (p. 59). This new way of thinking entails a movement from studying intra-psychic processes to focusing on the ways in which selves and identities are (discursively) enmeshed in social processes and the possibilities for subjectivity and self-realisation that the social context offers. For example, in the talk of Afrikaner young people with their parents relating to being Afrikaans and 'white' in the new South Africa, what identities are emerging in the family conversations? In the negotiation of identities between young and old, are social spaces opening up for the construction of new identities of Afrikaansness and whiteness, or are the voices to a large degree dominated by identities of Afrikaansness that belong to a bygone era? Shotter (1992) continues that the new ways of conceptualising scientific work from a social constructionist perspective involve a shift from starting points in decontextualised and universalistic thinking "when the flow of interaction has ceased, to local starting points embedded in the historical flow of social activity in daily life" (p. 59). It is evident that the focus of study is on the production of identities in local contexts and social practices, and taking into account the social, cultural and historical dimensions (through discursive means) that are inherently part of it. The present study is keenly interested in studying the discursive production of identities of Afrikaansness in family conversations, in particular social, cultural and historical circumstances of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Afrikaner family life and subjectivities of family members have been powerfully affected by the fundamental social transformation in our society.

2.3.1.2. Identities as emerging in relationship and context

As was argued above, social constructionists view the individual as inherently part of the social context. In other

words, the relationship between individual and society is not taken up in an individualistic sense as is the case in conventional ways of thinking in psychology. Social constructionists do not agree with the conventional understanding of the person that pre-exists and is basically independent of the social context (Burr, 2002). Gergen (1996) maintains that individual functioning cannot be separated from its fundamental involvement in relationship. The overwhelming spectrum of human action grows out of relationship and is directed into further interchange with fellow human beings. Gergen (1996) agrees with Hermans and Kempen's (1993) socialized understanding of the self as a carrier of relationships and being in dialogue with others and oneself (see section 2.4. for a more extensive discussion of the dialogical self theory). Sampson (1989) articulates the relationship between individual and society in a potent way as follows:

Critical theorists argue that there is an essential interpenetration ... of society and the individual that warrants our approaching with scepticism any view that makes the individual a transcendent entity. We do not begin with two independent entities, individual and society, that are otherwise formed and defined apart from one another and that interact as though each were external to the other. Rather, society constitutes and inhabits the very core of whatever passes for personhood: each is interpenetrated by its other (pp. 3-4).

Whereas Erikson and Marcia theorised a decontextualised and individualistic view of self and identity, social constructionist scholars propose a view of identities as emerging in dialogue and interaction between people. In other words, identity emerges in social context and is therefore changeable and multiple. For this reason it is better to talk

about identities in the plural form. This means that a person can acquire different identities depending on the nature of the relationship with another person and each identity is a real 'you' (Burr, 1995). Shotter (1993) has introduced the concept of "joint action" to focus attention on the idea that what people do is fundamentally in tandem with other people, like for instance moving together in a dance. The dance is produced *between the two* and it is mostly not a product of either dancer's prior intentions. In terms of the present study the purpose is to investigate the emerging identities of Afrikaansness in the dance between parents and Afrikaner young people in the family conversations about themselves as Afrikaners in present-day South Africa. The purpose is to reveal the emerging identities of being Afrikaans in the new South Africa in situations of joint action in the family conversations. Joint action (cf. Shotter, 1993) simultaneously positions all the participants in the conversation and reveals the subject positions emerging in this in-between space. In other words, the objective of the study is to foreground the *communal nature* of the form of social life of talking about your ethnic identities as Afrikaners (among family members) in a cultural context of dislocation, loss of power, and threat. In order to achieve this objective meaningfully it is not appropriate to utilize an individualistic and decontextualised conceptualisation of self and identity like the ego identity status model developed by Marcia. It seems more appropriate to use the theoretical perspective of the dialogical self theory developed by Hermans and Kempen (1993), which takes a social constructionist and discursive conceptualisation of identities as embedded in context, for the purpose of the present study.

2.3.1.3. Identities are constructed jointly in and through working languages

Gergen (1996) maintains that people entangled in close relationships with a particular community of people, for example, an ethnic group like Afrikaners, often move towards coming to agreement on what is real, rational and right for them, and they articulate these agreements in forms of language that they jointly use and understand. Furthermore, Gergen explains that groups and communities, for example, families, develop these working languages for carrying out their collective lives. Applying these ideas to the present study means that the study intends to investigate how families negotiate and produce narratives of Afrikaansness in conversation with one another. By using a discursive analytic approach for analysing the narratives produced during the family conversations, the study aspires to foreground the particular habits but also contestations of constructing the world and themselves as Afrikaners in post-apartheid society. Gergen (1996) argues that there is agreement among social constructionists of the significant danger in any given culture of the solidification and objectification of any given way of constructing the world and persons. These forms of objectification often lead to practices of exclusion, oppression, marginalisation, racism and other forms of social injustices. Gergen (1996) points out that one of the tasks of constructionist scholarship is to challenge traditional understandings and to provoke dialogue within particular cultural communities. One can say that scholars have the responsibility to promote processes of reflexive deliberation and create greater awareness of the historically and culturally situated character of the world which people take for granted. From this point of view, constructionist scholarship is a form of critique of cultural life and it also involves promoting the moulding of new futures (Gergen, 1996).

This form of involvement means that constructionist scholars are critical of the positivist belief in a value free science. To the contrary, this form of scholarship entails a commitment to particular humanitarian values and goals, and becoming involved in what constructionists would view as emancipatory scholarship, analysis and writing. It has become evident from observing Afrikaners in many spheres of life over the past sixteen years that many seem to be grappling to disentangle themselves from the solidification of ideologies and discourses from the past, and to reinvent identities of Afrikaansness and whiteness in the post-nationalist era. Many Afrikaners, both young and old, seem to be constructing threatened identities of Afrikaansness in their struggle to come to grips with social and political transformation in the democratic society. I am hopeful that the study can possibly make a contribution towards confronting some of these cultural constructions such as threat and stigmatisation, and promote thinking, debate and action that can lead to more fulfilling identities of being Afrikaans and 'white' in the post-apartheid society.

2.3.1.4. Identities as social performance within context (Identity achievement as historically contingent social performance)

Gergen (1996), in discussing the topic of emotion from a social constructionist perspective, highlights the view of emotion (for example, anger) as performatives. Gergen argues that when a person uses the utterance "I love you" or "I am angry", it can be understood from a variety of perspectives. The conventional psychologist usually interprets these utterances by referring to "objective" psychological processes or biological states of the person. Gergen (1996) maintains that social constructionists view it as performance in relationship, and these emotional expressions (in language)

are only a constituent part of more fully embodied actions, which include movements of limbs, vocal intonations and manner of gaze. Harré and Gillett (1994), as well as Averill (1982) hold a similar view and invite us to consider the view of anger, for example, as historically contingent social performance. The psychological and social phenomenon of *anger* is removed from an assumedly "objective" referent (biological basis in the brain and nervous system) and placed and understood in a social, historical and cultural context. Furthermore, these performances should not be viewed as purely individual, but as part and parcel of complex patterns of relationship, according to Gergen (1996). Gergen explains that these performances do not occur at random, but form part of organized and complex social and cultural processes. I want to argue that the same application can be made in terms of identity-related processes and conduct.

Slugoski and Ginsburg's (1989) deconstruction of Erikson and Marcia's theorising on identity formation resulted in reinterpreting the notion of identity as performance within a particular social context. The authors view Erikson's theory of ego identity formation as a model of culturally sanctioned or socially supported ways of talking about oneself and other people with particular ends in mind: in other words, as performance, during a particular stage of life in mostly western societies. Slugoski and Ginsburg continue that the criteria of 'crisis' and 'commitment' from the neo-Eriksonian ego identity status model should not be viewed as concomitants of an underlying, intra-psychic process, but "as culturally appropriated modes of discourse by which individuals imbue their actions with rationality and warrantability" (p. 37). These (identity) performances fit in well and are positively received for predominantly 'white', university-educated males within particular social practices and institutions in highly industrialised, western societies. Slugoski and Ginsburg

(1989) explain that Identity Achievement adolescents have the capacity to articulate a 'crisis' before arriving at their present position (in terms of occupational, interpersonal and ideological commitments) in their talk. These young people make a claim for the status of 'agent' (or powerful evaluator or decision-maker) by the manner in which they talk about themselves and their decisions in situations of producing identity-relevant explanatory speech. Young people in the Identity Diffusion status, to the contrary, do not make these kinds of claims in their discourse. Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) refer to their style as a 'random mode' to describe the (identity) performance of young people categorized as Identity Diffusion in the Marcia model. This has the implication that their behaviour (as represented in their talk) is seen not only as lacking in meaning, but also lacking in warrantability or 'justification' in western cultural contexts. The authors elaborate that this does not imply that Identity Diffusion adolescents' performance is without value or potential social advantage. One advantage is it relieves the young person of *responsibility* for making occupational and ideological choices and even the obligation of having *consistent* positions. Furthermore, it means that these young people are more open to potentially attractive opportunities, more flexible interpersonally and less demanding of other people. Slugoski and Ginsburg emphasize that a normative social demand exists in contemporary western societies for people to present their actions as intelligible and justifiable. In terms of the neo-Eriksonian identity status model Identity Achievement young people outperform adolescents in the Diffusion and other identity statuses in the sense of meeting these normative demands and presenting themselves in socially desirable ways to people and institutions in western cultural contexts. One can conclude that the discourse of identity achievement is a valued commodity for young people within this particular

cultural setting and historical period (Slugoski & Ginsburg, 1989).

2.3.1.5. Identity (performance) in an African context

Alberts (2005) has developed a similar argument of cultural relativity in his evaluation of the neo-Eriksonian identity status model from the point of view of research conducted in African cultural settings. Alberts (2005) concluded that the neo-Eriksonian identity status model has had limited value based on research findings produced in African settings (Alberts, 1993; Alberts & Meyer, 1998; Alberts, 2000; Alberts & Bennett, 2000). There are indications that the identity statuses (as understood in the identity status model) appear to represent performances that are foreign to cultural ways of life in many South African settings, especially African cultural contexts. In studies conducted by Alberts (1990), as well as by Alberts and Bennett (2000) among African (black) late and middle adolescents in the rural Eastern Cape, it was found that high proportions of participants made Foreclosure commitments in relation to meaningful areas of life (for example, occupation and religion), and that exploration as a strategy for dealing with identity issues was under-utilized. In terms of the above discussion many black South African adolescents, for example, from impoverished communities would be unlikely to represent themselves as powerful decision makers coming from contexts of limited opportunities. The kind of identity performance that Marcia would term 'Foreclosure' would be better socially understood and sanctioned in many impoverished contexts. A way of doing identity where adolescents display exploring a wide variety of possibilities before reaching a decision in some area of life (moratorium) might be socially and psychologically far removed from their daily experience and could also be seen by some as a western way of doing in

particular African contexts. Furthermore, it might be very important for adolescents coming from impoverished backgrounds and studying at university (where a number of these studies have been conducted) to represent themselves as having direction and a commitment, for example, in relation to an occupation or study course. Making foreclosure commitments (for example, in the domain of career decision-making) could display eagerness to be tied to a pathway or direction that might lead to something rewarding and worthwhile, and to a better financial income and quality of life. These results and arguments are intelligible within socio-economic and socio-cultural circumstances prevailing in many South African communities. High proportions of South African young people, particularly from black communities, have grown up in impoverished socio-economic circumstances where there have been, despite transformation processes in recent years, often relatively limited opportunities for meaningful exploration of educational, occupational, recreational and other possibilities. The identity status of Moratorium will not make a lot of sense in such circumstances. Furthermore, the majority of South African adolescents and young adults from all cultural backgrounds have grown up in closely-knit family and communal settings with high value being placed on interconnectedness and communality and less on individualism. It is reasonable to ask the question to what extent would the neo-Eriksonian identity status model, developed in cultural and socio-economic circumstances so vastly different from what the situation is in contemporary South Africa, be useful in studying identity formation among young people in non-western contexts?

2.3.1.6. Critique of Eriksonian conceptualisation of 'society': implications for theory of ego identity

Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) maintain that Erikson's conceptualisation of 'society' and its relation to the individual in his theorising is highly delimiting and impoverished. Societies are seldom so benign as to provide a large proportion of young people living in it with niches and opportunities that fit their potentials like a glove, and that provide a platform from where decisions can be made in relatively smooth and unproblematic ways. Furthermore, by making the passing through of a 'moratorium' period (a period of 'free role experimentation' provided by society) a structural pre-requisite for the achievement of identity according to Erikson and Marcia, the identity status model becomes an appropriate model for use mainly with socio-economically and educationally privileged young people. This means that huge numbers of young people living in impoverished social conditions in different societies are marginalized and their identity construction misrepresented, or worse, pathologized. Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) point out that for a large number of young people living in impoverished socio-economic conditions the possibility of alternative futures seems to be unthinkable. The notion of a 'normative crisis' which is applicable to young people irrespective of the social context in which they are embedded is a misunderstanding. The consequence is that the category 'identity achievement' will be mostly applicable to socio-economically and educationally privileged young people. It is unlikely that many young people living in impoverished socio-economic conditions will experience a *problem* of resolving an identity crisis because most often the answer is socially predetermined.

Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) discuss several other important implications following from Erikson's conceptualisation of 'society' and the relation to the

individual. The authors explain that, as a normative goal, identity achievement is strictly speaking an *individual* achievement. In line with this thinking, variance in identity formation is ascribed to intra-psychic processes, and particularly to the integrative processes of the ego. This is clearly an individualistic point of view which disregards the influence of powerful social processes. Furthermore, as an individual accomplishment, this conceptualisation implies that the individual has *control* over the process of identity formation and that anything less than identity achievement should be regarded as a *deficit*. Slugoski and Ginsburg argue that there are two ways in which not accomplishing identity achievement represents a deficit according to Erikson's theory. A failure to achieve an ego identity implies a *psychological* deficit on the part of the individual. Erikson (1964, 1968) and others have spelled out which positive psychological attributes accompany the development of ego identity in contrast to 'achieving' the opposite extreme, role confusion or identity diffusion. Bourne (1978a) has provided a discussion on Erikson's construct of ego identity from a variety of perspectives, including the issue of a psychological deficit. From a genetic point of view the formation of ego identity or identity diffusion can be viewed as the outcome or product of a process of *development*, incorporating the individual's experiences over the first five stages of the life cycle in Erikson's scheme. The development of a negative identity structure is, therefore, viewed in an individualistic and decontextualised way. In other words, the role of the social context is to a large extent underplayed or ignored. Focusing on the structural point of view Bourne (1978a) writes as follows:

... Erikson accords identity a structural role in the personality. The possibility of identity diffusion or 'confusion' -with its breakdown in the individual's time

perception, initiative, and ability to coordinate present acts towards future goals- implies an intrapsychic structural deficit (p. 225).

According to Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) failure to accomplish an ego identity also implies a *moral* deficit. The assumption of a friendly or benign social system coupled with an internal locus of control places the responsibility for any failure to integrate constructively with society's demands (and thereby reap positive rewards) not on the social order, but rather with the individual person.

In deconstructing the neo-Eriksonian ego identity status research paradigm formulated by Marcia, it becomes clear the extent to which conventional ways of thinking in social and personality psychology finds itself complicit in reinforcing the dominant social order in western societies. This happens through reifying constructs like ego identity statuses which emerged only as a matter of historical contingency. Slugoski and Ginsburg continue that identity achievement, as a normative ideal, is a good example of such reification and it reflects social psychology's unwitting complicity in serving the interests of the dominant groups at the expense of minority and marginalised groups in western societies. The dominant discourse, in this case positing identity achievement as psychologically normative, is particularly harmful because it represents a uniquely western way of performing identity as universal, and as the yardstick against which young people all over the world must measure their ways of constructing identities and being human. This dominant discourse or set of personally descriptive discourse devices (of identity achievement) will be shared by most members of a culture. These discursive devices will be embedded in the institutions of a society and culture as expressions of its values. As socially shared discourse devices all members of a culture

will utilize them to construct actions, accomplishments and also failures (Slugoski & Ginsburg, 1989). It speaks for itself that only a privileged section of the society will benefit from this state of affairs.

Schachter (2005) has also engaged critically with Erikson and Marcia's work on ego identity from a postmodernist perspective. Schachter approaches the critique and discussion of Erikson's conceptualisation of society and ego identity from the point of view of two discourses, namely, *postmodernity as context* and *postmodernity as theory*. In the first discourse, *postmodernity as context*, Schachter confronts the Eriksonian theory, formulated in a modernist era, with social and cultural conditions that are prevalent in a postmodernist era. Schachter explains that many citizens today are finding themselves in conditions of rapid and continuous social change. Furthermore, postmodern individuals are embedded in multiple and often conflicting contexts where multiple affiliations and identities need to be managed and negotiated. In the discourse, *postmodernity as theory*, Schachter (2005) critically analyses and deconstructs fundamental concepts and structural aspects of the work of both Erikson and Marcia from the viewpoint of postmodernist epistemology. Schachter is critical of the Eriksonian views of identity development and maturity which are presented as universal and timeless. Schachter convincingly argues, in line with Slugoski and Ginsburg, that the identity status of identity achievement represents a privileging of a particular pathway to maturity which is valued in a particular (western) society. Furthermore, Schachter maintains that the portrayal of the mature (identity achieved) adolescent as individuated has been criticized by theorists as an excessively western viewpoint. He criticizes the theorising within the Erikson-Marcia paradigm which treats the identity statuses as qualitatively different modes of forming identity that are

objective and universal structures. These identity structures are not timeless, but reflect the values and goals of western cultures. An important argument proposed by Schachter is the point that structural patterns of constructing identities must be studied within particular cultural contexts. He continues that there seems to be a diversity of identity structures possible, as well as a variety of pathways towards different forms of maturity and self-realization. Schachter (2005) writes as follows:

An important research direction that may be followed is to attempt to widen our understanding of how diverse identity structures relate to goals other than those usually studied, such as 'psychological well-being' and 'psychological health', towards other possible goals prevalent in western and other societies- goals such as 'truth', 'community', 'caring', 'vitality', 'spirituality', and the like (p. 155).

Schachter's writing is an example of a theorist who has started to think beyond the classical ideas of Erikson and Marcia, and who is seeking to understand identity formation processes while taking the cultural context seriously into account.

2.3.1.7. Erikson-Marcia and female identity formation

Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) have pointed out that not only is the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm to a large extent inappropriate for use with marginalised and socio-economically impoverished groups as well as young people from non-western cultural contexts, but it seems to be a relatively problematic model for studying female identity formation. The issue of using the identity status model for studying female identity has been debated intensively by researchers working within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm over the

past decades (Josselson, 1988, 1993; Marcia, 1993; Matteson, 1993; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). The results of a number of studies which have employed females as participants (for example, Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Toder & Marcia, 1973) have produced findings which were in sharp contrast to studies with males. An example of such an anomaly was the finding by Marcia and Friedman (1970) that Identity Achievement females displayed the lowest self-esteem scores of all the statuses while Foreclosure females scored the highest. Slugoski and Ginsberg (1989) conclude that these results are inconsistent with the 'psychological deficit' hypothesis of the ego psychoanalytic perspective. Researchers working with the identity status model have concluded that there seems to be a lack of social support for Identity Achievement females, while the Foreclosure status appears to be the more adaptive mode of identity formation for women in western cultural contexts. In other words, because of their primarily integrative and supportive social roles in western societies, Slugoski and Ginsberg argue that females may be expected to produce different patterns of identity-relevant explanatory speech in comparison to males, and historically this state of affairs seems to have been the case. Whereas males are expected to project themselves as deliberative and rational agents, the same expectations do not seem to apply to women. There are indications that when women would indeed perform identities of being a 'rational agent' many within a particular culture experience this as going against the grain of conventional cultural expectations. Given the fact of the distribution of power between the genders in contemporary western society, it would appear not to be in female adolescents' self-interest to articulate their biographies in high-identity terms. Therefore, Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) maintain that the individual identity statuses (Identity Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Identity Diffusion), in terms of what

was found in empirical research, apply differentially to males and females in western societies. In a review article that appeared in 1993, Marcia concluded that recent research shows that the identity statuses in relation to women (for example, moratorium, identity achievement and foreclosure) resemble more closely what was found pertaining to males over the past decades in western contexts. Marcia (1993) speculates that more sophisticated assessment tools or cultural changes could have given rise to these findings. Despite Marcia's position, I want to argue that Slugoski and Ginsburg's point of view has merits. Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) recommend that researchers who are interested in studying identity formation processes for both genders should be sensitive towards the cultural and social-structural parameters which give rise to different criteria for socially desirable patterns of identity-related speech or discourse.

In conclusion: it is evident from the arguments that have been developed so far that many scholars agree that the theorisation on identity formation formulated by both Erikson and Marcia has serious limitations on a number of levels. There are convincing reasons why the theory of the dialogical self, developed by Hermans and colleagues, is a meaningful theoretical framework to utilize in the study of identity construction among Afrikaner youth in conversation with their parents in contemporary South African circumstances of drastic social and cultural change, threat and dislocation.

2.4. DIALOGICAL SELF THEORY

2.4.1. Introduction

I want to argue that Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon's (1992) conceptualisation of the self and identity as multivoiced and dialogical is a meaningful framework to use in order to understand the complexities and dynamics of meaning

making and identity construction among young, 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in a context of dramatic social and cultural transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. With the dismantling of the apartheid state in the early 1990's South Africans, from all cultural and racial backgrounds, are experiencing the disintegration of the walls of separation in many spheres of life, and their lives are becoming increasingly more integrated and entangled. Of course, young South Africans in their adolescent years today were born when the democratic South Africa came into being in the years around 1994 and did not experience structural apartheid first hand. However, the legacy and effects of apartheid will take years to resolve and young South Africans from all cultural, racial and socio-economic backgrounds have been deeply affected by our past. Afrikaner young people today are embedded in family settings, with parents who formed part of a privileged group in apartheid South Africa, as well as integrated in desegregated secondary school and other multi-racial contexts where non-racial and integrating cultures of the democratic society are evolving. It is evident that young, 'white', Afrikaans-speakers often have to negotiate identities of Afrikaansness and whiteness in contexts which challenge their selfhood in very different and contradictory ways.

2.4.2. Relevance of Dialogical Self theory: Understanding differences in interconnected societies

In their 1998 article, Hermans and Kempen argued that: "In an increasingly interconnected world society the conception of independent, coherent, and stable cultures becomes increasingly irrelevant. Processes of globalization are drawing people from different cultural origins into close relationships ..." (p.1111). The authors make use of the metaphor of travel to capture the dynamic of cultural

interconnectedness which forms part of changing social contexts such as present-day South Africa. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) explain that individuals and groups in rapidly changing and increasingly interconnected societies are no longer located in one particular culture which is homogeneous and set against other cultures which are equally homogeneous and different, but are increasingly living on the interfaces of cultures. This increasing interconnectedness of cultures and communities does not only lead to increasing contact between various cultural groups, but also to increasing contact between cultures *within the individual person*. Hermans and Dimaggio continue that in contrast to earlier homogeneous and closed societies of a bygone era (like apartheid South Africa), the globalizing and transforming society is characterized by strong cultural differences, oppositions and contrasts. These cultural differences often lead to seemingly irreconcilable struggles between groups and individuals because of fundamental differences in cultural practices, ideologies and worldviews. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) maintain that fundamental differences in an intensely interconnected and transforming society not only require dialogical relationships between people to create a liveable world, but also a self that has developed the capacity to deal constructively with its own uncertainties, threats, contrasts and tensions.

2.4.3. Dialogical self as multivoiced and embedded in context

Hermans (1996, 2001) and Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992) have developed the theory of the Dialogical Self and proposed a decentered conception of the self as multi-voiced and dialogical. The authors defined the dialogical self in terms of a dynamic multiplicity of I-positions or voices in the landscape of the mind. The mind of the individual person

is intertwined with the minds of other people: in other words, the self is embedded in the social, cultural and historical context and is not taken up in an individualistic sense. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) draw on the work of Stanley Hall (1992) who, in his historical analysis of the concept of identity, makes the distinction between an 'enlightenment subject' and a 'decentered or postmodern subject' to highlight their view of the dialogical self. The 'enlightenment subject' is described as a fully centered, unified individual who possesses the capacities of consciousness, reason and action, whose thinking and experience emanates from the (pre-contextual) individual, and whose 'center' consists of an inner core. In contrast, the decentered subject is made up of different parts or selves or identities which are highly contingent on the changes in the environment. The decentered self is composed of contradictory identities which are pulling in different directions and whose identifications are constantly being shifted about. Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992) write: "... the self, conceived of as a dialogical narrator, is a) spatially organised and embodied and b) social, with the other not outside but in the self-structure, resulting in a multiplicity of dialogically interacting selves (p. 23). The conception of the dialogical self as embodied and spatially oriented places self and identity in history and context and is a movement away from a rationalistic and Cartesian conceptualisation of the self.

2.4.4. Dialogical self as rooted in narrative thinking

The concept of the dialogical self is rooted in narrative thinking. Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992) draw on the work of Jaynes who considered metaphor as essential to human thought. According to Jaynes (1976) the self can be taken up as spatially organized. In his description of the self as mind space he linked up with William James's distinction

between the I and the Me, or the self as subject and the self as object, which is regarded as a classical distinction in the self literature. In consciousness the I is always seeing the Me as the main figure in particular stories that we tell, and also in the story of one's life. In other words, narration is understood by Jaynes as the main feature of all human activities. Over the past decades a number of prominent scholars, for example, Sarbin, Jerome Bruner, and Kenneth and Mary Gergen have focused on the narrative nature of the psyche and have argued convincingly that the self and identity can be studied fruitfully from the perspective of the narrative.

Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992) have also drawn on the work of Bakhtin (1929/1973) for the conceptualisation of the dialogical self. Bakhtin (1929/1973) observed that Dostoyevsky, one of the most brilliant innovators of literary form, created a peculiar form of artistic thought, the polyphonic novel. In Dostoyevsky's novels there is not one single author, Dostoyevsky himself, but several authors or thinkers. Each of these characters or heroes has his or her own voice expressing his/her own view, and each hero is authoritative and independent. A hero is not simply subjected to the finalizing artistic vision of Dostoyevsky, but comes across as the author of his own ideology. In contrast monological works are characterized by the privileged position of the author as the sole proponent of the truth. The author retains the power to express the truth directly and there is only one truth. Each character's position is measured against the ideological position of the author. It means that the author and the characters are not on the same plane. The characters serve as mouthpieces to carry over the author's position. In Dostoyevsky's polyphonic novel there is a plurality of perspectives and worlds: a polyphony of voices. As in a polyphonic musical composition, the several voices or instruments have different positions in space, and accompany

and oppose one another in dialogical relations (Hermans, Kempen & Van Loon, 1992).

In this narrative construction Dostoyevsky presupposes a plurality of consciousnesses, and what corresponds with it, a plurality of worlds which are neither identical nor unified, but heterogeneous and sometimes even opposed to each other. Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992) argue that the metaphor of the polyphonic novel expands on the narrative conception of the I as author and the Me as an observed actor. For example, Sarbin (1986) proposed a version of the self-narrative where a single author is assumed to tell a story about himself or herself as an actor. The conception of the self as a polyphonic novel goes a step further. It permits one individual to live in a multiplicity of worlds, with each world having its own author telling a story relatively independent of the authors of the other worlds. Furthermore, the several authors may enter into dialogue with each other at times. This means that the self, conceptualised as a polyphonic novel, integrates the notions of imaginative narrative and dialogue (Hermans, Kempen & Van Loon, 1992).

According to Hermans and Kempen (1993) the self and identity can be conceptualised in terms of a dynamic multiplicity of relatively autonomous I positions in an imaginal landscape. The I has the possibility to move, as moving in a space, from one position to another in accordance with changes in situation and time. The I fluctuates among different and even opposing positions. The I has the capacity to imaginatively endow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established. The voices function like interacting characters in a story. Each character has a story to tell about experiences from its own stance. As different voices these characters exchange information about their respective Me's and their worlds, resulting in a complex, narratively structured self (Hermans,

Kempen & Van Loon, 1992). It is evident from this discussion that the dialogical self with its multiplicity and heterogeneity of voices and identities in dialogue, and embedded in social context, stands in sharp contrast to the centered, individualistic and restricted neo-Eriksonian ego identity status model formulated by Marcia.

2.4.5. Position repertoire of the dialogical self in changing social contexts

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) assert that positions or voices in the landscape of the mind are not only 'internal' (for example, I as a man, father, Afrikaans, lecturer, Catholic), but also 'external', belonging to the extended domain of the self (for example, my children, my colleagues, my rugby team, my enemy). Dialogues can take place among internal positions (for example, a conflict between my position as a father and my position as a researcher who wants to complete a PhD), between internal and external positions (I reflect on and engage in an internal dialogue with myself about a clash that I had at work with a fellow colleague), and between external positions (for example, feeling good about witnessing my son and daughter having a good time together). The dialogical self is not only embedded in the broader society, but functions itself as a 'society of mind' with contradictions, tensions and conflicts as an intrinsic feature of a healthy functioning self (Hermans, 2002). Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) continue that a multivoiced and dialogical conception of self and identity acknowledges the extension of the self to the social and historical context, local and global. The personal voices of other individuals and the collective voices of groups enter the self-space and form positions within the self structure of the person, from where they can agree or disagree, and oppose or unite with other positions. Hermans (2001) elaborates that real, remembered,

or imagined voices of friends, strangers, enemies, or compatriots can become more stabilized or transient positions in the self-space which can open or close itself to the fast-changing and transforming society.

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) make the point that as far as the dialogical self is open to a rapidly transforming society, the following can be said of the position repertoire of the self. The self is populated by an unprecedented density of positions, both internal and external, which challenges the self to make adjustments and to organize and reorganize itself. This situation can lead to the risk of disorganization and confusion. Furthermore, when individuals are faced with a greater diversity of groups and cultures in a situation of social transformation, the position repertoire becomes more heterogeneous and laden with oppositions and contradictions. As a result of the speed and unpredictability of the changes taking place in rapidly changing societies like South Africa, the position repertoire is subjected to continual change and the self often receives 'visits' by unexpected positions. As a result of an increasing range of positions within the self-space going hand in hand with dramatic changes in society, there are larger 'position leaps' observable, in other words, positions or voices that are vastly different from what has been encountered before (Hermans, 2001). 'Position leaps' will be experienced, for example, when people immigrate to another country or when a society, like South Africa, undergoes fundamental and drastic social and political transformation on all levels, as we have been witnessing since the early 1990's.

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) point out that the increasing density and heterogeneity of voices or positions of the self in a transforming society is also reflected in the literature on psychopathology. Particular dysfunctions which were of peripheral importance in psychiatric diagnostic systems some

time ago have in recent years assumed nearly epidemic proportions. Borderline personality disorder, for example, is closely associated with what psychiatrists call 'identity disturbances' (Kluft, 1996; Bentovim, 2002). These conditions suggest that an increasing number of patients are confronted with a disorganizing instability of the self and the difficulty of choosing a limited number of favourite and stable positions from where they can find meaningful direction in their lives. Many psychiatrists maintain that we are today facing an epidemic of multiple personality disorders, or in recent terms, dissociative identity disorder (Merckelbach, Devilly & Rassin, 2002).

2.4.6. Dialogical self as open to the 'other' (alter)

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) explain that when the world becomes more heterogeneous and diverse, the self as embedded in this world, also becomes more heterogeneous and multiple. As a result, increasing differences in the social environment have an effect of increasing differences in the self in which some parts of the self become more dominant than other parts. Social and cultural differences require a well-developed dialogical capacity (towards the 'inside' and the 'outside') in order to recognize and deal with differences, oppositions and conflicts and to arrive at workable solutions to the challenges and problems of a drastically changing society. During dialogue in a transforming society like South Africa, participants who are involved in conversation (from different cultural or racial backgrounds, for example) may express and repeat their own viewpoint without acknowledging and incorporating the view of the other person in their exchange. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) assert that innovative dialogue is needed in such contexts, and it emerges when speaker and respondent are able and willing to recognize the perspective of the other speaker in its own right. Furthermore, the

speaker should be able and willing to revise and transform his/her initial standpoints by taking the preceding utterances of the other person into account. Hermans and Dimaggio describe *the other* in a situation of high level communication as an 'alter ego': the other is like myself (ego), but at the same time he or she is not like myself (alter). The authors make the point that dealing with differences between people in a situation of fundamental social and cultural change requires the capacity to recognize and respond to the other person or group in its alterity. Alterity, as a basic feature of well-developed dialogue, is a necessity in a situation in which individuals and cultures are confronted with differences which they may not comprehend initially, but that may become more understandable and meaningful to them as a consequence of a dialogical process.

2.4.7. The dialogical self in contexts of uncertainty and threat

The point that people all over the world today are living in fast changing societies, like South Africa, filled with tensions, oppositions, prejudices, and misunderstandings, has been emphasized numerous times in the preceding discussion of the dialogical self theory. Without doubt processes of globalization and social transformation open new vistas and broaden the horizons for citizens in many areas of life. However, the shadow side of this situation has also been voiced: that fundamental social change in a society can have the effect of restricting and closing the selves of many people as a counterreaction to what they experience as a threat to their identity and security. One can argue that many WASSAS, both young and old, are experiencing the fundamental social changes in the South African society as threatening and challenging to their identities of Afrikaansness and whiteness.

A number of theorists, for example, Giddens (1991), Hermans and Dimaggio (2007), and Kinnvall (2004) have emphasized the experience of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity which ordinary citizens in many settings worldwide are experiencing as a consequence of processes of rapid social transformation and globalization. Hermans and Kempen (1998) elaborate as follows:

Globalization is easily understood as contrary to living one's 'authentic life' in peace, partly because authenticity and pureness, however conceptualised, is better suited to homogeneous, stable, localized, and predictable society than an increasingly heterogeneous, changing, translocal, and unpredictable global world (p. 1118).

The above quotation can easily be taken as a description of the everyday experience of, for example, WASSAs in a changing society in South Africa at the present. Hermans and Kempen (1998) continue that the instability and uncertainty of a transforming society increases the desire for stability, safety, and survival, as universal biological needs among ordinary people.

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) have clarified the term "uncertainty" by giving the following explication. The term consists of four dimensions. Firstly, the focus is on *complexity*, referring to a constellation with a large number of parts that have a great variety of relations with one another. Secondly, the attention shifts to *ambiguity*, referring to the situation where clarity is suspended, and the meaning of one part is determined by unpredictable variations of the other parts. Thirdly, the authors talk about *deficit knowledge*, where they refer to the absence of a superordinate knowledge structure which can be used to resolve the cleavage between contradictory parts. The fourth dimension refers to

unpredictability, implying a limited ability to control future developments. As mentioned above, the experience of uncertainty can have a positive side to it in the sense that it can help people to break out of the old ideologies and restrictive dogmas of past institutions of a bygone era. However, when uncertainty dominates many areas of life and when survival is at stake, the experience of uncertainty may be intensified to such an extent that it changes into an overpowering sense of anxiety and insecurity (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Kinnvall, 2004). This experience of insecurity necessarily motivates citizens to find local niches or ways of increasing certainty, security and safety. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) are of the opinion that whereas social transformation challenges people to extend their selves and identities beyond the reach of conventional structures, this extension has the consequence of a pervasive experience of uncertainty. The authors continue that, from a dialogical point of view, they see the experience of uncertainty as an intrinsic feature of a dialogical self that attempts to maintain openness in communication with an ambiguous other, as well as an unknown future. From an optimistic point of view the dialogical self continues to be in conversation with other people and with the self, and it never reaches a point of final destination and closure. The uncertainty that is experienced also challenges people's potential for innovation and creativity to the extreme, but it also entails the risk of a defensive and monological closure of the self and unjustified dominance of one or a few voices over others.

In a globalizing and transforming world localizing forces are pushing in the direction of reducing the multiplicity of voices in protective or defensive ways. An example is the study conducted by Kaufman (1991) of Jewish women in the United States who decided to commit themselves to orthodox Judaism. These women grew up in secular Jewish homes and they

felt that the secular values of their upbringing and education did not give them a meaningful and adequate foundation for their lives. Despite the limitations that the orthodox religious system placed on them as women, they decided to go through with the decision. What is important is that they did so in the conviction that orthodox Judaism offered a meaningful place in the world to them, as well as the experience that they are rooted in a respected and durable tradition. In line with these findings, Arnett (2002) discussed the emergence of fundamentalist movements in Western and non-Western societies and pointed out that these movements came to the fore in the past decades as a reaction caused by globalization and experiences of dislocation and uncertainty. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) conclude that these developments can be characterized as localizing reactions to the process of globalization and social change. These developments provide the self with a stabilized religious position which is founded on a belief in a sacred past, a social hierarchy where men have authority over women, where children have to be obedient to their parents, and where God is the highest authority (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). The authors explain that, from a dialogical point of view, developments like religious orthodoxy, the emergence of fundamentalist movements, and the rise of patriotism are associated with collective voices that encourage a hierarchical organization of the position repertoire of the self. Furthermore, it leads to a reduction of the heterogeneity of positions or voices, resulting in avoidance of internal disagreement, uncertainty and conflict. The dominance of one or a limited number of voices over the rest often results in a reduction of the experience of uncertainty, but at the same time, it has the unfortunate effect that other voices, as possible innovators of the self, are silenced (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007).

2.4.8. Innovation of the dialogical self

As has been argued above, being exposed to contexts of fundamental social transformation, like post-apartheid South Africa, brings citizens into relationships where they have to deal with individuals, groups and communities from other cultural backgrounds in closely interconnected settings on a daily basis. These developments challenge people's dialogical capacities and their propensity to innovate themselves to a high degree. Hermans (2004) maintains that the innovation of the self can take at least three forms. *Firstly*, a new position can be introduced into the repertoire and be included in the organization of the self. Any new situation which a person encounters in the course of his or her life may potentially lead to a new position in the repertoire. For example, an Afrikaner youth who visits a 'black' friend's home for the first time will be finding himself/herself in a new position in comparison with his parents, the older generation of Afrikaners. In this position the young Afrikaner will be exposed to new experiences enabling him/her to talk in new ways about, for example, the 'black' household and what seems to be their unique ways of doing things, as well as about 'white' people. This experience may further lead to the broadening of the position repertoire of the young person.

Hermans (2004) argues that the expansion of the position repertoire may be seriously limited when some positions have acquired a prominent place in the self-system. Hermans gives the example of a controlling person who, through his upbringing, experiences the need to control every situation to the finest detail. By operating like this the person closes himself off from experiences that require a more receptive way of dealing with people and situations. When a controlling position has developed at the expense of a receptive position, many new situations will be approached from the position of the controlling attitude. Furthermore, this dominant

controlling position is likely to prevent other positions, which are experienced as a threat to the dominant position, from entering the self-system. As a consequence, the person finds it extremely difficult to shift from a controlling to a receptive position with the result that the flexibility needed to manage a variety of situations may be seriously impaired. What is important is that the openness of the self-system to new positions depends to a large degree on the existing organization of the position repertoire. Consequently, the potential of new situations to evoke new positions in the repertoire is limited when the self is organized in a particular way in the course of a person's psychosocial development (Hermans, 2004). Applied to the contemporary South African context, it is understandable that the position repertoire of many South Africans, often from the older generations, has been formed in the previous socio-political dispensation. A rigid self-organization would make it extremely difficult to allow the person to deal with new situations with sufficient openness and flexibility, and be able to tell new stories about, for example, the good life in the new society.

Hermans (2004) gives an interesting example from a cultural-anthropological study conducted by Gieser (2004) of how a new position can play a role in the innovation of the dialogical self. In the case study the phenomenon of 'shape shifting', practised by the Kuranko people of Sierra-Leone, is described. Shape shifting can be described as the culturally sanctioned ability of a man to transform himself into an animal through which he acquires a sense of identity, power, control, meaning, and healing. Hermans explains that the phenomenon of shape shifting is related to the cultural ways of the Kuranko people: the tendency to spatialize internal events. For example, they understand memory as events that are happening somewhere else, personhood resides in social

relationships rather than within individuals, and the unconscious is represented by going into the bush. In line with this way of thinking shape shifting is described as travelling inwards from the conscious into the unconscious, expressed as overt movement from town to bush. As part of the ritual the man who wants to transform himself goes into the bush and identifies with the totem animal of the clan (for example, a lion). Through this identification he is empowered to extend his self and possibilities beyond the ordinary. When returning to the village he is respected by the members of the clan and he will receive the status of a hero, and as a paragon of the ability of the Kuranko to tap into the powers of the wild.

Hermans (2004) further explains that the process of shape shifting can be understood as a dynamic relation between two domains of the self: the internal domain and the external or extended domain. The external position (the animal as the object of shape shifting) is transformed into an internal position (I as animal) of the self. When the external position is internalized, it becomes so dominant that it suppresses all the other positions in the internal domain. At this stage of the transformation process the internalized position of the animal becomes totally dominant, resulting in a monological self. The shape shifter believes that he has transformed himself into the reality of the animal. After the period of shape shifting the new position loses its dominance and becomes a normal dialoguing partner in a multivoiced self. The new position stabilizes in the position repertoire along with the characteristics that the shape shifter attributes to it, for example, power, control and healing. This phenomenon of shape shifting is an example of how the self can be innovated by the introduction of a new position. The result of this process is a reorganization of the position repertoire

of the shape shifter, a reorganization which is supported by the collective voices of the community (Hermans, 2004).

Hermans (2004) continues that a *second* form of innovation of the dialogical self can be observed when positions move from the background of the system to the foreground, or to put it differently, when more deeply layered positions are brought to the surface. In this form of innovation positions that are already part of the self-system become accessible as a consequence of the reorganization of the self. Hermans reports a study conducted by Lysaker and Lysaker (2001) who studied schizophrenia and characterized it as a "collapse of the dialogical self." They studied a client going through three phases, namely before, during, and after a schizophrenic period. They found that particular positions that were active in the pre-schizophrenic phase (for example, "I as lover of music") seemed to disappear completely in the schizophrenic phase, but could be activated again in the third phase. Hermans (2004) explains that this finding suggests that particular positions may be backgrounded for a longer or shorter period in a person's life history as if they disappear entirely. However, it is possible that these positions can be made reaccessible again at some later point in time. This form of innovation does not introduce a new position, but entails the reorganization of the self-system. Hermans (2004) reports on their own research findings on the reorganization of the self. They found instances where background positions suddenly moved to the foreground with the simultaneous suppression of existing foreground positions. Hermans uses the term 'dominance reversal' of positions to characterize these forms of transformation of the self. Often radical changes in the self organization take place with a limited degree of external causation. Hermans (2004) elaborates that such changes can be understood as resulting from inner feedback paths that lead to the mutual strengthening of

positions or structures of positions that together result in radical changes of the system as a whole. Dominance reversal implies a foregrounding of hitherto neglected or suppressed positions which can result in an expanded and enriched position repertoire of the dialogical self.

A *third* form of innovation of the self develops with the emergence of coalitions of positions: when two or more positions are supporting each other or develop a form of cooperation so that they form a new subsystem in the self. Hermans (2004) points out that positions that have similar purposes or orientations can easily work together, for example, I as religious person and I as serious about moral matters. Furthermore, particular social positions (for example, I as Afrikaner in the new South Africa) are often associated with particular personal positions (for example, I as concerned about the security of my job). Different kinds of changes of coalitions can develop over the course of life, including the emergence of a coalition of positions that were previously strongly opposed to each other. Hermans (2004) gives the case study of a client, Fred, whom he worked with as a psychotherapist to illustrate this point. Fred suffered from extreme doubts about his own capacities as a person. In therapy it became clear that there were three positions that played an important role in his life: the doubter, the perfectionist, and more peripheral but very important to him, the enjoyer of life. Hermans continues that the enjoyer of life position seemed to be an enduring feature of his personal history, but that it was powerfully suppressed by the cooperation between the doubter and the perfectionist, with the latter compensating for the anxiety aroused by the operation of the doubter. During therapy it became evident that the perfectionist position could be addressed by learning to delegate tasks to other people wisely, and to cooperate with other people more comfortably. Fred set out to practise

this new way of working for more than a year. In a follow-up therapy session it was discovered that the perfectionist and the enjoyer had formed a coalition, which was strong enough to displace the doubter to the background of the self-system. Fred was increasingly able to find the balance between enjoying a good job without trying to complete it in every small detail, and working more comfortably with other people. This new coalition represented an innovation of his position repertoire and shows how coalitions can be established between positions that were previously opposed to each other (Hermans, 2004).

In summary, three ways in which innovation of the dialogical self can take place, have been discussed. It is evident that in rapidly changing societies in different parts of the world, including South Africa, different sets of forces impact on the lives of citizens, young and old. Although the dialogical self has the capacity to innovate itself in interaction with the social context, there are powerful forces at work that often make the self function in conservative ways. In the above section I have discussed some examples of social forces and phenomena such as the retreat to religious orthodoxy and the emergence of fundamentalist movements as manifestations of collective voices that encourage a strongly hierarchical organization of the position repertoire with a simultaneous avoidance of uncertainty, internal disagreement, ambivalence and conflict. These developments represent social forces that push in the direction of a monological self, and which reduce the multivoiced and dialogical character of the self. From the point of view of promoting citizenship among Afrikaners, young and old, in the democratic South African society, social forces which push in the direction of monological selves need to be resisted. In order to migrate from a position of settlerhood to citizenship, the cultivation of dialogical capacities and the strengthening of the

propensity for innovation of selves among Afrikaner young people are important considerations.

From the above discussion of the theory of the dialogical self one can argue that the theory is an extremely useful theoretical perspective to utilize in order to shed light on processes of meaning making and identity construction in contexts of fundamental social and cultural transformation. The multivoicedness of the dialogical self makes the complexity of selves and identities within diverse, heterogeneous and rapidly changing societies intelligible. This stands in sharp contrast to the restrictedness and one-dimensionality of the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm of Marcia.

2.5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION: CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ERIKSON-MARCIA PARADIGM AND INTRODUCING NOVEL UNDERSTANDINGS

2.5.1. Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical work of Erikson as well as the operationalization of Erikson's identity construct (in the form of the identity status model) developed by Marcia has been presented as a widely used conventional psychological approach to the study of identity among adolescents in western and non-western contexts over the past 5 decades. It was argued earlier that critical voices from within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm have started to emerge during the late 1980's. As far as can be established, one of the first critical engagements with the work of Erikson and Marcia from the point of view of critical psychology, discursive psychology and social constructionism, was represented in the article by Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) that was introduced in section 3.2.1.4. The dialogical self theory, developed by Hermans and colleagues, can be seen as

confirmation of particular critical views promoted by Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989), and as extension and further development of a post-modernist, constructionist and discursive position on self, identity, culture and society.

2.5.2. Identities as discursively produced in dialogue and context

Slugoski and Ginsburg are critical of the Erikson-Marcia conceptualization of ego identity (and ego identity statuses) as objective, intrapsychic structures of personality which are universal (or decontextualised) and timeless. In their deconstruction of the neo-Eriksonian identity status model the authors advanced the viewpoint of identity achievement as identity performance, and as socially supported and culturally sanctioned ways of talking in particular (mainly western) social practices and institutions. Slugoski and Ginsburg maintain that identity is produced and performed in and through discourse, and in particular social, cultural and historical contexts. Dialogical self theory is in harmony with this way of thinking. The multivoiced and dialogical self is understood as embedded in context and history, and it transcends the Cartesian and rationalistic view of the person that has dominated conventional psychology for many years. Dialogical self theory proposes a decentered view of the person that is entangled in a multiplicity of relationships, contexts and persons, real, remembered and imagined. This point of view is in disharmony with the conceptualization of a fundamentally pre-contextual individual (proposed by Erikson and Marcia) that has an inherent nature outside of context. The dialogical self has acquired a multiplicity of voices (and the process is ongoing) that are differentially positioned (and in dialogue) through being embedded in complex geographical, social and cultural worlds. These voices have the power to discursively construct the world in a

multiplicity and even contradictory ways. Two perspectives emanating from the above discussion are relevant for the present study: *firstly*, identities are taken up as constructed in and through discourse (and not as objective, universal and timeless structures), and *secondly*, that identities (for example, identities of Afrikaansness) are produced in particular social practices (such as Afrikaner family conversations), and in particular social, cultural and historical contexts (for example, post-apartheid South Africa). In other words identities are social, cultural and historical phenomena, and not purely psychological as taken up in a conventional psychological approach such as the neo-Eriksonian identity status model.

2.5.3. Identities as primarily collective

Slugoski and Ginsburg are also critical of the individualistic emphasis within the Erikson-Marcia conceptualization of ego identity and ego identity statuses. The authors argue that identity achievement as a way of doing identity (for example, identity achievement as historically contingent social performance), is not primarily an individual accomplishment, but young people (and even more elderly people) within a particular social, cultural and historical context, such as contemporary western society, draw upon the existing discourses that circulate and are shared among citizens within a particular society. These dominating discourses, for example, the discourse of identity achievement, are widely accepted by members of a culture, young and old as well as female and male, and are used to construct accomplishments, decisions, but also failures relating to processes of meaning making and identity. This means that the construction of identities is primarily a collective affair. Identity formation, from a discursive and critical point of view, needs to be understood as primarily a

collective and cultural process within which individual selves negotiate their identities. Dialogical self theory is congruent with this point of view. The dialogical and multivoiced self, as a decentered self, is rooted in social context and culture, and the construction of a multiplicity of identities (or voices) take place as being intimately part of communal and cultural processes in a globalizing world. A multiplicity of voices or identities emerges because postmodern or decentered selves are enmeshed in dialogue with other selves in a changing world. Hermans and Gieser (2011) view dialogical self theory as a bridging theory in which a diversity of theories and research traditions meet. One can argue that dialogical self theory be understood as a theoretical framework where the individual landscape of the mind meets powerful social and cultural processes, and within which the dialogical and multivoiced self is structured and unstructured. A further viewpoint deriving from the above discussion is relevant for the present study: identity construction takes place within social, cultural and historical settings, and is *primarily a collective accomplishment*. Individual identity formation processes occur within powerful social and cultural processes that shape it in far-reaching ways.

2.5.4. Identities as multiple, contradictory and complex in transforming societies

In their critical discussion and deconstruction of the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm formulated by Marcia, Slugoski and Ginsburg have provided a reinterpretation of identity as performance in context, with particular reference to the identity statuses of identity achievement and identity diffusion in Marcia's model. Furthermore, Slugoski and Ginsburg have argued that social scientists, approaching the study of identity from a critical and discursive point of

view, should direct their research focus towards the normative discursive patterns (for example, in terms of how young people talk about identity-related issues) that are dominant in a particular cultural community for a better understanding of the identity formation processes taking place within that context. In other words, the authors have opened the way for a broadening of the conceptualization of identity processes and structures taking place within particular social and cultural contexts. This way of thinking inevitably opens the way for more complex understandings of identity formation in comparison to the Marcia identity status model, and is in line with the views of Schachter (2005). Slugoski and Ginsburg, as far as can be ascertained, have not spelled out their position in greater detail. Furthermore, the authors' deconstruction of the Erikson-Marcia conceptualization of ego identity (and ego identity statuses) has to be understood in harmony with the latter's view of (western) society as a benign (modernist) social context that provides a platform for the relatively unproblematic resolution of an identity crisis for large groups of young people. In other words, Slugoski and Ginsburg also directed their criticism towards the conception of society that is embedded in the Erikson-Marcia theoretical work.

Hermans and Kempen propose a multivoiced and dialogical self that resembles a polyphonic novel with a multiplicity of voices or identities that emerge in dialogue with others and oneself. This theoretical perspective transcends the more limited viewpoints of Marcia (with four ways of resolving the identity crisis) and extends the position of Slugoski and Ginsburg. Dialogical self theory advances a multiplicity and heterogeneity of identities in dialogue, and takes issue with the conceptualization of a unitary self embedded in the neo-Eriksonian identity status model. As was argued above, the dialogical self acquires a multiplicity of voices or

identities that are differentially positioned through being entangled with a multitude of selves, groups, relationships and contexts. These voices or identities of the dialogical self are often in contradiction with one another and result in tensions and conflicts within and between persons. This theoretical perspective highlights an understanding for the complexity of being a person or self in a post-modern and globalizing world. The conceptualization of a multivoiced and dialogical self must be understood in congruence with the characterization of a post-modern, globalizing and transforming society as formulated by Hermans and colleagues.

I want to argue that the dialogical self theory is an illuminating theoretical perspective for understanding the *complex identity struggles* of communities, families and citizens, young and old, in contemporary globalizing societies of rapid social transformation, like present-day South Africa. This is in contrast to the neo-Eriksonian identity status model of Marcia that presumes a pre-contextual individual that resolves an identity crisis in one of four ways, irrespective of the social conditions. In Marcia's model the pre-contextual individual is prioritized at the expense of taking the nature of the social context sufficiently into account. Dialogical self theory, to the contrary, is a theoretical framework that speaks to the identity struggles of people living on the interfaces of cultures in a globalizing world, where the walls of separating are increasingly disintegrating. The dialogical self theory allows for understanding the heterogeneity and complexity of responses and identities of citizens in fundamentally transforming societies, like contemporary South Africa, where the Other is met in relationships of close interconnectedness. Applying these insights to the present study, the dialogical self theory can be utilized, I would like to argue, to shed light on the complex identity struggles of Afrikaner young people and their

parents in a post-apartheid context where the Other is often constructed as a threatening and powerful force that wants to harm the interests of Afrikaner people.

A further point of extension of the dialogical self theory is that it takes identity struggles out of the limited parameters of the Erikson-Marcia schema which claims that identity formation occurs mainly during the adolescent stage of development. The dialogical self framework can also be used to make sense of identity struggles of people over the entire spectrum of age groups, including older citizens.

Dialogical self theory spells out in rich detail the nature of fast changing societies within which citizens today are embedded and formulate identities. Globalizing societies are often characterized by sharp social and cultural differences, oppositions, conflicts and tensions which make irreconcilable struggles between groups and individuals possible. Dialogical self theory foregrounds the intense and complex identity struggles and vulnerabilities of citizens, young and old, who are grappling with identity challenging transformations on a day to day basis. Furthermore, dialogical self theory draws attention to the intensity and magnitude of pervasive experiences of uncertainty and a sense of crisis that citizens in transforming societies are negotiating. These senses of crisis and uncertainty are culturally shared and collective phenomena first and foremost. There are interesting contrasts noticeable in relation to phenomena like crisis, uncertainty, dislocation and threat between the Erikson-Marcia conceptualization and the dialogical self theory perspective. In the Erikson-Marcia framework individualized and psychologized concepts of crisis, uncertainty and dislocation are promoted. From a dialogical self theory perspective the conceptualization of uncertainty, dislocation and threat are taken up as collective crises. In other words the senses of crisis, dislocation and threat are

much more enveloping and understood on a much bigger social scale. Hermans and colleagues describe all kinds of phenomena in relation to identity struggles, collective and individual, that have emerged in transforming societies over the past years. One example of a localizing reaction is the emergence of fundamentalist religious movements in different parts of the world. In a South African context, the shooting incident by a 17 year old Afrikaner youth at Swartruggens/Skielik in the Northern Province, the DelaRey phenomenon involving Afrikaans singer Bok van Blerk, as well as the huge following among particularly Afrikaner men of the evangelist and preacher, Angus Buchan, recently in South Africa, can be regarded as extreme examples of identity struggles and expressions of the search for security in contexts of dislocation and threat.

In a contemporary South African context, a multiplicity and complexity of voices or identities are operational among WASSA'S, young and old. As was argued above, the perspective of complexity is valuable in promoting a better understanding of identity struggles among communities and individuals. In terms of the innovation of selves among WASSA's, voices or identities rooted in the apartheid past, for example, voices of arrogance, disrespect and oppression in relation to the Other, need to be transformed and left behind. At the same time constructive and ethical voices of care, concern, diligent workers, doing your duty in a selfless and disciplined way, among Afrikaners, to mention a few, need to be acknowledged, built out and strengthened. Developing and strengthening these constructive identities in the new South Africa will enable many Afrikaners, young and old, to make meaningful and valuable contributions in different sectors of society, and to move forward from being settlers to citizens.

A final perspective emanating from this discussion that is relevant for the present study is the notion of a

multiplicity and complexity of identities that is embedded in transforming and complex globalizing societies full of contradictions and tensions.

CHAPTER 3

LITERARY POSITIONING: CONSTRUCTION OF THREAT- AFRIKAANSNESS AS AN IDENTITY IN CRISIS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Experts in research methodology, for example, Leedy (1993), Mouton (1996) and Durrheim (2006), maintain that the purpose of a literature review is to assist the researcher in approaching his/her study with rich insight into the body of knowledge pertaining to the research phenomenon. A review of the literature associated with the research problem enables the researcher to place his/her study within a larger conceptual framework and to be aware of the pitfalls and potentials of the study. The literature review assists the researcher to locate the study in historical and associative perspective: how similar research problems were addressed by other researchers over a period of time.

As a starting point for Chapter 3 a historical narrative (review) on the Afrikaner community as a threatened community within the South African context will be presented. I want to develop the argument that a pervasive sense of threat and uncertainty runs through the history of the Afrikaner people from the early beginnings at the Cape in the 17th century up to the present post-apartheid era. Furthermore, I want to argue that this sense of threat and uncertainty is closely associated with the collective construction of Afrikaner identities as being an exclusive, separate, superior, and special (with a divine calling) group of people that evolved at the southern tip of Africa. With the implementation of the apartheid political system from 1948 onwards this evolving nationalistic Afrikaner identity was brought to fuller realization in the South African context. The negotiated settlement that started in 1990 and culminated in the first democratic elections of April 1994 opened the way for

Afrikaners and black South Africans to live together as *equals* for the first time in 360 years in the same state structure. The focus of the present study is to explore how Afrikaner young people and their parents are negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in family conversations in the post apartheid historical context. For the first time Afrikaners, young and old, are constructing identities of Afrikaansness in a situation of fundamental equality before the law in a de-segregating South African society.

In the second part of Chapter 3 (section 3.3.) attention is given to a review of recent empirical literature focusing on Afrikaner identities in a post-apartheid South African context. What emerges from this review is an image of Afrikaner identity as an identity in crisis and under threat. Afrikaners are grappling with self definition in the new political dispensation of black majority rule in South Africa.

3.2. AFRIKANERS AS A THREATENED COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

3.2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief historical narrative of the Afrikaner community as a threatened community in the South African context. I want to argue that the experience of threat seems to run through the entire history of the Afrikaner people, from the middle of the 17th century through to the 21st century post-apartheid society. The development of such a brief historical perspective poses the danger of being branded as an oversimplification, one-sided and biased, because the complexity and richness of the many nuances of historical developments have to be underplayed and ignored. Yet, despite this potential criticism, I want to argue that it is enlightening to place the present-day post-apartheid identity struggles of Afrikaners, young and old, in

broader historical perspective. It is interesting to note the parallels and similarities between the present study and the classical work of MacCrone (1937) who attempted to shed light, from a historical point of view, on the racial attitudes of 'European' South Africans in the 1930's. MacCrone (1937) makes the point that any given social attitude (like, for example, racial attitudes or Afrikaner identity) is always part of the social heritage of a particular community. He continues that, as a social habit, this particular attitude has a history that testifies to the continuity of the present with the past in the life of the group. It is this continuity which makes it meaningful and worthwhile to approach the study of social attitudes or Afrikaner identities, for example, from a historical point of view.

The theoretical perspectives on identity formation developed in Chapter 2 will be applied to the crafting of this historical narrative. In other words, identities of Afrikaansness that have been produced and enacted by Afrikaners the past 360 years are taken up as discursively produced *between* 'white' Afrikaans-speakers (in other words, primarily *collectively*) in particular social, cultural and historical contexts. Related to this conceptualisation is the view of Afrikaner identities as historically contingent social performance (Gergen, 1973; Harré & Gillett, 1994). Identities of Afrikaansness, according to this view, are discursively produced in community, in social practices (e.g. how Afrikaners do things in government in 1948) and in particular historical contexts. I want to advance the idea, in line with the arguments of Du Bruyn and Wessels (2009), that Afrikaners, from as far back as the late 17th century, have started constructing themselves as an exclusive, unique and separate community which stands in opposition to other groups, who are in danger of losing their ethnic identities, and who have to

protect and maintain their identities against threatening Others at all costs.

3.2.2. The birth and early evolution of the Afrikaner community in South Africa

Van Jaarsveld (1976) maintains that the birth and growth of a permanent group of 'white' inhabitants on (South) African soil is a central fact of South African history. The settlement of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (V.O.C.) at the Cape in 1652 was not intended to establish a fully-fledged colony. The aim was to develop a vegetable garden and hospital, apart from providing military protection to the Dutch fleets sailing around the Cape to the East, to assist in reducing the high sickness and mortality rates of sailors who travelled around the Cape. The small community of 'whites' that settled at the Cape was more a by-product of chance circumstances than the result of planned policy (Giliomee, 2004; Van Jaarsveld, 1976). The V.O.C. was an economic body with the intention of maximising profits. A spirit of free trade and entrepreneurship was stifled and the burghers had to resort to farming as the only viable option open to them. This group became internationally known as the "Boer people" (farming people). The Dutch state also did not make any direct attempt to develop a 'white' settler nation: they allowed things to take its own course.

Historians, for example Van Jaarsveld (1976), Davenport (1987) and Giliomee (2004), agree that the birth of the Afrikaner community can be traced back to the situation in 1657 when the V.O.C. decided to allow nine citizens (free burghers) to establish private farms below the eastern slopes of Table Mountain. Davenport (1987) writes that Simon van der Stel, the next governor at the Cape, granted land in 1679 to a further 20 settlers beyond the dunes of the Cape Flats in the area which became known as the district of Stellenbosch. In

1688 the V.O.C. brought in 180 Huguenot refugees who had fled from France and settled in the area that became known as Franschoek. When the rule of the V.O.C. came to an end in 1795 there were about 15000 free burghers in the Cape Colony (Davenport, 1987). Davenport (1987) explains that an originally diverse European population (from Holland, Germany, and France being among the most important) was moulded into cultural conformity sharing the Dutch language, as well as the religion of the Reformed Church. Davenport (1987) maintains that a small settlement of expatriate Europeans, many of them from humble beginnings, could hardly have been expected to develop into a cultural outpost of European sophistication. During the administration of the V.O.C. education was limited to catechism and all teachers were licensed by the Church as well as by the State. The first serious drive to start introducing secondary education only occurred in the 1790s. Van Jaarsveld (1976) concluded that the 'white' settlers at the Cape did not discriminate on the basis of race or colour during the beginning years, but they did draw a distinction on religious grounds between "Christian" and "non-Christian" or "heathen". This distinction upheld by the settlers became associated with race and colour and this led to discrimination based on what they perceived as a sense of 'civilization' and race. Davenport (1987) concurs that within a few decades after arriving at the Cape the European community was in a dominant position and all 'others' had been relegated to a position of legal and political inferiority. Only V.O.C. servants and freeburghers could access land or gain political power in the official hierarchy of Cape society of that period. The political and economic elite were almost exclusively European and the Khoikhoi and other groups were effectively precluded from political and economic advancement in colonial society. It can be argued that these discourses of superiority, exclusivity and separateness had been embraced

and circulated among many Afrikaners from the early settler years onwards.

3.2.3. The *trekboer* pioneers and migration inland

How did Afrikaners come to migrate to different parts of South Africa? Davenport (1987) and Giliomee (2004) explain that, by the early years of the 18th century, when the *akkerboere* (crop farmers) of the Cape were experiencing difficult times, the *trekboer* (stock farmers on the move) started to emerge as the first 'white' frontier pioneers. The advance of stock farmers eastwards across the Hottentots Holland Mountains into the Overberg region and northwards occurred at the beginning of the 18th century. Davenport elaborates that the interior attracted the adventurous, whether for hunting purposes or the acquisition of land and stock from the Khoikhoi, by purchase or by force. These stock farmer pioneers shifted the boundaries (in all directions) from Cape Town inland by 800 km within 80 years. Van Jaarsveld (1976) explains that these stock farmer pioneers started to embrace this nomadic lifestyle and they were driven by the search for better grazing, land, water, and wild game, just like the Khoikhoi. Van Jaarsveld is convinced that this nomadic and relatively freedom loving lifestyle, but also the social isolation, led the pioneer Afrikaners to develop particular capacities which can be characterised as individualist, conservative, patriarchal, independent, stubborn and mobile. Van Jaarsveld (1976) points out that it was from the ranks of the *trekboer* pioneers that the leaders of the Great Trek came. This exodus was the forerunner which led to the formation of the two Boer republics. Van Jaarsveld (1976) writes that the *trekboer* pioneers were basically responsible for their own physical safety and security. This was conducted through the implementation of a para-military commando system, which was unique to South Africa. It is

evident that safety and security played an important role in the lives of the trekboer pioneers. A sense of feeling threatened and insecure clearly accompanied these actions of military protection and aggression. These experiences of threat and insecurity must be seen, according to my view, in conjunction with the collective construction of Afrikaner identity as a unique, exclusive and separate group who wanted to advance its interests, who had to maintain its identity, and who was in danger of losing this identity in the face of opposing social and other forces.

The migration of the Afrikaner trekboer pioneers was brought to a halt after 100 years when they came into contact with the numerically powerful and organised Xhosa people, who were living along the east coast, and along the Fish River northwards. The conflict between the two groups in the border area revolved mainly around land. For the next 100 years, from 1779 to 1877, the two groups lived in disharmony and conflict, and nine border wars were fought between them. The argument can be made that the construction of threat, insecurity and protest among the Afrikaner trekboer pioneers (and particularly between 1834 and 1840) in the eastern border region, contributed to the mass exodus of about 15000 Afrikaner farmers (Du Bruyn, 1986) to the interior of the country with the aim to establish independent states beyond the reach of British rule.

3.2.4. The Great Trek

Du Bruyn (1986) writes that the Great Trek can be seen as a protest movement or rebellion against British colonialism and oppression, but ironically, it also became an act of colonialism and oppression because the establishment of independent Voortrekker states in the interior of the country led to the subjection and oppression of the black communities.

Du Bruyn (1986) explains that the idea for the Great Trek did not happen suddenly and spontaneously, but it was carefully planned and propagated. Du Bruyn formulates the following major reasons for the exodus taking place: the increasing conflict between the Xhosa and 'white' stock farmers on the one hand, and the growing political alienation between the 'white' border colonists and the British authorities, on the other, accompanied by a pervasive experience of threat and insecurity. During the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-1835, the 'white' farmers suffered heavy losses. Afrikaners were convinced that the British authorities (with the introduction of Ordinance no 50 of 1828) had terminated the existing racial order and that 'white' domination had been jeopardised. Many Afrikaners believed that it was wrong in the eyes of God to have a situation where the former slaves (non-'whites') were equal before the law with the Christians.

It is evident from the above discussion that the Afrikaner border farmers in the eastern border region had encountered two powerful social forces that they experienced as foreign and threatening to their collective identities of being Afrikaans: the powerful Xhosa, the black Other, that they were competing with in terms of livestock, territory and land, and the British Other, who was in a powerful political position and indifferent to the ways of the 'white' border farmers. These two social forces would be constructed as sources of threat by Afrikaner for many years to come.

The migration by the Voortrekkers to the interior was a period of drama, hardships, endurance, conflicts and wars, and it eventually culminated in the formation of the two Boer republics. The *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (The South African Republic) was established with the signing of the Sand River convention in 1852, by which the British government recognized the independence of the Voortrekker republic to the north of the Vaal River. In 1854, the independence of the Republic of

the Orange Free State was recognized with the signing of the Bloemfontein convention (Giliomee, 2004). After 20 years, one of the main goals of the Great Trek was achieved: independence from British authority.

3.2.5. Conflict between Afrikaners and the British Other during the late 19th century: Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)

Van Jaarsveld (1976) writes that the conflict which developed between British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism in the last quarter of the 19th century, and culminating in the establishment of British supremacy with the victory during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, have had far reaching implications for the South Africa of the 20th century and beyond.

Historians (for example, Davenport, 1987; Giliomee, 2004) have pointed to the opposing images that become evident when the historical and cultural context of the Afrikaner people (and particularly the Afrikaners based in the Boer republics) are compared with the English at the end of the 19th century in South Africa. The arrival of the British settlers in 1820, as well as the influx of British immigrants during subsequent years, strengthened the English communities culturally and numerically. The situation was different for Afrikaners. They were basically cut off from their mother countries from 1806 onwards. Van Jaarsveld (1976) explains that the Afrikaners in the Boer republics lived in social and cultural isolation in the interior of the country for many years. They experienced the more sophisticated and advanced English-speakers originating from 19th century industrialized Britain with their liberal and enlightened ideas as foreign, *threatening* to their identities and difficult to deal with. Afrikaners were much more rooted in rural circumstances, and could be described as conservative, having a strong sense of nationalism, and oriented towards South Africa as their home.

A factor which intensified the struggle between British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism in the Transvaal republic was the influx of thousands of British gold seekers to the mine centres of the Witwatersrand. They were called "Uitlanders" (a label that was embraced by the gold seekers). The city of Johannesburg took on the character of a British city in the heart of the Boer republic. Initially, it was thought that the *Uitlanders* would remain in Johannesburg for only a limited period, but with the onset of deeper mining it became evident that their stay would be more permanent. It became clear that a clash of cultures was imminent (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Davenport, 1987). The *Uitlanders* did not seem to understand the historical background, language, sacrifices and struggles of the Boer people. For the nationalistic minded Afrikaners the influx of large numbers of foreigners posed a *major threat* to their identities and the independence of their fledgling state. Kruger withstood the pressure to grant citizenship and thus voting rights to the *Uitlanders* after 5 years of residing in the country. He modified the bill of 1882 in the year 1890. According to the new bill the *Uitlanders* had to reside in the country for 14 years before they could qualify for citizenship and full voting rights. The *Uitlanders* demanded equal rights for all 'white' citizens and a say in government (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Davenport, 1987). Van Jaarsveld (1976) and Davenport (1987) conclude that, in the final analysis, the struggle of the *Uitlanders* for political rights was not so much intended to obtain citizenship of the South African Republic, but to contribute towards extending British power, control and sovereignty to the Boer republic.

In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner was sent to the Cape by the British government as the new high commissioner to address the "South African question" (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Milner believed that the South African

Republic was a primary breeding ground for Afrikaner nationalism which posed a major threat to the interests and future of the British Empire in South Africa. Milner started preparing the way for war. Acting in accordance with a hint from Milner the *Uitlanders* in March 1899 sent a memorandum with grievances to the British queen- not to the Transvaal government. This memorandum was supported by Milner and approved by the British cabinet. This placed Great Britain in direct confrontation with the South African Republic. The majority of English-speaking citizens in South Africa supported Milner, Chamberlain and the *Uitlanders*, whereas the majority of Afrikaners in the two Boer republics, as well as in Natal and the Cape, supported Kruger. What started out as a political struggle over voting rights for the *Uitlanders* became a full blooded ideological conflict that consumed the whole of South Africa: the aim was to bring in the Transvaal republic into the British fold. South Africa was divided into two camps and on 11 October 1899 war broke out (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Giliomee, 2004). The British authorities wanted to establish a united South Africa under British sovereignty and rule. From the point of view of the Boer republics and Afrikaners it was a struggle for freedom ("Vryheidsoorlog" or war of freedom) from British domination and a non-offensive war. Van Jaarsveld (1976) explains that for the Boer republics the war can be depicted as a "total" war: there were no professional soldiers and the ordinary citizens themselves were the defensive force. Bloemfontein was invaded by the British forces on 13 March 1900, and on 5 June 1900 Pretoria fell to the British. The British military leaders misjudged the Boers and expected them to surrender after the fall of Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The Boers divided their commando forces into small units that attacked the British swiftly, using guerrilla-style tactics on different fronts, and then retreating quickly. Lord Kitchener reacted with the scorched-

earth tactic where farmsteads were burned to the ground, food supplies destroyed, and women and children moved to refugee or concentration camps where about 26000 Boer women and children under 16, died (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). The devastation of the land, the high mortality rates in the concentration camps, the thinning out of the Boer commandos and the massive numerical strength of the British army forced the Boers to surrender their independence with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging on 31 May 1902. The Boer people were devastated and impoverished after the war. Thousands left their destroyed farms and started a new 'trek' to the cities to seek employment and new lives. The struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism continued in new forms in the decades to come: this time it played itself out through political formations and manoeuvring.

3.2.6. Movement towards Anglo-Afrikaner reconciliation and the exclusion of Black South Africans: the Union of South Africa-1910

The pro-Boer Liberal Party under Campbell-Bannerman came into power in 1905 in Britain and the new imperial British government wanted to promote a policy of reconciliation towards the conquered Boer republics, and win over the trust of Afrikaners, as well as improving the relations between Afrikaners and English-speakers. In the period leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution for a unified South Africa the prominent 'white' leaders from the four colonies agreed to follow a strategy of reconciliation and unification in dealing with national questions. General Louis Botha and Jan Smuts played a major role in attempting to unify divided Afrikaners of the north and getting support for their ideal of Anglo-Afrikaner reconciliation and unification. A National Convention was held in Durban in 1908, and followed up in Cape Town and Bloemfontein in 1909, to work out a constitution for

a unified South Africa. On 4 and 19 August 1909 the *South Africa Bill* was accepted and passed by both houses respectively, and it was made a law of the British Parliament. The Union of South Africa was established.

A major question that had to be addressed by the National Convention was voting rights for black South Africans. The majority of South Africans (black) were excluded from the deliberations of the National Convention on racial grounds. Furthermore, there were sharp differences among the 'white' representatives from the different colonies on this issue. The sharp differences among delegates on this issue threatened to sink the entire process. Eventually, a compromise was reached to retain the status quo of the four colonies in relation to voting rights for black South Africans in the new dispensation.

The delegates from the northern colonies wanted South Africa to be a "witmansland" (literally 'white' men's country). They understood black people to be inferior to 'whites', that it is the divine duty of 'white' people to govern, and they refused to accept that the policy of voting rights for non-'white' citizens, practiced in the Cape, be extended to the northern provinces (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Davenport, 1987; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). The conclusion can be reached that these delegates, mainly Afrikaners from the north, constructed voting rights for citizens other than 'white' as a threat to their power, privilege and identity. This is an example of how nationalistically minded Afrikaners constructed the black Other as threatening to their version of Afrikaansness, wanting to keep the black Other separate or removed, and kept in a position of subjection. Many historians agree that voting rights for black South Africans were sacrificed in favour of Anglo-Boer reconciliation on the eve of the birth of the Union of South Africa (Davenport, 1987; Giliomee, 2004; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

3.2.7. The Union of South Africa (1910-1961): 'white' consolidation, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the growth of black consciousness

The euphoria that was experienced with the birth of the new dispensation in 1910, similar to the introduction of the democratic society in 1994, was soon tempered by the harsh social realities that confronted citizens of the new state. Class, race and cultural divisions and tensions were not significantly diminished over the next decades and it continued to exercise strong pressure on political formations, as well as on particular communities, groups and individual identities.

From the point of view of Afrikaners grappling to define themselves in the new political dispensation, I want to argue that two broad streams can be identified. The one group, under Prime Minister Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, defined Afrikaner identities in terms of being accommodating and seeking reconciliation with the British Other, whereas the second group was to a greater extent nationalistically minded and monological in terms of wanting to serve the interests of Afrikaners on all levels. Sharp differences of opinion erupted between Botha and J.B.M. Hertzog in 1912: the former placed strong emphasis on the policy of reconciliation, whereas the latter wanted to advance the interests of Afrikaners (for example, language rights) single-mindedly.

Spies (1986) explains that the 'white' regime of that period formulated policy ("*Naturellebeleid*") pertaining to black South Africans on the basis of the economic interests of 'whites', particularly employment and ownership of land, and not taking into account the needs of black people themselves. Furthermore, these policies were constructed based on senses of prejudice and threat prevailing in the 'white' and Afrikaner communities, including a widespread belief in the inferiority of black people. An example of such measures is

the introduction of the *Natives Land Act of 1913* which imposed a policy of territorial segregation (Davenport, 1987). This law restricted the occupation of land by black South Africans to only 8% of the total South African territory. The law elicited vehement reaction from the black community.

The rise of Afrikaner nationalism as a social and political force in South Africa was given further momentum with the election into power in 1924 of the *National Party* of Hertzog with the support of the Labour Party. A major drive of this new government was to use the state as a vehicle to improve the social, economical and cultural position of Afrikaners and to bring it on an equal footing with English-speakers (Murray, 1986). For example, the government wanted to promote and safeguard the position of the Afrikaans language. In 1925 Afrikaans was recognized as an official language alongside English.

A clear example of how nationalistically minded Afrikaners were constructing (and utilizing) black South Africans as a threat to their identities is evident in the election campaign which was waged in the run up to the 1929 election. The general election of June 1929 became known as the "*Swart Gevaar*" (Black Danger) election (Murray, 1986). The issue of race was made the dominating theme during the election campaign. Hertzog wanted to muster support from the 'white' electorate for draft laws pertaining to black South Africans that he wanted to push through parliament after the election. During the campaign Hertzog and the *National Party* were represented as the only trustworthy political custodian for protecting and advancing the rights and interests of 'white' people in South Africa. On the other hand, Smuts and the *South African Party* were portrayed as advocates of racial equality and integration, and their policies would lead to the selling out of 'white' South Africans' interests to the "*Swart Gevaar*" (Black Danger). It is clear that Hertzog and his

party were playing in on discourses of threat and insecurity which were pervasive within 'white' and Afrikaner communities in relation to black South Africans.

The international economic crisis, the Great Depression, which started with the Wall Street (New York) collapse of October 1929, resulted in economic hardships for South Africans as well, and these circumstances led to the formation of a coalition government between Hertzog's *National Party* and the *South African Party* (SAP) of Smuts. This political development was followed by the merging of these two parties into the formation of a new party, the *United Party*, which was established in December 1934. This merger was rejected by D.F. Malan and his followers among nationalistically minded Afrikaners who also established a new party which was named the "*Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party*" (Purified National Party). The merger enabled Hertzog to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in 1936 which was needed to put the notorious "native bills" through parliament (Davenport, 1987; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

Murray (1986) explains that the separation that had occurred between Hertzog and Malan was a significant development in the history of Afrikaner nationalism. Within 15 years after the founding of the *Purified National Party* it developed into the most powerful force in the political life of Afrikanerdom which became the governing party in South Africa in 1948. The *Purified Nationalist Party* represented a fundamental break with the Hertzog tradition of Afrikaner nationalism. As mentioned above the main concern for Hertzog was the legal status of Afrikaners: ensuring basic civil rights for Afrikaners. Murray (1986) writes that Hertzog's definition of *Afrikaner* wasn't as narrow and exclusivist, and not confined to Afrikaans-speakers only, but included English-speaking 'whites' who showed uncompromising loyalty to South Africa and accepted language equality. The *Purified*

Nationalists, on the contrary, developed a much more aggressive nationalist ideology. It revealed a clear ethnic exclusivity, as well as a commitment to republican independence. It placed emphasis on the uniqueness of the Afrikaner culture, and prioritised not only Afrikaners' fundamental equality before the law, but also taking concrete action to improve Afrikaners' dismal social and material conditions.

The policy of "apartheid" formed the basis for the election campaign of the *National Party* (NP) leading up to the watershed 1948 election. At this stage the policy was still broad and not yet clearly articulated, but in particular it appealed to 'white' farmers and semi-skilled 'white' workers who perceived their interests as being *threatened* by the more liberal government policies of the preceding war years (Stadler, 1986; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). From 1948 onwards the unwritten apartheid tradition was for the first time articulated in legal terms, and purposefully and forcefully implemented. Immediately after taking over power the NP government under Malan took steps to implement a variety of apartheid laws. As a first step the NP government wanted to address the interwoven-ness of the races in so-called 'white' areas. A host of apartheid laws were passed that became instruments for the purpose of geographically and physically separating South Africans from different racial backgrounds. It is not possible for the purpose of this narrative to discuss the individual apartheid laws (for example, The Population Registration Act, or The Group Areas Act) and its far-reaching implications in separating and alienating South Africans, in depth. The NP government was also committed to its republican ideals. The Republic of South Africa became a reality on 31 May 1961, and at the same time its membership of the British Commonwealth came to an end. From the point of view of Afrikaner nationalism an important goal was achieved

with the realization of the republican ideal in 1961: nationalist Afrikaners were in power and constitutional independence was at last attained from the British Other. The Afrikaner nationalist government was in a position of power and dominance: they enforced their apartheid policies removing the Black Other from centres of political and economic power, and keeping black South Africans in a position of subjection. Afrikaners were in a powerful position to express and realize their nationalist identities and manage their sense of threat by dominating, oppressing and removing the racial Other.

3.2.8. Concluding summary

The limited scope of this section of chapter 3 does not allow for discussing the rich and complex events, as well as the varied political and other developments that occurred in South Africa between 1961 and 1994, when the first democratic elections were held on 27 April 1994, and black South Africans celebrated their long awaited and hard fought political freedom for the first time. This narrative wanted to foreground the construction of Afrikaansness as a threatened identity from a historical perspective. I want to argue that the construction of Afrikaner identities as unique, separate, 'white', superior, threatened, ready to fight, as having a divine calling, can be traced back to the beginning years at the Cape. The discourses of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid have powerfully affected the identities of Afrikaner communities, families and individuals throughout the past decades until today. There is abundant evidence that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are struggling to define and re-define themselves as Afrikaners in the post-apartheid context. In the post-1994 era Afrikaners are for the first time in 360 years finding themselves in a situation of living under a black majority government. What has happened in 1994 is what generations of 'white' South Africans, including Afrikaners,

have feared and dreaded. For many their worst nightmare has become a reality. The present study is an attempt to investigate how Afrikaner families are constructing identities of Afrikaansness during family conversations in the new historical era of the post-apartheid South Africa where a black majority government is in power and the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid that many Afrikaners have believed in so fervently, has imploded.

3.3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON AFRIKANER IDENTITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: THREAT AND CRISIS

3.3.1. Introduction

From reviewing the literature it is evident that the number of scholars and researchers in the social sciences and other fields who have become interested and produced scholarly work on the question of Afrikaners' identity struggles in the post-apartheid society in South Africa is on the increase. These studies on Afrikaner identity (or issues inherently related to the question of Afrikaner identity) in post-apartheid social contexts have been conducted from a wide variety of perspectives: *philosophy* (for example, Engelbrecht, 2007; Wicomb, 2008), *history* (for example, Blaser, 2004; Du Bruyn & Wessels, 2009; Du Bruyn & Wessels, 2010; Hudson, 2011; Klopper, 2009; Pienaar, 2007), *anthropology* (for example, Van der Merwe, 2008, 2009; Barnard, 2010), *communication* (for example, Schönfeldt-Aultman, 2009), *theology* (for example, Aaboe, 2007; Cilliers, 2002) *politics* (for example, Southern, 2008), and *language, literature, music and the arts* (for example, Ballantine, 2004; Hauptfleisch, 2006; Klopper, 2009; Kriel, 2010; Strauss, 2006). As far as can be ascertained, a very limited number of empirical studies (for example, Korf & Malan, 2002; Moolman, 2010) on the question of Afrikaner threat experiences and identities in the post-apartheid

society, have been undertaken in recent years. A number of studies on Afrikaner identities in the post-apartheid context have indirectly dealt with the issue of Afrikaners' construction of threat in the new society and the main findings will be reviewed: Delpont & Olivier, 2003; Fourie, 2008; Senekal & Van den Berg, 2010; Steyn, 2004a, 2004b; Van der Waal & Robins, 2011; Verwey, 2009; and Visser, 2007.

In the next section (3.3.2.) a brief discussion will be presented on the view that traditional (nationalistic) Afrikaner identity has grown out of a sense of threat and deep uncertainty in particular historical circumstances. This will be followed by studies of forms of dis-identification and dissidence (from traditional Afrikaansness and threat) that emerged in the late 1980's, the years just before the apartheid era came to an end with the negotiated political settlement. A review of the study by Louw-Potgieter (1988) on Afrikaner dissidents will be offered. Thereafter, the attention turns to the Voëlvry Movement as an expression of criticism and protest against the militarised old South Africa led by musicians as part of an Afrikaner youth counter-culture movement (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011).

The focus in section 3.3.3. is a review of literature on Afrikaner identities and threat in contemporary post-apartheid South African society. The review of literature in the last section (3.3.4.) of Chapter 3 deals with 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' resolutions or strategies of managing threat and Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid society.

3.3.2. Traditional Afrikaner identity as an identity rooted in threat and uncertainty: dis-identification and protest during the late apartheid years

Many authors (for example, Degenaar, 1976; Degenaar, 1986; Van der Merwe, 1975) have written about the question of nationalist and traditional Afrikaner identities, from

different points of view, over the past decades. In recent years, a number of scholars (for example, Kinghorn, 1990; Du Bruyn & Wessels, 2009) have emphasized that traditional Afrikaner identity can be interpreted as a reaction to deep-seated experiences of threat, fear and uncertainty. Kinghorn (1990) argues that, from the point of view of the ideology of Christian nationalism and apartheid, a situation of mixed races or cultures would be experienced as threatening to nationalist Afrikaner identities who believe in the necessity (or possibility) of 'pure' ethnic or racial identities. Apartheid can be seen as a way of safeguarding and securing Afrikaner (nationalist) subjectivities. Kinghorn (1990) maintains that, from a democratic conceptualization of self and society, such an experience of fundamental insecurity and threat could be viewed as socially and psychologically pathological. He is of the opinion that apartheid, and by implication traditional Afrikaner identities, was an expression of a deep sense of insecurity, uncertainty and threat. This sense of insecurity found expression in an array of images of enemies: *Swart Gevaar* (Black Danger), *Roomse Gevaar* (Roman Catholic Danger) (Aaboe, 2007) and *Rooi gevaar* (Communist Danger). A particular organization or individual often became the fixation point of everything that was threatening to the Afrikaner.

Du Bruyn and Wessels (2009) maintain that the desire to safeguard themselves, and the aims of preserving and protecting an own identity, are central themes in the history of the Afrikaner. The authors argue that the fear of racial and political domination has had a powerful impact on the psyche of the Afrikaner, even before they had become aware of themselves as a separate nation. It was the threat of the numerically superior indigenous black population that became a dominant factor in Afrikaner ideological and political thinking and action. Du Bruyn and Wessels (2009) point out

that the sources of threat for Afrikaners changed over historical eras- from a fear of Anglicisation by the British to the fear of equality and mixing with black South Africans. The authors conclude that a 'fear factor', and associated with it a rightwing political attitude and way of thinking among Afrikaners, had their origins in social life in South Africa long before 1948.

Critical and protesting voices of Afrikaansness (for example, Bram Fischer, Beyers Naude, Breyten Breytenbach, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert) did emerge during the apartheid years with often dire consequences for the particular individuals, families and organizations. During the latter part of the apartheid era voices of dissent and dis-identification from traditional, hegemonic Afrikaansness, apartheid and threat became increasingly more pronounced.

In the 1980's Louw-Potgieter (1988) conducted an investigation into the question of social identity of a sample of dissident Afrikaners. The focus of the study was on the social identity processes of a sample of 'white', left wing Afrikaner dissidents (university educated, middle-class, and the majority males), who were advocating change to the status quo in South Africa at the time. The study was designed as a qualitative investigation making use of Social Identity Theory (SIT) as theoretical framework. In contrast to conventional approaches in social psychology that prioritise intra-or interpersonal (individualistic) explanations of political dissent, Louw-Potgieter (1988) became interested in the Afrikaner dissident as a *member* of the Afrikaner community who decided to disaffiliate from the ingroup. This approach focuses on the *group* from which the individual is dissenting as a starting point, and because identification with a group precedes disaffection from it, a study of this nature would take *group identity* (in other words, Afrikaner identity) into account. The study included questions like, "How, or by means

of which processes does a person, as a member of a specific group, start to question the political norms of the group?", and "What are the implications of such a critical stance for the group member's social identity?"

The parents of all the participants were from middle-class, nationalist, Protestant backgrounds, in other words, they shared a typical, traditional Afrikaner background. Louw-Potgieter (1988) reports that, in terms of intergroup relationships with perceived outgroups, most participants' parents could be regarded as conventional group members. Minimal contact with 'white' outgroups (for example, English-speakers) was reported. Parental relationships with black outgroups were mostly structured according to the norms prevailing in the rigidly segregated society that South Africa was years ago. The analysis of autobiographical data revealed that questioning of the status quo was regarded by the participants as a gradual process and not a dramatic or abrupt transformation. Louw-Potgieter (1988) writes that participants characterized this as a slow process that was not yet concluded, and can be understood as a new vision. Participants also emphasized the rationality and logical nature of this process. The process of change involves the construction of a new identity that is often associated with the experience of anxiety at the possibility that the new identity might be stifling and restrictive.

Louw-Potgieter (1988) describes that participants attributed their own process of social and psychological change to a complexity of factors. The three principal factors will be discussed briefly. Firstly, respondents attributed the process of becoming critical of the status quo in apartheid South Africa to experiencing *value conflicts*. These value conflicts that were experienced in relation to apartheid realities most often had roots in their own religious upbringing and in the values, norms and attitudes

emanating from this upbringing. Secondly, the participants attributed *exposure to alternative ideas* to the process of becoming increasingly aware of the unacceptability of the status quo in apartheid South Africa. Because most of the parents of the participants were typical Afrikaners who associated primarily with ingroup members, exposure to alternative ideas occurred mostly at school and/or at university. Louw-Potgieter (1988) reports that the liberalizing influences encountered at university settings were a recurring theme in the autobiographies. The general questioning ethos, specific enlightening areas of study, meeting new friends and lecturers, and novel ideas encountered in books, were frequently mentioned by participants. *Contact with outgroups* was a third factor that was mentioned by participants of why they became increasingly critical of the apartheid state and the role Afrikaners played in it. Louw-Potgieter (1988) writes that exposure to alternative ideas and awareness of cognitive alternatives to the existing social reality is closely related to contact with outgroups. Contact with outgroups often led to a better understanding of the differential value application in relation to "us" and "them" in the apartheid context. For a number of participants their outgroup contact started with missionary work or within a religious context and resulted in a questioning of church and government policy and practice. Because questioning of the status quo does not take place within a social vacuum, it is to be expected that social reaction towards such critical positioning will occur. Louw-Potgieter (1988) explains that in a high status group with a threatened or insecure social identity, one can anticipate that ingroup members will react strongly against fellow members who are critical of the group's privileged position and who want to disidentify with the group because of value conflict. It became evident from the empirical data that the reaction of ingroup members to the

participants' dissidence varied from total rejection and aggression to understanding and support.

Louw-Potgieter (1988) also reported on the social categorization by the sample of dissident Afrikaners in relation to, amongst others, the label "Afrikaner". The empirical data revealed that dissident Afrikaners did not perceive the category "Afrikaner" in the same manner as traditional Afrikaners. Dissident Afrikaners rejected particular normative attributes, for example, race (being a 'white' person), political affiliation (voting for the Nationalist Party) and religion (belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church or one of the three Afrikaner dominated so-called sister churches), which made the category exclusive. For the total sample, the use of the Afrikaans language emerged as the most common characteristic describing Afrikaners. It also became clear that most participants identified themselves as Afrikaners and wanted to be Afrikaners despite the fact that others perceived them as non-Afrikaners. The primary attribute of a dissident Afrikaner, according to participants in the study, was political dissidence, and holding left wing political views. The following publications can be consulted for an extensive discussion of the findings of this study: Louw-Potgieter (1986) and Louw-Potgieter (1988).

Another example of the expression of dis-identification and protest against traditional identities of Afrikaansness, apartheid, oppression and threat erupted in the late 1980's with the Voëlvry Movement. The *Voëlvry* (Free as a bird) *Movement* captured the attention of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, as well as other South Africans, and scholars have analysed and commented on it as an identity-defining event, particularly for Afrikaners (for example, Grundlingh, 2004; Laubscher, 2005; Bezuidenhout, 2007). The *Voëlvry Movement* is depicted as one of the most significant examples of protest

music in Afrikaans and it formed part of a wider cultural movement which increasingly became more vocal in its critique, opposition and protest against apartheid and dominant Afrikaner norms and values of that era. The three most prominent musicians of the *Voëlvry Movement* were Johannes Kerkorrel (Ralph Rabie), Koos Kombuis (André du Toit/André Letoit) and Bernoldus Niemand (James Phillips).

It was through the *Voëlvry* tour in 1989 that Afrikaans rock burst onto the scene with a clear and unambiguous political message. Nearly all the *Voëlvry* musicians came from middle class 'white' families and had undertaken tertiary education. They confronted traditional Afrikaner identities and the socio-political system within which it was embedded. Grundlingh (2004) concludes that *Voëlvry* rejected a certain image of Afrikaner identity and what they represented in their music and message was a broadening of Afrikaansness in line with the criticism of apartheid and traditional Afrikanerness (rooted in a social context that was perceived by many Afrikaners as threatening) of the time. The author argues that although *Voëlvry* made an appeal to new Afrikaner cultural and political sensibilities it failed to develop beyond protest music.

Bezuidenhout (2007), as well as Laubscher (2005), have voiced the limitations of the *Voëlvry Movement*. It never penetrated into the working class and it can be depicted as mainly a 'white' movement. It was a voicing by young Afrikaners of what apartheid (the problem) was doing to 'us' as alternative, middle class Afrikaners. Laubscher (2005) talks about a protest identity:

With no suggestion yet about what is to replace the foresworn identity, protest *is* the identity and the reaction to the past sufficient for the definition it gathers from what it opposes. It is a performance of freedom *from* the group in order to unshackle and shed a

burdened (and burdening) past" (p. 316) (italics in the original).

In other words it was a critique of what apartheid did to the 'self' and not so much to the 'other'. Reference to the 'other' and what apartheid was doing to 'them' was marginally present in the lyrics (Bezuidenhout, 2007).

3.3.3. Fall of apartheid: crisis and sense of threat among Afrikaners

With the introduction of the new political dispensation in 1994 the ideology of Christian nationalism imploded and left the majority of 'white', Afrikaans-speakers with a deep sense of uncertainty and threat in relation to their social world and future. With the dramatic transformation taking place Afrikaners have seen their status change from being the most powerful group in many spheres of society to a minority group and one that is relatively powerless and marginalized. Far-reaching changes have been taking place in the cultural life of WASSAs: for example, there has been an exodus of members of the traditional Afrikaans churches and many church leaders admit that the Dutch Reformed Church, for example, is facing a major crisis (Hendriks, 2000); many Afrikaner families have seen sons and daughters emigrating to different parts of the world and are keeping in contact through, among other means, the Internet and Skype (Visser, 2007); the powerful National Party, once the force behind the apartheid ideology and dictating to the entire country has disintegrated and the leader of the party, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, joined the ANC. It is evident that many Afrikaners are struggling to come to grips with realities in the new globalizing society.

A number of writers (for example, De Klerk, 2000; Hendriks, 2000; Slabbert, 1999; Steyn, 2004a; Vestergaard, 2001) have highlighted the extent of the identity crisis that

Afrikaners are facing in dealing with life in the democratic society. It is contended that Afrikaner identity, in the present historical juncture, is facing a crisis that is possibly similar to the period of dislocation that Afrikaners had to face after the Anglo-Boer war from 1899 to 1902, and from where nationalism grew as a powerful force (Kinghorn, 1994; Norval, 1996; Steyn, 2004a). Steyn (2004a), drawing from the work of Laclau (1994), has given the following explication of the term "dislocation":

Dislocation ... can be understood as occurring when social changes result in the previously unseen or denied being made forcibly visible, when the representations and constructions that shaped identities are recognized, and the boundaries of the approved have moved to such an extent that new horizons for the social imaginary have to be forged (p. 150).

Steyn (2004a), in discussing her findings of the discourse analysis of the 2001-letters of 'white', Afrikaans-speakers to the editor of *Rapport* Sunday newspaper, reports the deep-seated anxieties and threat to identity and loss of self that were evident in most of the letters. Unlike their 'white', English-speaking counterparts that are in a sense connected to the international ideological centre of Englishness and power from where they can draw confidence and continuity, the situation seems to be different for Afrikaners. Afrikaners appear to be grappling with a much more profound existential crisis (De Klerk, 2000; Slabbert, 1999; Alberts, 2008; Verwey, 2009). Steyn (2004a) writes that trying to answer this fundamental question was the dominant discursive pre-occupation of the letters and formed the subtext to almost all the topics that were addressed. The major concern was the question: will our language, our religion, our identity survive? Will we survive? It is

evident that the discourse of 'white', Afrikaans-speakers in these letters was not just about the issue of preserving privilege, but about survival and sustaining a sense of selfhood in radically changing circumstances.

Steyn (2004a) argues that a precipitating factor for this crisis among Afrikaners is the situation where they had been socialized into an ideological system under apartheid that inculcated beliefs of Afrikaner exceptionalism, a community with special needs and entitlements in South Africa. Therefore, it seems evident that many Afrikaners would experience the new society as a loss on numerous levels. Steyn (2004a) explains that there was wide consensus among the letter writers that Afrikaners were "grappling with a problem" (p. 154). The "problem" for Afrikaners can be summarized in the sense that they were displaced from the position in the centre, as the most important and powerful group in South Africa. The transition from the most powerful group to the status of a minority group is experienced by many Afrikaners as a feeling of 'being sidelined' or 'ousted'. Some sense of alienation from the transforming society was evident in many of the letters.

Steyn (2004a) writes that the threat of crime featured prominently in the letters to *Rapport*. While crime is a reality for South Africans, the representation by the letter writers that 'whites' and Afrikaners are primarily targeted and singled out by criminals is a deliberate rhetorical strategy. Steyn (2004a) reports a familiar historical strategy, that there was a pervasive tendency in the letters to (re)cast the Afrikaner as a victim: a victim of unfriendly historical processes, of political strategies gone wrong, of deliberate and vindictive actions by enemies, of unjust policies, and of treacherous behaviour from among their own ranks.

Steyn (2004a) continues that it became clear from the discourse of the letter writers that particular essences were emphasized as belonging to Afrikaners (the "volkseie"). What emerged was a sense of threat that these essential attributes would disappear, or be annihilated or eroded. In the process of rebuilding and consolidating as Afrikaners in the new South Africa the most important unifying and defining "essence" for the letter writers is their language, Afrikaans. Steyn (2004a) elaborates that many letters commented on the preservation, the 'marginalisation', the corruption, the development and the modernization of Afrikaans. Afrikaans is valued as a repository of the Afrikaner heritage, Afrikaner creativity, Afrikaner soul, and the fate of Afrikaans is experienced as symbolic of the position of the Afrikaner community.

Steyn (2004a) maintains that, given the pervasive sense of being a group under threat, it is not surprising that the signifier of *Afrikaner unity* is being reworked in the discourse of the letter writers. There is an expectation and anxiety that Afrikaners as a group should stick together. Impatience with the divisions and tensions within the Afrikaner community, the call for greater unity, as well as the desire to organize as a political group were major themes in the letters to the editor of *Rapport* for the year 2001.

Fourie (2008), in a study of Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid society, analysed letters (with a socio-political and identity-related content) to the editor published in *Beeld* newspaper for the period 1990 to 1992, as well as for 2004. The purpose of the analysis was to determine whether shifts in the identity constructions by the letter writers, in terms of the self (as Afrikaners) and the Other, were forthcoming for the year 2004 in comparison to the early period of the dawning of the democratic society (1990-1992). The study was conducted from the theoretical perspective of Schutz's social

phenomenology. Although the focus of the study was on typifications of Afrikaner identity, including characterizations of black South Africans in the letters to the editor, the analysis revealed the pervasiveness of senses of threat. Fourie (2008) concludes that some significant changes have occurred in the identity constructions of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers between the period 1990-1992 and 2004: for example, the new Afrikaners, as she calls them, are to a greater extent free from the burden of apartheid, accept that they are a minority group in a multicultural society, proud of their language and culture, aware of the injustices of the past, and prepared to work towards building the new South African society. Furthermore, Fourie (2008) concludes that the Afrikaner letter writers have been unable to produce a major revision of their typification of the racial Other. It is evident that a pervasive sense of threat, amongst other factors, accompanies constructions of black South Africans. The letter writers continue to construct the Other as a dangerous opponent and enemy that stands indifferent to, and wanting to hurt and harm the interests of Afrikaners.

Korf and Malan (2002) investigated urban 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' perceptions of threat to their ethnic identity, and used the Identity Process Theory of Breakwell (1986) as theoretical framework. The participants experienced threat on two levels. The first was distinctive continuity, the concern that their ethnic group would not continue as a distinctive group in the South African society. The second sense of threat relates to the evaluative dimension of ethnic identity: the concern that group membership of Afrikanerness would no longer contribute to positive self-esteem. The participants experienced greater threat on the second level, suggesting predominantly negative experiences as 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in post-apartheid society. The authors reported that a high threat perception on the second level was

associated with 1) a perception of negative evaluations by other groups of their own ethnic group, 2) negative attitudes towards political changes, and 3) perceptions of the illegitimacy and instability of the post-apartheid system. The participants who felt more strongly that Afrikaners would not continue as a distinctive group showed a more positive attitude toward the socio-political changes, did not show strong ethnic identification, and had a negative collective self-esteem. These participants tended to be politically more liberal.

Moolman (2010) conducted an investigation into the role of threat on Afrikaner attitudes towards affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies and programmes among a sample of male and female Afrikaners from different age groups in a Pretoria setting. The researcher used Integrated Threat Theory, as well as Social Identity Theory as theoretical frameworks for the study and a quantitative research design was utilized. The research findings indicate that the Afrikaner participants, both female and male, revealed high levels of realistic and symbolic threat, as well as negative stereotyping. Analysis of the results confirmed that Afrikaner men experienced significantly higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat in comparison to the female participants. Moolman (2010) reports the unexpected finding that the younger age group of Afrikaners (21 to 30 years of age) revealed higher levels of threat, as well as being significantly more negative than the older age groups in the sample. Although both male and female participants were negative towards policies of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of affirmative action, the analysis confirms that Afrikaner men in the sample were significantly more negative towards these policies than the women. The analysis also indicated that a significant positive correlation existed between Afrikaner attitudes towards affirmative action

policies and dimensions of threat (realistic and symbolic threat, negative stereotyping, inter-group anxiety) for the sample. In other words, higher levels of perceived threat coincided with more negative perceptions of affirmative action policies and the beneficiaries of affirmative action for the sample in the study.

Delpont and Olivier (2003) reported that female Afrikaner university students experienced their cultural identities as threatened in present day circumstances. The participants referred to ongoing political changes as a threat-inducing factor with regard to their cultural identities. The majority of participants seemed to be seriously discontented with the dominant role of English as medium of communication in all sectors of society.

A recent study on Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid society was conducted by Verwey (2009). Verwey (2009) performed a discourse analysis of the talk of a sample of middle-class Bloemfontein Afrikaners relating to the distinction "Afrikaner" and "African", and reported the findings in a thesis entitled: *'Jy weet, jy kan jouself vandag in kakstraat vind deur jouself 'n Afrikaner te noem ...'* ('You know, you can find yourself in shit street by calling yourself an Afrikaner today ...'): Afrikaner identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. The title in itself, taken from an utterance of one of the participants in the study, alludes to the issues of unsettledness, stigmatisation, and threat. Verwey (2009) reported that, although the participants condemn apartheid, they are in fact 'recycling' the discourses of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, for example, viewing the category "Africa" as decidedly negative, and black people as inferior to 'whites'. Participants are essentially arguing in favour of separation by saying "it is not because they're black; it's because of what they do" (p. 88). The central argument that emerged from the texts is one against acceptance of Africa and

does not indicate an adaptive re-negotiation of Afrikaner identity. Participants seem to claim their entitlement to the category 'African', but there are no indications that they are discursively redrawing the boundaries of their group so that 'Afrikaner' is part of a broader identity of 'African'. Verwey (2009) maintains that participants appear to be constructing a version of Afrikaner identity that is more acceptable in the new society by jettisoning certain public features of Afrikaner identity as liabilities. They appear to be actively distancing themselves from many stereotypical aspects of Afrikaner identity like conservative dress, particular episodes of Afrikaner history (e.g. the significance of the *Voortrekkers*), downplaying the importance of the Afrikaans language, overt racism and conventional Afrikaner culture.

Visser (2007) recently presented a paper entitled "*Post-hegemonic Afrikanerdom and diaspora: Redefining Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa*". The paper was developed from a historical perspective and the author attempted to address the following question: how is Afrikaner identity being negotiated in the spaces opening up in the post-apartheid society against the background of the discredited ideology of Christian nationalism and the apartheid past. The author concludes that Afrikaners are caught up in an ongoing and painful struggle to re-define identities of Afrikaansness in the new socio-political dispensation. Visser (2007) maintains that the present-day Afrikaner diaspora that emerged with the transition from apartheid to a post-apartheid, democratic society manifests in three forms. The first form is the 'migration' of a number of disillusioned Afrikaners to the all-'white' enclave of Orania in the Northern Cape. These Afrikaners want to isolate themselves from black dominated South Africa as far as possible within the constraints of the South African

constitution. Their primary goal is to work towards secession and the eventual formation of an Afrikaner state. A second form of 'migration' that the author describes can be depicted as a movement 'inwards'. According to Visser (2007) it is evident that a large number of Afrikaners have resorted to physical, psychological and emotional withdrawal from realities in the transforming society. It can be described as a vote of no confidence in a South Africa dominated by black South Africans.

The author discusses in some detail the third phenomenon of the contemporary diaspora, namely emigration by Afrikaners to other parts of the world. It is estimated that about 841000 'white' South Africans have emigrated between 1995 and 2005 alone, and that the emigration figures for Afrikaners have surpassed those of English-speaking 'whites'. Many of the Afrikaner émigrés construct a bleak picture of South Africa when asked to give reasons why they are emigrating. These include perceptions of the falling standards of education and health care, endemic corruption and mismanagement in the public sector, incompetence and the weakening of government structures, affirmative action, unemployment and limited job prospects, to mention a few. The most important reason that many Afrikaners construct for deciding to leave the country is a sense of threat relating to their personal safety and the future of their children. It is evident from the narratives of South Africans living abroad that a profound sense of loss is a recurrent theme and a large portion of emigrants continually express their desire to return to South Africa and make a contribution to its development. It often happens that Afrikaners who have emigrated socialize with fellow Afrikaners and other South Africans on a regular basis, and establish expatriate Afrikaner communities from where they can keep their sense of Afrikaansness alive. The question can be asked to what extent

it is possible for second or third generation Afrikaners living abroad to keep a sense of Afrikaansness alive.

Visser (2007) maintains that one of the most contentious issues regarding Afrikaner identity is the status and position of the Afrikaans language. In a survey that was conducted by Schlemmer (1999) it was found that the one area where 'white' Afrikaans-speakers felt most threatened and ethnically marginalized was in terms of language rights. Visser (2007) writes that the Afrikaans author and retired professor of Afrikaans literature at the University of the Western Cape, Ampie Coetzee, remarked that for Afrikaners their language, Afrikaans, is more than merely using a technical or objective language tool. It is a 'tonguing' of identity, or to put it in other words, it is about doing, expressing or the production of an Afrikaans identity. This means that the threat of not being able to speak your language is associated with the loss of identity. Visser (2007) concludes that many Afrikaners believe that the survival of their culture and ethnic identity ultimately depends on the survival of Afrikaans. It is for that reason why English poses such a major threat for many 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in a post-apartheid context.

The Afrikaner community was taken by storm in 2007 when singer Bok van Blerk (Louis Pepler) released the song and music video "De la Rey" that sold a record breaking 200 thousand copies of the album within a short period of time. The song is about the heroic struggle of the Boers against the powerful British forces during the Anglo-Boer war. In the context of the hopeless situation of the Boers during battle the song calls on General Koos De la Rey, a prominent military leader of that era and for whom the soldiers were prepared to die, to come and lead the Boers out of bondage to freedom. The song was an unprecedented success and Bok van Blerk drew large crowds of Afrikaners, young and old, all over South

Africa where he performed. The song and the wide interest that it elicited were hotly debated in the media and among intellectuals and it was labelled as the "De la Rey phenomenon". Visser (2007) reports that analysts who were more critical of the De la Rey phenomenon termed it as an example of Afrikaner 'nostalgia' and 'romanticism' and 'a longing for an innocent past'; a one-sided perspective focusing only on the cultural interests of the Afrikaner; and an expression of a sense of uncertainty and marginalisation. Bezuidenhout (2007) writes that veteran journalist Max du Preez has the following take on the De la Rey phenomenon: the popularity of the song among Afrikaner audiences can be partly explained by the current situation where the main enemy is a government that is perceived to be black and hostile towards Afrikaners, and not so much about referring to the Anglo-Boer war. Van der Waal and Robins (2011) examined the ways in which the song entered into the post-apartheid Afrikaans cultural world and public sphere, and investigated how the revival of the De la Rey image can be related to Afrikaners' experience of transformation. The authors contest that the 'De la Rey song' was created for a market that was ready for a nostalgic celebration of a revamped but less part-political Afrikaans ethnic identity. They continue that the song soon became a rallying point for Afrikaners who construct themselves to be under threat from the ANC government. The heroic figure of General De la Rey was invoked as a saviour figure who would be capable of leading the threatened Afrikaners symbolically to a place of safety. Van der Waal and Robins (2011) conclude that the song tapped into the profoundly unsettled identity politics of many Afrikaners whose continued adherence to a racially exclusivist identity of Afrikaansness was no longer politically acceptable in the new society. The song was 'a success' because it was a muted affirmation of (traditional) 'white' Afrikaner identity and

helped to reassert the imagined boundaries of 'white' Afrikanerdom while speaking the legitimate discourse of history and cultural heritage.

Senekal and Van den Berg (2010) have recently conducted a preliminary exploration of post-apartheid Afrikaans protest music. They argue that two decades after the *Voëlvry Movement* Afrikaans protest music is once again becoming a phenomenon attracting growing media attention. Across a wide range of music genres South African musicians and particularly Afrikaans artists are writing songs addressing issues relating to the post-apartheid South African society. In their article the authors provide a review based on the lyrics of what can be regarded as contemporary Afrikaans protest songs. They maintain that the emergence of present-day Afrikaans protest music is a reaction against socio-political circumstances with which many Afrikaans artists and a substantial number of members of the Afrikaner community are dissatisfied. The lyrics can be interpreted from a discursive point of view, and as the enactment of identities within a particular social, cultural and historical context. A brief summary of relevant findings is presented.

Senekal and Van den Berg (2010) report that the excessively high crime rate in South Africa, including the violent nature of a high proportion of criminal acts, is a dominant issue that musicians are protesting against in their protest songs. It is evident that not only is crime troubling ordinary citizens, but also the omnipresent *sense of threat and fear* that it induces. The issue of being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid society and the struggles relating to that, particularly for a new generation of Afrikaners, is a theme that emerges in contemporary Afrikaans protest music. The authors are referring to a duality in the struggle for (young) Afrikaners: there is a tension between adhering to traditional beliefs and values of Afrikanerness on the one hand, and the

necessity to formulate an identity of Afrikaansness that is congruent with the new socio-political dispensation. Where the protest with the *Voëlvry Movement* was in opposition to a particular stereotyping of (traditional) Afrikaner identity, the new protest music is claiming a place for Afrikaners in the new South Africa on the basis of an inclusive definition of Afrikaansness (Senekal & Van den Berg, 2010). Furthermore, according to the authors many of the songs convey a message of threat, uncertainty and alienation among Afrikaners in the post-apartheid society, but at the same time a deep affection and commitment to South Africa is revealed. South Africa is often presented as their only home. Although some musicians acknowledge that Afrikaners carry a moral responsibility for the apartheid past, many young Afrikaners are protesting against what they perceive as being held responsible for apartheid sins as the generation of Afrikaners born after apartheid had been dismantled. Afrikaner young people are represented as protesting against having to carry the burdens of the Afrikaner's discredited past. The authors write that a number of the songs that they have analysed also take issue with the self-restrictions ("self-inperkings": literally implying boundaries that entrap) that many Afrikaners impose on themselves: this seems to represent a call on Afrikaners to leave behind the ideologies of the past, discredited apartheid values, as well as guilt and stigma associated with the past. Senekal and Van den Berg (2010) maintain that a sense of protest was also evident in terms of social transformation issues that many Afrikaners are grappling with including affirmative action, Black Economic Advancement policies, as well as the changing of the names of towns, cities, airports, etc. that many Afrikaners experience as instances of marginalisation and disregarding the history, culture and symbols of Afrikanerdom in present-day South Africa.

It can be concluded, based on Senekal and Van den Berg's (2010) review, that the theme of Afrikaner identity struggles with socio-political realities in the post-apartheid society is clearly pervasive in many of the songs. It is also evident that the post-apartheid society is often constructed as a threatening, hostile and unfriendly place for 'white' Afrikaans-speakers despite being deeply rooted in the South African context. It is obvious that 'white' Afrikaans-speaking musicians are articulating the identity struggles that they are encountering in their own lives, as well as what they are observing in the lives of ordinary Afrikaners, young and old, in contemporary South African society.

3.3.4. Strategies or resolutions for dealing with threat and Afrikaansness in the new South Africa

Post-apartheid society is challenging traditional Afrikaner identity in a radical and inescapable manner on a daily basis, and 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, both young and old, are faced with the task of constructing new identities of being Afrikaans and 'white' in border situations of close contact with the racial Other whom they experienced previously mostly on their own terms. A variety of identity-related strategies or resolutions seem to be emerging as Afrikaners are negotiating this social crisis and sense of threat in the new South Africa.

3.3.4.1. Emigration

Stellenbosch philosopher Anton van Niekerk (2000) raises the issue of the survival and identity struggles in a post-Afrikaner-nationalist era and discusses strategies of dealing with Afrikaansness that seems to be practised by Afrikaners in contemporary society. The *first* strategy, that he terms *mobility*, refers to the option of emigration followed by many WASSAs. Although there may be many reasons why South African

'whites' might decide to leave the country, either temporarily or permanently, it is common knowledge that many feel that there is no place for them as 'whites' in the new South Africa. The decision to leave is often motivated by a racist prejudice towards the new society. It would seem that the everyday experience of threat and stigmatisation is just too much to deal with for these Afrikaners.

Steyn (2004b) conducted a discourse analysis of the 2001-letters to the editor of *Rapport* newspaper and found similar results. She identified six discursive strategies for re-securing Afrikaner whiteness, one of which she termed "repatriotise whiteness": not taking the option of self-inflicted exile within the borders of South Africa, but going into exile abroad. Steyn (2004b) concluded that these Afrikaners are prepared to give up in another country what they would not give up (their Afrikaans identity of superiority) in their own; the reason for this being that their whiteness is not threatened in England.

Ballard (2004) explored the topic of 'white' people's dealing with (physical) space and employing strategies towards finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa. He elaborates that our sense of space and sense of self are mutually constitutive. Although we try to shape our worlds to fit in with our identities, our environments also shape us, constrain us, and challenge us. We try to find comfort zones within which it is possible for us to 'be ourselves'. These are places that do not challenge our self-conceptions.

Ballard (2004) writes that, under apartheid, comfort zones were created through formal segregation. In order to create living environments which would facilitate their modern, European sense of themselves, the apartheid government removed those people, values, behaviours and languages that were seen to contradict this identity. Since the 1970's the policies of formal segregation increasingly came under pressure and with

the introduction of the new political dispensation in 1994 a radically different policy framework, which discarded the apartheid laws, were implemented. The implication for many 'white' South Africans was that the living environment no longer functioned to affirm a western, modern, sense of self and it was no longer perceived to be a source of safety and security. The extreme response to this dislocation is relocation to another country which matches better with the identity to which these deeply dissatisfied citizens aspire. However, some citizens have decided to embark on a form of emigration without leaving the country physically.

3.3.4.2. Semigration

Van Niekerk (2000) referred to a second strategy of dealing with Afrikaansness in the new South Africa as "*laer trek*" (retreating into a safe space): the choice of some Afrikaners to move to a separate homeland or "volkstaat". This is the option for 'white', Afrikaans-speakers that unashamedly cling to an identity of Afrikaansness that was founded on apartheid style nationalism, and within which the belief is embedded that this Afrikaansness can only be truly expressed, secured and held intact in a separate physical-geographical region or "volkstaat". This option is essentially also a form of emigration. This form of emigrating led, for example, to a number of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers settling in a relatively underdeveloped, semi-desert area in the Northern Cape, called "Orania", where they dream to consolidate and build it up into a separate state in the years to come.

In line with the above discussion on "*laer trek*" is a discursive strategy that Steyn (2004b) identified as "quarantine whiteness", and refers to the most reactionary of the positionalities being constructed in association with the self-definition of 'Boer'. This definition of being an

Afrikaner is, uncompromisingly, based upon the notion of the organic 'volk', a unity of language, race, culture, and nation. Steyn (2004b) elaborates as follows:

This position remains doggedly in denial of any intersectionality in Afrikaner blood, social heritage, or psyche. The dynamic is prototypically 'white' in that it attempts both to install the group as the centre of humanness, as well as to "master and overcome all difference within its boundaries" (Seshadri-Crooks 2000: 54, 55). It still strives, despite radically changed political and historical circumstances, to create a 'pure' subjectivity that is sanitised of all traces of 'others', social and ideological (p. 71).

The question can rightly be asked: how compatible is this construction of Afrikaansness with the realities of the new South Africa and where will these Afrikaners feel at home? It is not surprising that images of a 'white' Afrikaner homeland are actively and keenly considered and associated with this representation of Afrikaansness.

Ballard (2004) refers to a strategy termed "semigration" (or partial emigration). This notion encapsulates an alternative path to full emigration. If the system allows "undesirable" people to invade my space, then certain steps can be taken to avoid them. Semigration has been used to label the migration of many 'white' people to Cape Town, for example, because they believe this city to be a more congenial environment. However, the term can also be used to understand withdrawal from democratic South Africa. Through these actions some of the effects of emigration can be achieved without physically leaving the borders of South Africa. Spatial practices such as gated communities and enclosed neighbourhoods are examples of this strategy. Ballard (2004) maintains that there are 'white' South Africans who do not

depend on sanitised space, in other words the exclusion of 'others' from your living environment, for a secure sense of themselves. Integration is a spatial strategy that reflects an identity not based on the sharp othering that formed the basis of apartheid. They do not view the city or town as third world, but rather as a cosmopolitan space within which they feel comfortable and relatively secure to move around. These 'white' South Africans no longer depend on a heavily regulated and constrained living environment to express their identity. During the apartheid years the everyday performance of 'white' identity as modern, Western, first world, and civilised depended on the creation of segregated spaces by the state. Ballard (2004) concludes that, in a post-apartheid era, what is being performed is a different kind of identity: one that is based on the progressive acceptance of others and where others do not have to qualify to be acceptable, and where 'white' South Africans' aspirations are not overwhelmingly oriented towards the West, but which seeks to engage with the diversity of society without feeling threatened.

3.3.4.3. Surrendering Afrikaansness

A further strategy of dealing with Afrikaansness in a post-nationalist era, as elaborated by Van Niekerk (2000), is termed *surrendering*. Van Niekerk argues that some 'white' Afrikaans-speakers have found it necessary to discard the burden of being Afrikaans in the new society, because of the history of apartheid and oppression, and some have opted for a route of Anglicisation. These Afrikaners experience Afrikaansness as being in conflict with the values of the post-apartheid society, and believe that it is better for their children and themselves to be detached from the Afrikaans language and way of life. They prefer, for example, to send their children to English-speaking schools because,

they believe, this will give them a better chance in the new society. Van Niekerk (2000) refers to a lecture delivered at the 2000 Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK) by author Kirby van der Merwe where the latter emphasised the importance of acknowledging your childhood experience as identity defining and irreplaceable, even if these are rooted in non-perfect cultural and social contexts. The question is raised: how wise is it to discard something (your cultural and traditional roots) that is so much part of yourself and who you are? An alternative challenge for 'white' Afrikaans-speakers would be to engage critically with their traditions and socio-cultural world and to grow into identities that are to a greater extent morally responsive and meaningful in a post-apartheid society.

3.3.4.4. Strengthening whiteness

A discursive strategy that Steyn (2004b) identified in her study is termed "bolster whiteness". This construction refers to encouraging and strengthening an alliance at the level of 'white' racial identification. Steyn (2004b) describes that a noticeable proportion of Afrikaners accept that there should be a 'natural' organisational alliance between all 'white' South Africans: a move that will strengthen the opposition to 'black' political power, which is constructed as "inherently dangerous and corrupt, and needing to be stemmed" (p. 76). This option reveals a preference for an alliance with English-speaking 'whites' who are not carrying to the same degree the disgraced political baggage that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are carrying and, at the same time, it involves a bracketing of other axes of Afrikaner differentiation, like relating to so-called 'coloured', Afrikaans-speakers. However, there are Afrikaners who feel strongly about their connection with 'coloured' Afrikaans-speakers.

3.3.4.5. Embracing semi-whiteness

A next discursive option is described as "embracing semi-'whiteness'". Steyn (2004b) explains that:

An important strategy for 'white' Afrikaners, therefore, has been to cast off the 'racial' construction through which 'coloured' South Africans have been relegated to the status of 'other' and to embrace the interconnections of culture, most particularly of religion and language, that groups them with this population (p. 77).

This inclusive grouping of Afrikaans-speakers, distinct from Afrikaners, is presently referred to as 'Afrikaanses'. Many authors agree that it was a tremendous mistake during the apartheid era to define Afrikaansness that narrowly and to exclude so-called 'coloured' Afrikaans-speakers from the Afrikaans community and in the process causing unthinkable hurt and harm. The Afrikaans intellectual, Willem de Klerk (2000) is an example of an Afrikaner who advocated a broad based and inclusive "Afrikaans community" to replace the racially narrow 'Afrikaner'. De Klerk (2000) asserts that this Afrikaans community should consist of all mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans, irrespective of race, religion, history or social status, as well as second-language speakers who identify with the Afrikaans way of life. The hallmark of this community would be its inclusivity, diversity and variety.

3.3.4.6. "Launder whiteness"

Steyn (2004b) has identified a discursive strategy that is labelled "launder 'whiteness'". She explains that this strategy involves the bringing together of the 'volk' in a more tightly knit 'white' Afrikaner unit or front, and which can take its place as a coherent group within the community of South African groups. Steyn (2004b) elaborates as follows:

For this to happen the Afrikaners must stand together, and overcome the internal divisions 'caused' by those who dilute the efficacy of the Afrikaner by reaching out to 'other' identifications. The strategy is to consolidate a 'core' of those most closely identified as Afrikaners ...to act as the fulcrum from which to leverage various intersectionalities without allowing them to split the ethnic group (p. 78).

According to this strategy Afrikaners are in a unique position to be of 'service' to other South African groups. The important strategic element that is built into this option is that Afrikaners, by virtue of their rootedness in both Europe (their 'whiteness') and Africa, can become the champion for all the indigenous people's interests in South Africa. In order to achieve this goal, the construction of all indigenous groups as victims of imperialism is being cultivated. In this discursive strategy the discourse of Afrikaner resistance to British imperialism is a central component of this reassertion of Afrikaner value to the people of the country. Steyn maintains that this way of reasoning is to a large extent a laundered version of the apartheid ideology: a major difference in this resignification of Afrikaansness, however, is that it is rehabilitated into a means to deliver service to the indigenous African people. The discourses of the Apartheid history and past are recycled into "discourses of reconciliation" (Wicomb, 2001, p. 168). The intention of this strategy is to build alliances, coalitions, and co-operative agreements with other groups that are still held at a distance.

3.3.4.7. Activism

Van Niekerk (2000) describes the strategy of dealing with Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid society as trying to

maintain, at all costs, what is regarded as essential to the Afrikaans world, for example, the place of the Afrikaans language. Van Niekerk calls these Afrikaners the "maintainers" ('*handhawers*'). This group appears to be disillusioned in the new era once it starts to dawn on them what they have to sacrifice in terms of privilege and power in the transformation and building of a new society. Their style is often confrontational and challenging, sometimes resorting to forms of activism like legal action. Van Niekerk explains that this strategy has given rise to a number of serious concerns. It is difficult not to view this strategy as a search for the lost paradise of Afrikaner power and privilege. The moral dilemma facing 'white' Afrikaans-speakers who follow this style is that they have to convince fellow citizens of their seriousness in promoting the interests and quality of life of all South Africans and not just their own, sectional interests.

3.3.4.8. "Melanize whiteness"

The strategy, called "melanize whiteness" (Steyn, 2004b, p.80) ('Afrikaan'), is the least amenable to perpetuating 'white' privilege. The Afrikaans political analyst and writer Van Zyl Slabbert (1999), a few years ago, asked the question: "Can an Afrikaner be an African, or an African an Afrikaner?" (p. 81). The answer to this seeming contradiction- given the apartheid history of the Afrikaner- is the discursive strategy for rehabilitating an Afrikaansness that appeals most to progressive thinking 'white', Afrikaans-speakers. This option also operates on the intersectional axis of Europe-Africa, but the choice that is made is the opposite of emigrating to Europe or somewhere else. These Afrikaners, including the author of this thesis, choose to identify more closely with their 'Africanness': in other words the choice for non-Boer. This strategy reinterprets the meaning of Afrikaansness most

radically, rehabilitating it of a great deal of the negative baggage that it acquired through the apartheid history. Closely related to this positionality is what Van Niekerk (2000) termed "renewal".

3.3.4.9. Renewal

A final strategy that is formulated by Van Niekerk (2000) can be termed "renewal". This strategy refers to a fundamental redefinition of Afrikaansness in a post-apartheid, democratic era. It is my view that such a redefinition or renewal will have to entail a radical break with apartheid and Christian nationalist values. Du Toit (2000) recently commented that, viewed from a long-term historical perspective, the Afrikaner had always been a minority group. What many 'white', Afrikaans-speakers are currently experiencing is in a sense a restoration of the Afrikaner's "historical position" (p. 109). As a minority group Afrikaners have often been marginalized, vulnerable and without significant political and other forms of power. From this point of view, the powerful position of Afrikaners within the Verwoerdian era was an exception. In the new situation of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers negotiating identities in a post-apartheid era, many are engaged in a process of coming to terms with this drastic change of status. Many Afrikaners continue to perform their identities as rulers to which Other South Africans, especially people of colour, have to pay the necessary respect.

In the process of renewal and redefinition 'white' Afrikaans-speakers have to deal with the myth of purity. Breyten Breytenbach (1999) has been outspoken in relation to the history of Afrikaners' hybridisation. 'White' Afrikaans-speakers have to shed the myth of a pure 'white', superior, uniform and homogenous group wherein all members "look alike". What is evident is that this is a diverse group with many

different origins and roots and differences in class, culture and lifestyle. The process of hybridisation is a continuing process that is likely to gain momentum in the post-apartheid society with the opening up of the social situation. Related to this point is the unacceptability, in the post-apartheid era, of identifying Afrikaansness with the elitist ideals of having achieved a certain educational level, speaking a certain standard form of Afrikaans, and holding a particular 'white' view of the history of Afrikaansness.

What is crucial is that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers renew and re-create their Afrikaansness in such a way that it is perceived by non-Afrikaans-speakers as being compatible with the interests of the majority of South Africans. It is evident that Afrikaansness has to be democratised in the post-Afrikaner-nationalist era. Hendriks (2000) urged Afrikaners to move away from exclusivist and towards inclusive thinking. 'White' Afrikaans-speakers will only start earning respect in post-apartheid South Africa, and move towards transcending identities of threatened Afrikaansness, when they authentically express and realize moral (and selfless) subjectivities in their daily dealings with fellow South Africans in all spheres of life: politics, business, sport, church, to mention a few.

3.4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In Chapter 3 the focus of attention was on presenting a review of literature around the theme of Afrikaner identities as identities in crisis and under threat in the post-apartheid society in South Africa. In the first part of the chapter the review has a historical orientation. A historical narrative of the Afrikaner community as a threatened community (from the 17th century through to the contemporary post-apartheid society) in the South African context has been presented. The second part of Chapter 3 focused on a review of (mainly)

empirical literature on the theme of threat and Afrikaner identity struggles in the contemporary democratic society. What emerges from the literature is an image of struggle and the search for security, direction and new meaning among Afrikaners, young and old, within the transforming South African society. The conflicts, contradictions, tensions, and resolutions or strategies of managing threat and Afrikaansness that emerge from the literature provide an outline of what can be expected to characterize the identification discourse of the Afrikaner adolescents in the study. I want to argue that in trying to understand the complex identity struggles of Afrikaner adolescents (in conversation with their parents) in a tension-filled and rapidly changing society like South Africa, it is necessary to utilize theoretical and methodological tools that are appropriate in dealing with the complexity and multiplicity of (human) identity responses that emerge in these contexts. For this reason the dialogical self theory was found to be a useful theoretical perspective in making sense of the multiplicity of voices or identities (in dialogue) that emerge in a heterogeneous and globalizing society like South Africa, as well as the often contradictory nature of these voices (or identities) in the dialogue between people, but also within one and the same person. In contrast, the conceptualisation of the ego identity statuses, taken up as objective (static) structures of personality within the neo-Eriksonian identity status model of Marcia, was considered to be too limiting in understanding this multiplicity and complexity in a rapidly changing social context.

Hermans (2002) maintains that the multi-voiced and dialogical self, as a self that is entwined with other selves, can be understood as a *society of mind* with a multiplicity of I-positions or voices or identities in dialogue. Hermans (2002) explains that the dialogical self operates as a society with oppositions, conflicts, negotiations, and cooperation

between positions. As a society becomes more heterogeneous, more relatively autonomous spatial domains or I-positions, from where the person can talk, emerge. In other words, the 'society of the individual mind' resembles the social context or society with its hierarchies, tensions and contradictions. I want to argue that those voices or identities, as well as the tensions, contradictions and resolutions that dominate in the contemporary Afrikaner cultural context, will also emerge in the family conversations where Afrikaner adolescents and their parents talk about what it means to be Afrikaans in the post-apartheid historical context.

In the following chapter the methodological approach of the investigation will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. INTRODUCTION: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Silverman (2000) has suggested a more creative and free flowing way of presenting the methodology chapter for a doctoral thesis. Drawing on the work of Alasuutari (1995), Silverman (2000) continues that this style of writing the chapter can be depicted as a *history of research as a detective story*. The intention is not to write in a conventionally formal manner, but to basically tell the story of how the design and methodological approach of the study unfolded. Silverman (2000) concludes that the false leads and dead ends of the design of a study are just as worthy reporting on as the method eventually chosen. I want to use this style of writing, partly, in this chapter.

Initially, I was considering conducting a study on Afrikaner youth identity in a context of fundamental social change from a conventional psychological viewpoint, and using the Erikson-Marcia research paradigm as methodological approach. Years ago I used this methodology for conducting a research project on identity formation among African adolescents towards a master's degree and I increasingly became critical of the application of this research paradigm in an African and South African context. I realized that a qualitative methodology might be more appropriate in studying processes of identity formation among Afrikaner adolescents in a changing society and made contact with my supervisor, Prof Kevin Durrheim. What I learned in the process of doing the PhD was much more than learning a new methodology. It became a new way of understanding psychology as a discipline and science, as well as a new way of thinking and working within the social sciences. However, it was not always an easy journey.

I can characterize the process as one of steady growth and a deepening of insights into new ways of scientific thinking, but with lapses of falling back into traditional and positivistic ways of understanding. I became deeply engrossed in the innovative and post-modern ways of understanding the individual person, not as a unified and centered 'universe' (or entity/organism) removed from the group, but as embedded in the group and social, cultural and historical contexts. My supervisor helped me to see the value of studying Afrikaner adolescents (in terms of their identity formation) in conversation with their parents, as discursively enacted and produced in community with their parents, and as taking place in a particular historical context. A whole new scientific world unfolded for me through the journey of conducting an investigation into how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents collectively construct identities of Afrikaansness in a context of fundamental social transformation which many are experiencing as threatening and unfriendly.

I was introduced to innovative new ways of conceptualizing identities as produced in discourse between speakers (in other words, dialogical and in context), as changeable and multiple, and not as intra-psychic structures of personality that are static, universal (de-contextual) and timeless. I was also drawn to the understanding of identities or subjectivities as rooted in social, cultural and historical contexts, which therefore need to be conceptualized as multiple and complex. Human subjectivity is taken up as distributed and not in a de-contextualized and centered manner. What follows in the rest of this chapter is the methodological approach that was developed to investigate the negotiation of identities of being Afrikaans between adolescents and their parents during family conversations in rural, Eastern Cape settings.

The nature of a qualitative design is discussed briefly. This is followed by the meta-theoretical foundations that underpin the research paradigm, namely, the post-structuralist and social constructionist frameworks. The following research design decisions are presented: the sampling strategy as well as the procedure that gives effect to the sampling requirements; the method of data collection; and the discourse analysis. The ethical considerations that were taken into account in the designing of the study are discussed, as well as a note on reflexivity.

4.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative design was deemed to be most appropriate to investigate how young Afrikaners and their parents are negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue with each other during family conversations in rural Eastern Cape settings in contemporary South African circumstances. A qualitative method of study allows the researcher to investigate a phenomenon like the construction of identities of Afrikaansness during a family conversation in depth, with openness, and in rich detail as he/she attempts to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data. The question of Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid society is a relatively unexplored area of study at the present point in time and it was decided that an innovative approach would be to study how Afrikaner families, young and old, construct identities of being Afrikaans qualitatively and in a particular social practice of a family conversation in the new historical era. This approach is in contrast to a conventional quantitative approach that begins with a series of predetermined categories, usually embodied in standardized quantitative measures, and using the data to make broad and generalisable comparisons (Durrheim, 2006). The researcher became interested in finding out first hand how Afrikaner

families, both school-going young people and their parents, experience their being Afrikaans in the new transforming South African society. Furthermore, the focus of the study is to investigate how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents make sense together (in other words collectively and not as separate individuals), in conversation, about their identities of being Afrikaans in post-apartheid social conditions. How do the two generations of Afrikaners negotiate identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue with each other? The purpose of the study is to build up a detailed picture of how rural Eastern Cape Afrikaner families construct identities of Afrikaansness based on qualitative data.

The research design decision was taken to study the construction of identities of Afrikaansness naturalistically, in other words, in a real world situation of a family conversation. Furthermore, the construction of identities of Afrikaansness was studied holistically, in other words, as complex interrelated systems or wholes that are more than the sum of its parts (Durrheim, 2006). A holistic approach focuses on the complex interdependencies of phenomena and not reducing the phenomena to discreet variables that are isolated and studied independently. Choosing a qualitative approach enabled the researcher to inductively explore the ethnic identity formation processes of both Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in conversation, providing a 'thick' or detailed description of how Afrikaansness is experienced, enacted and negotiated. For the present study it was decided to utilize a discursive analytic approach that is rooted in post-structuralist and social constructionist meta-theoretical perspectives.

4.3. META-THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

4.3.1. Post-structuralist meta-theoretical approach

Post-structuralist thinking is rooted in the structuralism of Saussure who theorized that language does not reflect a pre-existing social reality, but brings a framework to bear and constitutes social reality for communities and individuals. It is the structure of language, consisting of the system of signifiers (written and spoken words) and signifieds (concepts) and their meanings as constituted in the differences between concepts (and signifieds) which carves up our conceptual and discursive space (Burr, 1995; Culler, 1976; Ward, 1997). Saussure maintained that once a signifier became attached to a particular signified this relationship, though arbitrary, becomes fixed. This implies that the words that people use may have arbitrary origins, but once words become attached to particular meanings they are fixed in that relationship and the same word always has the same meaning. This explains, according to Saussure, how the users of a particular language are able to talk to each other by using the same words (signifiers) and in the process they are drawing on the same collection of concepts (signifieds). Burr (1995) and Culler (1976) point out that this Saussurian position does not clarify how the meaning of words can change over time, and that words can carry numerous meanings, depending upon who is speaking, to whom and for what purpose. In contrast, the post-structuralists assert that the meanings carried by language are never fixed, always contestable, always open to question, and always temporary. This viewpoint has far-reaching implications for our understanding of the human person, his/her identity and the possibilities for social and personal change.

Both structuralism and post-structuralism understand language as the prime site of the construction of the person. Burr (1995) explains that the person that you are, your experience and your identity (for example, your identity of being Afrikaans as a young Afrikaner in the new South Africa) are all the effects of language. This means that people can only represent their experiences to themselves and others by using the concepts embedded in their language. Their thoughts, feelings and how they represent themselves and their behaviour are all pre-packaged by the language they use. This process of construction in and through language happens fundamentally as a social process: it cannot be accomplished by the individual detached from this social process. Post-structuralists agree that language is fundamentally a social phenomenon; it is something that happens between people, for example, when a family conversation occurs around the question of being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid society. It is in the exchanges that occur between people that the discursive construction of the person can take place (Burr, 1995; Ward, 1997). For example, during the family conversations on Afrikaansness the participants that are actively involved in the exchanges, as well as other people implicitly involved, are in the process of constructing and reconstructing themselves. In other words, different selves or identities are produced through linguistic or discursive exchanges with other people and in different contexts.

Through their insistence that language is the cornerstone of understanding the meaning of experience, structuralists and post-structuralists have moved the psychological centre of gravity away from the individual person into the social domain (Burr, 1995; Ward, 1997). This means that if we want to understand and explain the social world we should not look inside individuals, but into the linguistic or discursive space in which they move together with other people. The

post-structuralist view is in opposition to the idea of a coherent and unified self found in conventional ways of thinking in the social sciences and psychology (Ward, 1997). If the self is taken up as a product of language and social interaction, then the self will be constantly in flux, constantly changing depending on who the person is with, and in what kind of context the person finds him or herself in. The constructive force of language in social contexts has the effect of producing fragmented, shifting and temporary identities. The post-structuralist view of language is significant in this respect. According to this view meaning is never fixed. Words, sentences, narratives, and books, for example, change their meaning over time, from context to context and from individual to individual (Ward, 1997). This implies that meaning is always contestible. It means that rather than language being understood as a system of signs with fixed meanings on which everyone agrees (as in the Saussurian view), it is a site of variability and disagreement where conflict can occur (Burr, 1995; Ward, 1997). The post-structuralist view of language opens a view of talk, writing and other forms of social encounters as sites of struggle and conflict, and where power relations are enacted and contested. Burr (1995) writes that if language is indeed the site where identities are constructed, maintained, and challenged, then this implies that language is the place where social and personal transformation can occur. Post-structuralist theory maintains that language is a major site where particular identities, for example, identities of Afrikaansness in a post-apartheid context, could be challenged and changed. If people's experience of themselves is given structure and meaning through language, and if these meanings are not fixed but constantly changing and struggled for, then their experience is potentially open to a large variety of possible meanings and constructions (Burr, 1995; Ward, 1997). This

implies that what it means to be 'Afrikaans', for example, could be transformed or reconstructed and for post-structuralist theorists language is the key to such transformations. Post-structuralist thinking is closely related to the theoretical orientation termed 'social constructionism' that emerged in recent years in the social sciences and social psychology and which also underpins the present study.

4.3.2. Social constructionism

A social constructionist meta-theoretical approach was utilized in designing the study and informing the choice of research strategies to address the research question. Social constructionism refers to the epistemological assumption that our ways of talking about the world do not reflect what is "out there" (in an objective world separate from the knower) in a neutral way, but actually create, construct or constitute the reality in which we live (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985, 1992, 2001; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The philosophical point of departure of constructionism is therefore anti-foundational, in that social constructions are regarded as historically and culturally relative, contingent, and unfinished. Our identities, knowledge and social relations are all constructed in and through discourse and, therefore, are not fixed. This study intended to investigate the construction of ethnic identities in local contexts of joint action, where young Afrikaners and their parents were 'talking' about Afrikaansness in settings of family conversations.

Social constructionism, as it has been taken up by theorists working within the field of psychology, is strongly opposed to the philosophical positions of *positivism* and *empiricism* that have dominated the science of psychology for most of the twentieth century (Gergen, 1985). According to these perspectives the nature of the world can be revealed by

human observation, and it is assumed that what exists is what we perceive to exist. Social constructionists reject the assumption that our knowledge is a result of direct perception of reality and hold an anti-realist position. These theorists maintain that we construct versions of reality in and through discourse between ourselves and these forms of knowledge are socially, culturally and historically relative. There is no such thing as an objective fact and all knowledge is the result of looking at the world from a particular perspective and in the service of some interests rather than others (Gergen, 1992). Furthermore, social constructionists take up an anti-essentialist position. According to this viewpoint there cannot be any given or essential nature to the world or human beings that is waiting to be discovered. In other words, there are no 'essences' inside objects or persons that make them what they are. Our understanding of the world including people is the product of social constructions in and through discourse (in other words, social processes) in particular social, cultural and historical contexts (Gergen, 1985). Burr (1995) explains that the issue of the cultural and historical relativity of knowledge is also applicable to the social sciences. The theories and explanations of psychology, for example, are time and culture bound and cannot be understood as once-and-for-all descriptions of human nature. According to Burr (1995), an alternative conceptualization of the discipline would be to turn your attention "to a historical study of the emergence of current forms of psychological and social life and to the social practices by which they are created" (p. 6). In relation to the present investigation the aim is to conduct a historical study into the discursive construction of identities of Afrikaansness (forms of psychological and social life) during family conversations between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in particular post-apartheid historical circumstances.

As was argued above, it is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that versions of the world get constructed. What is happening between people (discursively) in the course of their everyday lives is understood as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed (Burr, 1995). These practices are significant for social constructionists. In terms of the present study the family conversation can be viewed as a particular practice during which particular identities of Afrikaansness are enacted in the dialogue between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in contemporary society. Furthermore, by making the everyday interactions between people a central focus, and viewing these as the sites where forms of knowledge are actively produced, social constructionists view our use of language as a form of social action. A number of social constructionists as well as discursive psychologists take the 'performative' role of language as their primary interest (for example, Billig, 1996, 2001).

Social constructionists assert that knowledge and social action go together (Burr, 1995; Nightingale & Cromby, 1999; Gergen, 1985). There is an unmistakable link between a particular social construction of the world and the kinds of social action that the construction invites among citizens. In terms of the present study it can be argued that a particular construction of Afrikaansness, for example, traditional or hegemonic identities of Afrikaansness may invite particular forms of social action in the South African context, thereby, adopting a controlling identity in a situation of inter-racial contact. On the other hand, constructing non-threatening and progressive identities of Afrikaansness may lead to, for example, younger Afrikaners embracing inter-racial contact and projects with the Other in

fuller, more enthusiastic and constructive ways in comparison to the older generation of Afrikaners.

Burr (1995) writes that while conventional psychology and sociology has developed explanations in terms of static entities like personality traits, ego identity statuses or structures of society, the explanations presented by social constructionists are more often in terms of the dynamics of social interaction. The emphasis is more on processes than static structures. Burr (1995) explains that the purpose of social and psychological investigation has shifted from questions about the nature of people or society towards "a consideration of how certain phenomena or forms of knowledge are achieved by people in interaction" (p. 8). According to the constructionist viewpoint, knowledge is understood not as something that a person has, but as something that people in dialogue do together. This perspective can be made applicable to the present study: the aim was to investigate how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are collectively negotiating (doing) identities of Afrikaansness in the context (practice) of family conversations in what is often experienced as challenging and threatening social conditions in the post-apartheid society.

4.4. RESEARCH DESIGN DECISIONS

The qualitative design and meta-theoretical foundations of the study informed the choosing of the sampling strategy as well as the other design decisions.

4.4.1. Sampling

A purposeful sampling strategy was employed for the study. Patton (1990) asserts that the logic and strength of the purposeful sample lies in purposefully selecting information-rich cases that allows for an in-depth study of the research question. The intention was to make contact with

participants that would be able to talk openly and freely about themselves as 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary South African circumstances. It would not have been meaningful and appropriate, for the purpose of the present study, to draw a representative sample with the goal of generalizing to a broader population. The purpose was to conduct an in-depth investigation of a relatively small sample of Afrikaner families in conversation and investigate how they construct identities of Afrikaansness in a situation of fundamental social change.

A total of nine 'white', Afrikaans-speaking families were interviewed for the study. In all cases the families consisted of both parents as well as at least one adolescent youth 17 years of age or older attending secondary school in one of the rural Eastern Cape towns where the data collection was conducted. The families were interviewed as a group in order to investigate how the family members, young and old, constructed identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue with each other. An attempt was made to balance the gender composition (in relation to the adolescents) of the sample by selecting a similar number of male (n=4) and female (n=5) adolescents as participants. The families were all from middle-class socio-economic backgrounds and relatively traditional in their outlook on life. A listing of the participants of the study is presented in Table 1.

Table 1**Description of Participating Families in the Study (N=9)**

<u>Family no</u>	<u>Pseudonyms</u>	<u>Positions</u>
1	Eloize	- mother (primary school teacher)
	Alan	- father (secondary school teacher)
	Frikkie	- son (18 years, grade 12)
2	Erika	- mother (secondary school teacher)
	Jakkie	- father (dentist)
	Zanette	- daughter (18 years, grade 12)
3	Annette	- mother (secretary)
	Johan	- father (butchery owner)
	Noel	- son (18 years, grade 12)
4	Anneke	- mother (administrator at school)
	Pieter	- father (chartered accountant)
	Johanna	- daughter (17 years, grade 11)
5	Joyce	- mother (matron at school hostel)
	Johan sr-	father (storeroom manager)
	Johan jr-	son (18 years, grade 12)
6	Dina	- mother (municipal official)
	Basie	- father (detective)
	Carl	- son (17 years, grade 12)
7	Bianca	- mother (secondary school teacher)
	Ton	- father (secondary school teacher)
	Anle	- daughter (17 years, grade 11)
8	Rhoda	- mother (primary school teacher)
	Simon	- father (municipal official)
	Bernice	- daughter (17 years, grade 11)
9	Liezl	- mother (housewife)
	Dirk	- father (minister of religion)
	Aneen	- daughter (17 years, grade 11)

In rural settings one could argue that social life often tends to be more traditional and slower paced, and people have

reputations of being more conservative in comparison to the more consumer-oriented and faster pace of city life. The purpose of the study was to investigate how rural Afrikaner families dealt with fundamental socio-political transformation in contemporary South African circumstances.

Once the first family had been recruited to participate in the study the strategy of snowball sampling was used to purposefully select other families for inclusion in the sample. A teacher at one of the secondary schools (ex-model C school) in a rural Eastern Cape town was approached with the intention of identifying the first family for inclusion in the sample.

Patton (1990) writes that, strictly speaking, there are no rules for sample size in qualitative research. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with the available time and resources. This issue has to be assessed in the context of the qualitative study as a whole. Lincoln and Guba (quoted in Patton, 1990) recommended that sample selection be conducted to the point of redundancy. The authors write as follows:

In purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations. If the purpose is to maximize information, the sample is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units; thus redundancy is the primary criterion (p. 186).

As was mentioned above nine Afrikaner families participated in the data collection process and were interviewed by the researcher.

4.4.2. Procedure

One of the teachers of the local secondary school in a rural Eastern Cape town who knew the grade 11 and 12 learners

was instrumental in making it possible to establish contact with the first family. After completing the first interview this family was requested to provide the names and telephone numbers of familiar families that were similar or different to themselves and that could be contacted for possible inclusion in the study. In the process of phoning the parents the purpose of the study was explained. The parent was requested to talk to the other family members in their own time, to tell them what the study was about and to ask them individually for their voluntary participation in the interview or family conversation. The researcher told the parent that he would phone back three days later to find out what the family had decided. If the family decided to participate a date and time was arranged for the family conversation to take place at the home of the family. The families were presented with a cake to thank them for their willingness to sacrifice their time and participate in the study. The family conversations commenced in July 2007 and were conducted over the following months into 2008. The family conversations were usually arranged for late afternoon or early evening to minimize the possibilities of disorganizing the routines of the families.

Informed consent was obtained by way of signing a consent form individually (see Appendix 1) by all the members of the family that participated in the family conversation (see section 4.5. for ethical considerations). Informed consent was obtained for participation in the family conversation as well as for making the audio recording of the conversation. The consent forms were completed at the start of the sessions after the researcher had explained the purpose of the family conversation and the importance of sound ethical research practice required by his supervisor and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. While the family members were completing the consent forms the researcher was placing in the venue (usually a family room) photographs and magazine clippings of prominent

Afrikaner figures (for example, FW de Klerk, Eugene Terre Blanche, Beyers Naude, Max du Preez, Koos Kombuis and others) with which many ordinary Afrikaners identify or dis-identify. The purpose was that it would form a stimulating background to the family conversations and often family members would comment on a particular figure stimulating interest, anticipation and discussion.

The focus group interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher and the transcribed texts constituted the empirical materials.

4.4.3. Transcription and translation

I decided for a number of reasons to take on the task of transcribing the tape recorded interviews myself. Firstly, the rural setting where I am based made it reasonably difficult to get hold of experienced people that are competent at the task of transcribing interviews. The quality of the transcriptions was considered non-negotiable in terms of doing good work with the analysis of the data. Secondly, conducting the transcriptions myself meant that I would gain first hand experience at transcribing interviews, as well as working closely with the texts. A generous grant from the Govan Mbeki Research and Development Centre (GMRDC) at the University of Fort Hare enabled me to purchase the equipment for audio recording and transcribing the interviews. The transcriptions were produced in Afrikaans since all the interviews were conducted in the home language of the participants. The transcription conventions promoted by Silverman (2000) were adapted and used for the study (see Appendix 3). A total of 256 pages of transcribed material were produced.

I started working with the transcribed texts in Afrikaans, but when I moved towards the analysis of extracts I had to translate the passages of text. The translation of text from Afrikaans into English was done by me, and for the

most part the translation was relatively straight forward. Where the translation became more difficult I consulted the English teacher from the local secondary school that rendered valuable assistance. In some instances, for example, where Afrikaans idioms and traditional and original ways of talking were used by the participants, the original Afrikaans was placed in brackets. The intention was to try not to lose the nuances of meaning of the communication, and to remain as faithful as possible to the original meaning of the text with the translation.

4.4.4. Method of data collection

For the purpose of the study data collection was conducted through family interviews, understood as a form of focus group (Wilkinson, 2004). Focus groups allow for the interaction of participants to be brought into play (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990; Wilkinson, 2004) and provide a discursive forum from where Afrikaner young people and their parents can 'debate' their constructions of being Afrikaans and 'white' in contemporary South Africa. The investigation of Afrikaner youth identities in the family setting seems significant because it brings to the fore both the context of (family) power relations (developmental context), as well as the context of transformation and fundamental social change (social context) in contemporary South Africa. Kelly (2006) points out that group interviewing is a means of accessing intersubjective experience and is a way of understanding similarities and differences between people. This is an important aim of the proposed study: creating a social space where different (and similar) ways of constructing Afrikaansness during conversations between young Afrikaners and their parents can be investigated.

Wilkinson (2004) describes focus group methodology as a way of collecting qualitative data. It involves engaging a

relatively small group of people, such as a family, in an informal group discussion 'focused' around a particular topic or set of issues. The informal group discussion is usually facilitated by a series of questions (the focus group 'schedule') and the researcher acts as a 'moderator' for the group. The moderator's task is to keep the discussion flowing and enabling the group members to participate fully. Wilkinson (2004) explains that the term 'group interviews' can be misleading, because the moderator does not ask questions of each group member in turn, but, rather, facilitates group discussion, actively encouraging group members to interact with each other. Wilkinson (2004) writes:

This interaction between research participants- and the potential analytic use of such interaction - has been described as the 'hallmark' of focus group research (Morgan, 1988:12 quoted in Wilkinson, 2004).

The focus on interaction among research participants, in this case Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in dialogue about being Afrikaans and 'white' in the new South Africa, is an important reason why the focus group method of data collection has been selected.

The questions and probes of the family interview schedule (see Appendix 2) revolve around two main themes: firstly, who and what is an Afrikaner, and secondly, what is it like (what is your experience like? what does it mean?) being Afrikaans and 'white' in the post-apartheid South Africa? The focus group schedule was utilized informally with a number of young and older people and then refined for use in the data collection process. As was mentioned above, a collection of photos of prominent Afrikaners (from politics, sport, entertainment, artists, etc. taken from magazines and newspapers) was laid out in the venue where the family

conversation was held to create a positive and stimulating atmosphere for the focus group sessions.

4.4.5. Data analysis

The purpose of the study was to investigate the construction of Afrikaansness among 'white', Afrikaans-speaking young people in conversation with their parents in post-Afrikaner-nationalist historical circumstances in South Africa. The focus of the analysis was on the social constructions or discourses emerging between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in terms of their identities of being Afrikaans in present-day South Africa circumstances. In other words, a discourse analysis of the collected materials was conducted. The analysis revolved around revealing how Afrikaner young people and their parents practised and performed Afrikaansness discursively through dialogue in particular family settings (social practices). This way of investigating identities is in contrast to conventional (positivistic) ways of studying ethnic identity formation.

The discourse analysis of the talk of 'white' Afrikaans-speaking families in dialogue was conducted from the point of view of critical discursive psychology (Edley, 2001; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998) as well as from a rhetorical approach (Billig, 1996, 2001). Firstly, from a critical discursive psychology perspective there is a concern with the action orientation of people's discourse. The analyst is not only interested in the production of descriptions and accounts of Afrikaansness, but also in the "interactional business" (Edley, 2001, p. 190) that is performed (what do people do with their talk?) in and through these constructions. How do Afrikaner adolescents and their parents negotiate Afrikaansness in dialogue in particular family conversations?

The critical discursive psychology approach has a broader scope in comparison to the more conventional conversation

analytic emphasis (for example, Edwards & Potter, 1992; Widdicombe & Wooffitt, 1995) of restricting your analytic attention to what takes place discursively between participants within a given interactional sequence (Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). The critical discursive psychology perspective views all interactional sequences as taking place within a particular historical context. When people talk, they do so using a lexicon or repertoire of terms that has been provided by a particular historical era. Edley (2001) writes that a language culture usually supplies a whole range of ways of talking about or constructing persons, objects and events. Yet, some formulations and ways of talking are more 'available' than others, because some ways of understanding the world have become culturally dominant or hegemonic. It seemed quite meaningful to approach the analysis of the discourse emerging between Afrikaner young people and their parents about being Afrikaans in rapidly changing social, cultural and historical circumstances in contemporary South Africa from this perspective. This critical discursive psychological approach that was used in the analysis is, in other words, sensitive to the cultural history of Afrikaansness, and particularly the historical roots of Afrikaner identities within the apartheid era and beyond. The aim of the study was, amongst other things, to establish whether novel or innovative identities were emerging in the negotiation of Afrikaansness between the younger and older generations. Or are Afrikaners, both young and old, trapped in the identities of Afrikaansness of the past. How are the Afrikaner families collectively dealing with the question of being Afrikaans in a transforming society that many are experiencing as a threatening place? And what are the consequences for self and 'other' of these identities? A further feature of this analytic approach is that it is sensitive to the operation of power. It is possible to reveal

whose best interests are served by the prevailing constructions of Afrikaansness, for example, and to examine how these identities are maintained, resisted and transformed.

Three analytic concepts that give expression to the fundamentals of critical discursive psychology were utilized in the analysis of the collected materials: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. Edley (2001) explains that interpretative repertoires are relatively coherent ways of talking about persons, events and objects. These are linguistic resources that can be drawn upon and utilized in day-to-day social interaction. Interpretative repertoires are part and parcel of any cultural community's common sense and it provides a basis for shared social understanding. The concept of interpretative repertoire is important for the analysis because it highlights the cultural history dimension. Ideological dilemmas connect to the 'lived' ideologies according to which members of a culture make sense of the world and events. These lived ideologies refer to the beliefs, values and practices of a given society or culture, basically its common sense. Edley (2001) explains that ideological dilemmas can also be understood "as winning arguments, rhetorically robust claims or statements that have stood the test of time" (p. 203). Billig et al. (1988) argue that lived ideologies are language resources that are not coherent or integrated and are characterized by inconsistency, fragmentation and contradiction. Therefore, lived ideologies or a culture's common sense do not provide members of the culture with a clear direction as to how they should think and act. Instead, it contains many contrary or competing arguments: in other words, it has a dilemmatic character. However, the indeterminacy of lived ideologies makes them rich and flexible resources for social interaction and everyday sense making in the world. The concept of ideological dilemmas was used to

analyse the constructions of Afrikaansness during the family interviews, as well as focusing on the rhetorical character (more about the rhetorical nature of Afrikaner identities in the next paragraphs) and tensions in the interactions between family members.

The third analytic concept that was used is *subject positions*. Edley (2001) gives an account of Louis Althusser's influential paper on ideology where he talks about the way that ideology creates or constructs 'subjects' by drawing people into particular subject positions or identities. Edley explains that subject positions can also be understood as 'locations' within a particular argument. These are the identities that are made relevant by particular ways of talking. The speaker becomes a particular type of person (or takes on a particular identity) through speaking in a specific way and drawing on particular interpretative repertoires (for example, of threatened Afrikanerness in the present study). Edley (2001) elaborates as follows:

Subjectivity ... is an ideological effect. The way that people experience and feel about themselves and the world around them is, in part at least he said, a by-product of particular ideological or discursive regimes (p. 209).

Edley continues that how we talk about ourselves and others as persons will always be in terms of a language or register of terms provided by a particular historical period. For example, in terms of the present study, it became clear that discourses of apartheid often positioned 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in relation to the racial Other in the family conversations. The concept of subject positions was utilized, for example, to analyse the identities for 'self' and 'other' that emerged through the discourses exchanged between young Afrikaners and their parents in radically different ideological circumstances in post-Afrikaner-

nationalist South Africa. It became possible to see how some Afrikaans-speakers were continuing to position themselves as 'bosses' ('baasskap') and 'other' (black) South Africans as those that should serve ('onderdane'). Or, are significant changes taking place in the way that Afrikaans-speakers are defining themselves discursively as 'white' and Afrikaans in relation to democratic values that are embedded in our new constitution and where all South Africans have equal rights? In summary, the three analytic concepts were utilized to conduct the analysis and interpretation of collected materials.

As was mentioned above, the rhetorical approach developed by Billig (1996, 2001) was also used in analysing the discourse emerging during the family conversations. In a situation where people give opinions about matters, like in a family conversation where Afrikaner family members give their opinions about being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid, democratic society, discursive psychologists emphasize the rhetorical nature of opinion-giving that is most often evident (Billig, 1991; Billig, 2001; Edwards & Potter, 1992). It is a well-known fact that traditional social psychologists view attitudes (that is taken up as underlying opinion-giving) as internal states of mind. By contrast, discursive and rhetorical psychologists analyse the giving of opinions in terms of discursive action. A particular form of discourse is involved here, namely rhetorical discourse. Billig (2001) explains that rhetoric refers to discourse which is argumentative and which seeks to persuade. The activities of criticism and justification are primary in relation to rhetorical discourse. In contrast to the view of being mysterious and unseen inner events, attitudes can be conceptualised as constituted within the business of justification and criticism. It became evident from the family conversations in my study that rhetorical discourse

pervaded the talk of Afrikaner young people and their parents about being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid society. Afrikaner family members in conversation often expressed "strong views" in relation to being Afrikaans during the family conversations.

Bakhtin (1986) argued that all utterances are dialogical in nature and they are responses to other utterances. Their meaning has to be understood in relation to these other utterances. This insight is particularly relevant for attitude statements like expressing an opinion about Afrikaansness in a family conversation. The defining of identities of Afrikaansness happened dialogically during the family conversations and often displayed a rhetorical character. Rather than being a straightforward report of an internal state, from a discursive and rhetorical perspective, attitude statements tend to be uttered as stances in matters of public controversy (Billig, 2001). For example, participants in the family conversations often positioned themselves in a particular way in relation to identities of Afrikaansness. This positioning was not merely a statement of what the speaker supported, but also a positioning against counter positions, for example, a stance against the perceived threat by the racial Other (threatened identities of Afrikaansness) that is out to get back at Afrikaners for what they did under apartheid. Billig (1991) explains that when people give their opinion (for example, how they view themselves as Afrikaners today) in dialogue, they often do so in the form of arguments, justifying their own views and criticizing an opposing and counter views. Billig concludes that the formulation of an opinion often indicates a readiness to argue on a matter of controversy.

Billig (2001) emphasizes that the interest among discursive and rhetorical psychologists in examining language in practice does not mean that they are exclusively concerned

with interpersonal dynamics happening between two or more speakers in conversation. Thought provoking insights and innovative perspectives have come to the fore through the work of these scholars when the focus is shifted from the interpersonal domain to the historical and ideological. Individuals, when they speak to others, do not create their own language, but fundamentally they use a register of terms which are culturally, historically and ideologically available. Billig (2001) maintains that "each act of utterance, although in itself novel, carries an ideological history" (p. 217). He continues that an ideology is made up of the ways of thinking and behaving of a given culture which make the ways of that society appear 'natural' or unquestioned to its ordinary members. From a discursive perspective then, ideology can be understood as the common-sense of a culture. Another way of looking at it is that ideology comprises the habits of belief of a particular culture and these ideological habits are deeply rooted in the language, discourse and narratives of that culture. In terms of my investigation of Afrikaner identities emerging during family conversations, rhetorical analyses of the argumentation wherein versions of Afrikaner identity become constructed, would be enlightening in revealing the patterns of ideology and what is being taken for granted as common sense. Billig (2001) explains that rhetorical analysts, in deconstructing patterns of argument and discourse, observe not merely what issues are being overtly challenged by speakers and how these challenges are being discursively brought off. The analyst can also reveal what is being left unchallenged and what is being presented as if unchallengeable. Furthermore, what often happens is that speakers will attempt to justify their particular stances by making an appeal to common values and beliefs which they assume are acceptable to everybody and which provide clues about the ideological common sense of the time. Ordinary

citizens, for example, Afrikaner young people and their parents draw upon these discursive and ideological resources when they produce and enact identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue during, for example, family conversations.

4.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

My awareness for ethical considerations in terms of developing and designing the study was enhanced considerably when I started with the PhD programme at the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Pietermaritzburg some years ago. It was required by the School of Psychology that prospective PhD students write an entrance examination. The preparation for this examination included recent academic material on research ethics. The PhD students were also exposed to lectures and discussions on research ethics as part of the PhD group meetings that were organized bi-annually. This meant that a high degree of personal awareness of ethical issues accompanied the development of my research proposal.

I became more conscious of the purpose of research ethics: basically to protect the welfare of research participants against forms of abuse in the research context, as well as to curb the practices of scientific misconduct and plagiarism (Wassenaar, 2006). This implies that the dignity and welfare of research participants should always transcend the interests of researchers. What follows is a brief discussion of the ethical principles and benchmarks that were taken into consideration in the development and designing of my study.

One of the fundamental philosophical principles that social researchers take into account in designing research projects is the principle of autonomy and respect for the dignity of people (Wassenaar, 2006). This principle finds expression in the requirement of voluntary informed consent

provided by participants who take part in social scientific research projects. The requirement of voluntary informed consent was applied during the data collection process for this study. The parent that answered the telephone on the first contact with the family was informed about the purpose of the study and requested to speak to the other family members (other parent and the adolescent youth) with a view to consider participating in a family conversation about the topic of their experience of being Afrikaans in the new South Africa. I emphasized that each family member that would be approached had to be willing to participate freely, that no one should be forced to take part against their will, and that I would phone back in three days' time to find out what the family had decided. On the day of the family conversation, at the onset, the family was again told what the purpose of the research was in language that was appropriate for the parents as well as the adolescent youth. The importance of sound ethical procedures that were required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal was emphasized, and each family member (including the adolescent youth) was given the consent form to read through and to sign if he/she agreed to participate (see Appendix 1). It was also pointed out verbally that any one had the right to withdraw from the conversation at any time without prejudice, if they so wished. The family members consented in terms of both taking part in the family conversation, as well as the tape-recording of the interview. Wassenaar (2006) maintains that independent adolescent consent is acceptable depending on the maturity of the young person as well as the degree of risk of the research project. My supervisor and I had decided that it would be appropriate for the Afrikaner adolescents to provide independent consent for their participation since they are mature enough to talk about their experience as Afrikaners in the democratic society.

The principle of autonomy and respect for the dignity of the person also involves addressing threats to confidentiality. The protection of individual confidentiality was guaranteed during the data collection process by informing the participants of my commitment that no personally identifiable information or recordings will be released in any form. These recordings are kept securely locked away and will be erased once the study has been completed. In terms of the utilization of conversational data or extracts in written reports like the dissertation and articles in scientific journals, the protection of confidentiality will be guaranteed through the use pseudonyms.

The participants in the family conversations were also informed in writing (on the consent form) of my commitment to make my services as a registered counselling psychologist available to any person that might feel distressed by taking part in the interview. Discussing the topic of Afrikaner identity in a situation of fundamental social transformation among family members has the potential of bringing to the fore strong feelings and convictions that might lead to tension and conflict during the discussion. The responsible approach would be to make provision for such potential eventualities. I am grateful to report that no such occurrences took place. The dialogue on the topic of being Afrikaans in the transforming society was conducted, generally speaking, in a friendly and constructive spirit. The philosophical principle of nonmaleficence stipulates that researchers should ensure that no harm befalls participants as a direct or indirect consequence of a research project and was applied in this regard (Wassenaar, 2006). Furthermore, one can also interpret this precautionary step as the implementation of the philosophical principle of justice (Wassenaar, 2006). This principle entails that researchers take some form of responsibility in order to provide care and support for

research participants who may become distressed or harmed through participating in a study. Emanuel, Wendler, Killen and Grady (2004) have developed a framework for research ethics and elaborated on eight operational benchmarks that could guide researchers in terms of designing ethical research proposals and projects. One of the benchmarks that Emanuel et al. (2004) have highlighted is the requirement of finding a favourable risk/benefit ratio in constructing and executing research projects. By making contingency plans in terms of dealing with potential discomforts among participants, the ratio of risk versus benefits of my research project was made more favourable. The benefit endpoint of the continuum was also increased because my study of Afrikaner identities in times of fundamental social change has the potential advantage that it could be of benefit to the Afrikaner community in particular, as well as the South African society at large. One can argue that the study carries a relatively high social value, because the research topic is relevant for our times and the production of cutting edge scientific knowledge can possibly be of benefit to the Afrikaner community and the wider South African society as mentioned.

Wassenaar (2006) argues that researchers have at the very least an obligation to make the findings available to the host community in a format that is relevant and appropriate and in the process can empower the community with new knowledge. This is a reflection of ongoing respect for the participants and study communities (Wassenaar, 2006). I have taken this operational benchmark seriously since I have undertaken in writing to share the research findings with the participating Afrikaner families. This undertaking can also be interpreted as an expression of the philosophical principle of beneficence: maximising the benefits that the research will afford to the participants in the study through conveying

scientific knowledge about identity formation processes among Afrikaner families during times of upheaval and threat.

Emanuel et al. (2004) and also Wassenaar (2006) remind us that, from an ethical point of view, poor scientific work must be regarded as unethical. Invalid 'scientific' research yields unusable results and is a waste of resources. I am confident, grateful and humble to argue that, under the guidance of a quality supervisor, an appropriate, rigorous and sound research design was developed and implemented, and this thesis bears testimony to that process.

Finally, Emanuel et al. (2004), as well as Wassenaar (2006) explain that an independent ethics review process must be seen as analogous and complementary to the process of scientific peer review. The practice of competent ethics review should lead to maximizing the protection of participants in a study as well as enhancing the quality of research. I am thankful to report that this study has been subjected to a rigorous ethics review process at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and that a full approval was granted by the relevant ethics committee.

4.6. ON REFLEXIVITY

It is imperative that I as researcher, also a 'white' Afrikaans-speaking South African (WASSA), reflect on my position within this qualitative study where I investigated the negotiation of identities of Afrikaansness between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents emerging during family conversations in present-day socio-historical circumstances. There can be no question that I was accepted by all participants in the study as a fellow Afrikaner who is sharing the same struggles as the participants, and this construction gave me privileged access to the views and feelings of the participants in the study. One can assume that this positioning by the participants would have led to the family

conversations yielding better quality data in comparison to a situation where a researcher from a different social category (possibly 'white English-speaking' or 'black' interviewer) conducted the family interviews. The danger in terms of the study is that my insider status also means that I am implicated in the same discourses and this could have a bearing on the credibility of the construction of the account/narrative/thesis. Moreover, a lack of reflexivity on my part as researcher could be a threat to the validity of the findings since my own preconceptions could dominate the analysis and interpretation of data.

It is therefore of great importance that I reflect on my own preconceptions and preferences in terms of being a 'white' Afrikaans-speaking South African or Afrikaner in the post-apartheid society. I can honestly reveal that my personal grappling with being Afrikaans in the South African society goes back to my university days of the 1970's when I started to become politically aware and critical of the apartheid government and dispensation. My struggles with the question of being an Afrikaner in the South African context were intensified when I accepted an academic post at the University of Fort Hare in 1983 and lived through the last years of apartheid in this context, as well as experiencing the birth of the new South Africa from the early 1990's onwards. My personal conviction is that Afrikaners, both old and young, should grow towards embracing identities of Afrikaansness that identify strongly with the black dominated South African society and all its potentials and challenges, and make the transition from being settlers to participating and moral citizens of the new South Africa. Throughout the entire study including all the stages of the research process I continued to engage in a process of self-reflection which has become an ongoing striving in my personal, professional and social life. This process has enabled me to take the utmost care to be

truthful to the constructions of Afrikaansness produced by the Afrikaner adolescents and their parents during the family conversations.

4.7. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In this chapter attention was given to the methodological and design considerations of the study. A qualitative study was undertaken to investigate how school going Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are constructing identities of being Afrikaans in conversation in contemporary post-apartheid society. The meta-theoretical foundations that inform the study, as well as the design decisions that were made, were discussed in detail. In the following two chapters the results of the discourse analysis of the empirical materials are presented. In Chapter 5 the discursive construction of threatened identities of Afrikaansness is highlighted. In Chapter 6 the focus of attention is the negotiation of identities of Afrikaansness that emerge in the interaction between Afrikaner young people and their parents in historical perspective.

CHAPTER 5
AFRIKAANSNESS AND THE DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION OF THREATENED
IDENTITIES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

From noticing how Afrikaners speak in different social spaces, it can be concluded that when Afrikaners, young and old, talk about being Afrikaans in contemporary society, this talk is most often accompanied by discourse on threat. The literature review in Chapter 3 has shown the extent to which many WASSAs are struggling to make sense of themselves as Afrikaners and their social world in post-apartheid South Africa.

It has become clear from studying the transcribed texts of Afrikaner family conversations that the discourses of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are pervaded by senses of loss, threat, protest, and stigmatisation. Parker (1992) maintains that discourse analysis deliberately systematizes different ways of talking so that it can be more clearly understood. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss ways in which 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are constructing narratives of loss, threat, and protest in the process of grappling with being Afrikaans and 'white' in the contemporary transforming society. The struggle is about moving from positions of being a settler, and clinging to the power and privileges of the old South Africa, through to citizenship of the new, democratic society.

A total of nine 'white' Afrikaans-speaking families, consisting of the two parents (father and mother) and at least one school-going adolescent, were invited to take part in a family conversation about their experience of being Afrikaans and 'white' in 'border' contexts located in the rural Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The talk of the 'white'

Afrikaans-speakers was analysed using a rhetorical approach to discourse as set out by Billig (1996).

These narratives of threat are varied and are organized and presented in the following way in this chapter. It appears from studying the transcribed texts that the stigma attached to Afrikaners' historical and structural position of being fundamentally privileged under apartheid, and of having been labelled as 'oppressors' and 'racists', are major contributing factors to their current experience of loss, threat, and protest. Narratives related to this positioning are presented in section 5.2. The focus of attention in the next section (5.3.) is the ambivalent structure of threat narratives produced by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, and ways of diminishing and denying senses of threat and racism. A third (section 5.4.) part of the chapter revolves around the recitation of discourses of the past in the construction of threat narratives by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers.

5.2. THREAT EMANATING FROM THE STIGMA OF BEING PRIVILEGED AND OPPRESSORS UNDER APARTHEID

It is evident from analysing the talk of members of Afrikaner families in the study that the stigma of apartheid is a burden that WASSAs are carrying with them and what they have to deal with in the struggle to find a place for themselves in the new South Africa, and move forward from being settlers to citizens:

Extract 1: English translation (speakers: Erika= mother)

1 Interv one last question final question: two ways to deal with
2 it with apartheid is the thing hmm (.) Adriaan Vlok now
3 washed Frank Chikane's feet (.) to ask for pardon
4 (.) for the past (.) while PW Botha persisted to the
5 end that he had nothing you know to ask pardon for
6 so two contrasting ways of dealing with the past (.)
7 what are your comments on on this?
8 Erika ye:s and look what has it (sarcastic) brought
9 Vlok now he is in any case going to be prosecuted
10 so washing of feet or no washing of feet in other

11 words there is no (..) repent and forgiveness and
 12 it's (..) it's over and done with so it's ye:s (...)
 13 hmm I get irritated that we have to continuously (.)
 14 have to say sorry sorry sorry now we give but don't
 15 know hmm I have (...) and ye:s when I went and study
 16 I would probably not have been able to study if it
 17 had'nt been for an education bursary because my
 18 parents would not have been able to pay this placed
 19 me in a position of privilege (..) but if I look at
 20 how many students obtain bursaries today (.) and not
 21 one or two some of them sit with two three bursaries
 22 (emotional) (..) where (..) then then I just think
 23 somewhere at a given juncture (.) it is really
 24 (very emotional) we have to now say we are through
 25 with saying sorry and we have (done) it (..) hmm it
 26 was wrong (..) they have been doing it from when
 27 (.) to put things right must we put things right for
 28 eternity? hmm and this gets to me
 29 Interv hmm hmm
 30 Erika it gets to me because (..) hmm (.) these children
 31 (.) that (.) that that that grow up now (.) they (.)
 32 I can tell you they don't even know what you are
 33 talking about really if you talk about apartheid
 34 Interv hmm
 35 Erika ten children are going to give ten different
 36 views (.) and (..) hmm (.) this (.) this whole story
 37 must stop now (.) because (.) we are in a new
 38 country we are in a new dispensation we are not in
 39 control any more hmm (...) quite a lot of us have made
 40 peace with it (.) but (.) there should be equal
 41 opportunities for everybody now (.) and no more
 42 (...) this feeling all the time (..) we have been
 43 treated unfairly (..) and (..) and and now we still
 44 need (..) we we have to get the benefit of it three
 45 times over (...) even the even the young black
 46 children (...) I have interestingly (.) hmm I I
 47 sometimes talk you sometimes throw a stone in the
 48 bush and you see what jumps out

The family members were responding to a question on how they viewed two prominent figures from the apartheid era: Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Police at the time, who, in 2006, washed the feet of Frank Chikane, a minister of religion from the Apostolic Faith Mission, who was allegedly poisoned by apartheid security agents. Vlok washed Chikane's feet to ask for forgiveness for what had been done to him, whereas PW Botha, the prime minister in the 1980's, refused up to the end of his life to ask forgiveness for any wrongdoings that occurred during the apartheid years.

From line (Extract 1) 8 onwards Erika, wife and mother of the family, is positioning herself negatively towards Vlok's asking for forgiveness: she uses a sarcastic tone of voice and says "ye:s and look what has it brought Vlok". He is going to be prosecuted in any case. She elaborates by stating that "there is no (...) repent and forgiveness and it's (...) it's over and done with" (lines 11 and 12). In other words Vlok's washing of feet did not solve his problem in the new society in any way. The stigma and threat of the apartheid past is not something of the past, but it is constructed as coming into the present. Erika continues that she gets "irritated" (line 13) that she (and her group) has to "continuously" (line 13) have to say "sorry sorry sorry" (line 14) (the repetition here is a form of dramatisation and points to a strong emphasis on the unacceptability of this continuous request to ask for forgiveness) for the mistakes of the past and apartheid. An interesting analogy can be found in the sound track by Afrikaans artist Koos Kombuis (from his CD "Bloedrivier" [Bloodriver]) where he laments in a similar fashion (track 2): "Hoe Lank Moet Ons Nog Sorry Sê" ("How much longer do we still have to say sorry"). The terms "continuously" and "nog" in the construction "Hoe Lank Moet Ons Nog Sorry Sê?" refers to the threat and stigma of the past coming into the present for 'white', Afrikaans-speakers. In other words, Erika is constructing Vlok's efforts as fruitless because "they", the Other/the government/blacks, are not forgiving Vlok and by implication the Afrikaner for what happened in the past. "They" keep on holding it against "us": the Other is constructed as unforgiving, although we had started over years now "to put things right" (line 27). The Other is constructed as "the problem" and "us", the Afrikaner, as the victim. The Afrikaner is the group that is now being treated unfairly and must be seen as a threatened community. It is clear that the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black

Danger), that has been used so effectively during the apartheid years to justify racist policies, and that created deep-seated fears for black South Africans, is at work in this stretch of talk. The construction of Afrikaners as threatened and stigmatised subjectivities, and the Other as a threatening other and "the problem", are stopping 'white' Afrikaans-speakers from making the transition from settlers to becoming citizens in the new society.

In Extract 1 we have seen that Erika is constructing it as a major problem presently that Afrikaners continually "have to say sorry, sorry, sorry" (line 14) for the mistakes of the past. A number of discursive strategies can be distinguished that are utilized to confront this problem of having to continuously say sorry for the sins of the past. Firstly, the Afrikaner is constructed as presently disadvantaged and for that reason asking for forgiveness is not appropriate any longer: "but if I look at how many students obtain bursaries today (.) and not one or two some of them sit with two three bursaries" (lines 19-21). Erika is contrasting the one bursary that she had obtained with the two or three bursaries that some black students were given presently. At this point in time "they" are more privileged than "we" were. This implies that it might have been the correct thing to ask for forgiveness years ago when the Afrikaner was still in a position of power and privilege, but things have changed. There are no more grounds for the stigma to continue and the past being held against Afrikaners: we are not privileged any more. A second discursive strategy that is used to confront this problem of stigma for Afrikaners is to construct the Afrikaner as presently disempowered. In lines 37-39 Erika says: "we are in a new country we are in a new dispensation we are not in control any more". Somebody else, the Other, is in control. In other words Afrikaners are in a weak position now. One can also view this constructing of the Afrikaner as

standing outside of apartheid, of being divorced from apartheid, as a distancing device and a way of rehabilitating Afrikaansness.

It is interesting to notice the emphasis on the present in this stretch of talk: the term "now" features prominently in lines 14, 24, 31, 37, and 41, as well as "today" in line 20. There is clearly an effort to draw particular attention to the present: "we have to *now* say we are through with saying sorry" (lines 24-25); "this whole story must stop *now*" (lines 36-37); "there should be equal opportunities for everybody *now*" (lines 40-41). The unacceptable situation, of "them" holding the past against "us" must not continue into the future. The reference to the "now" also entails a criticism of the present. This criticism of the present is pervasive in the discourse of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers throughout the family conversations. The temporal element also emerges in the Koos Kombuis lyrics mentioned above: "*Hoe Lank Moet Ons Nog Sorry Sê?*" (Italics added) ("*How much longer do we still have to say sorry?*"). From a rhetorical point of view the tone of the argument in this entire stretch of talk (in Extract 1), as well as the above quotations, can be characterized as displaying a sense of protest, a sense of demand, a sense of urgency. This sense of protest is also extremely pervasive in the discourse of the 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the family conversations. It is evident that there is an effort by the speaker to contrast the present with the past in this passage of talk: for example, the Afrikaner is *presently* ("now") being disadvantaged (lines 19-21) and victimized, and is not in a situation of privilege like in the past.

A sense of victimhood and threat also appears in the talk of Zanette, the daughter of the family:

Extract 2: English translation (speaker: Zanette= daughter)

1 Interv a last word from you on this matter? (to daughter)
2 Zanette hmm it is a whole matter of forgiveness and
3 persecution ('agtervolging') I think I will rather
4 not (.) everything that happened in the past must
5 just be forgiven because (..) they can those people
6 that did something in those times they can do
7 nothing now their rights have been by large taken
8 away (..) what they are doing now they are working
9 against a future for South Africa where the
10 actually should work together (.) because now they
11 are destroying/being destructive (.) they should
12 have started to build in the past (..) and to go
13 back to (..) things that happened 20 years ago (.) is
14 unnecessary (.) where things are happening now
15 that are taking many more people's lives (.) than
16 what these people ever did

The daughter uses similar language as her mother when she says, "it is a whole matter of forgiveness and persecution ("agtervolging")" (lines 2 and 3): they are pursuing us (literally, coming after us) and don't want to leave these matters, the past, behind. Vlok and others are constructed as helpless victims: "those people that did something in those times they can do nothing now their rights have been by large taken away" (lines 5-8). This rhetoric of protest (or fighting back) is now broadened to the whole of South Africa: "what they are doing now is working against a future for South Africa" (lines 8-9) and "now they are being destructive" (lines 10-11). The Other is being constructed as a destructive force which is breaking down rather than building. "They" are constructed as a dangerous and threatening Other that have even allowed more people to lose their lives: "where things are happening now that are taking many more people's lives (.) than what these people (Vlok and co.) ever did" (lines 14-16). It is evident that Zanette, as a young Afrikaans voice, is also drawing on the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) to construct a threatening Other. By building up two contrasting and opposing images, the one as unforgiving, breaking down instead of building, and

the other one as the victim, as being without rights and helpless, the Afrikaner is being constructed as a threatened and stigmatized group. The daughter, Zanette, is making use of the discursive strategy of constructing the Other as *the problem "now"*, as a force that is working against a future unity for South Africa (from line 8 onwards), and it overshadows what had been done by Vlok and co-workers in the past. With Afrikaners in the position of being the victim (and "they" as the oppressors) there is no need to ask for forgiveness for the past any longer. This discursive strategy can be seen as a way of protecting the Afrikaner against the threat and the stigma of the apartheid past.

However, dealing with the past in this particular manner can be interpreted as a way of problematizing 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' moving from a position of settlerhood to citizenship in the new democratic South Africa. How can 'white' Afrikaans-speakers learn to relate to black South Africans in more open and fulfilling ways when the Other is constructed as "the problem" and a threat to "our" existence and interests. It is concerning that a young, Afrikaner voice like Zanette in the above stretch of talk, somebody that has grown up after the process of dismantling apartheid had started, is echoing the voices of the older generations of Afrikaners. This result confirms the conclusion by Jonathan Jansen (2009) who found that Afrikaner young people studying at the University of Pretoria were displaying similar racist attitudes and behaviour as their parents in relation to black South Africans, even although they have grown up in a post-apartheid era where racism has been outlawed.

Jakkie, Erika's husband, responds to the question about Vlok and PW Botha by constructing Vlok's actions as part of the Botha-government's efforts to keep communism out of South Africa (lines 4-5 and 7-8):

Extract 3: English translation (speaker: Jakkie= father)

1 Jakkie yes I have forgotten now what your question was
2 Interv (laughing) Frank Chikane no Adriaan Vlok and PW Botha
3 Jakkie for those times it was a conflict situation (...)
4 the South African government had tried to keep
5 Communism (.) out of South Africa (.) this this was
6 (.) as far as I (.) can remember (.) was this the
7 big story (..) it was to keep Communism out of South
8 Africa (...) but now (...) the people had (.) done done
9 done (.) but it is wrong to me that (.) those (.)
10 white people of those times are persecuted so badly
11 (...) these bomb planters (..) in Pretoria that bomb
12 that exploded there and how many people were maimed
13 where are those bomb planters?
14 Interv hmm
15 Jakkie why why aren't they being put on trial (...) and
16 persecuted (.) as they (.) now want to do with Vlok
17 and these people ... at that stadium (.) at that
18 stadium they were (...) they were doing their work
19 Interv hmm hmm
20 Jakkie now now they are wrong (..) but the (.) people
21 that we saw as terrorists (...) that planted bombs (...)
22 Interv hmm hmm
23 Erika it was the struggle remember fighting for
24 liberation
25 Jakkie it was the struggle (..) but so did we (...) fight
26 against it (.) it's ag it's it's not easy to (...) I
27 don't think one can find a solution for it (.) but
28 it is just wrong for me that (...) just a particular
29 group of people is singled out (...) around the whole
30 story of (..) apartheid and the struggle ...

Jakkie draws on the discourse of the "Rooi Gevaar" (Red Danger or communism), a discourse that was widely used during the apartheid years (to justify the Nationalist government's policies and strategies to counter the danger of the "total onslaught"), to frame Vlok's and colleagues' actions as "they were doing their work" (line 18). The utterance "doing their work" is associated in Afrikaner cultural circles with not just doing the day to day tasks which is expected in a particular society, but as being something noble. This is contrasted with subversive and cowardly deeds of planting bombs where innocent people get "maimed" (line 12). This noble act of "doing their work" in the old South Africa has become in the new South Africa deeds for which they could be

"persecuted so badly" (line 10) and: "now they are wrong" (line 20). The texture of the rhetoric found from lines 9 to 21 is displaying a sense of protest: "it is wrong to me" (line 9); "where are those bomb planters?" (line 13); "why aren't they being put on trial?" (line 15). Jakkie seems to be dealing with difficult issues of the day by resorting to a form of attack/criticism/protest of the present. This seems to be his way of dealing with the threat and stigma of the past. In the process of protesting against the present a threatening Other is assumed. The question "why aren't they ("the bomb planters") being put on trial" (line 15) assumes that Vlok, and by implication "us", are being treated unfairly and something that we have to object to and protest against. However difficult it will be for older generation and more traditional Afrikaners to come to grips with fundamental change in the South African society a strategy of protest as an approach to threat and challenges of our times will complicate the transition from leaving behind a sense of settlerhood and becoming participating and constructive citizens in the new democratic order.

In Extract 3 Jakkie elaborates as follows: "for those times it was a conflict situation" (line 3). The use of "those times" serves the purpose of a distancing device by constructing the conflict as having taken place a long time ago. The use of "as far as I (.) can remember" (line 6) is similarly a distancing device. It constructs the happenings of Vlok and others as taking place a long time ago and it is even possible that his memory of the events can stand to be corrected. Erika takes issue with Jakkie on his interpretation of events (lines 23-24), to which he replies: "but so did we (...) fight against it (.) it's ag it's it's not easy to (...) I don't think one can find a solution for it" (lines 25-27). The discursive strategy that is being used here to deal with the past is to construct the past as too

complex and for which it is extremely difficult to find a satisfactory solution. The implication is to just forget about it and move on- and treat everyone the same.

Erika mobilizes the voice of the black youth in order to protest against this sense of stigmatisation, threat and perceived unjust treatment of Afrikaners:

Extract 4: English translation (Speaker: Erika= mother)

1 Erika and now now I talk with the children about
2 student fees and things (.) then they ask me but did
3 Nolene get a bursary? (..) and what does it cost
4 nowadays to study and does she have a bursary? I
5 replied no (...) and then I told them amongst other
6 things about (..) when Nolene was in grade 11 they
7 came (...) and earnestly looked for candidates for the
8 agricultural sector to study in Agriculture,
9 Mathematics and Economy and other things and they
10 invited (..) all all bl all children of colour (.)
11 but only white girls (.) no white boys (.) although
12 at that stage we had two at least two white boys in
13 our school you had to take Mathematics and Natural
14 Science you had to do (.) and your marks had to be
15 (.) on a particular standard (.) but then those
16 white boys were excluded (.) and then the children
17 said "but why?" (emotional) (..) then they said but
18 it is (.) it is unjust I then said we:ll but (..) it
19 is reckoned that there are already such a number of
20 (..) whites in in that sector and it has to become
21 more representative
22 Interv hmm hmm
23 Erika and the children (emotional) (.) the black
24 children's reaction is for me actually (.) very
25 often amazing
26 Interv hmm very interesting
27 Erika that they plainly say "but it is unjust"
28 Interv hmm hmm very interesting
29 Erika because they say (..) and I had about three years
30 back we had a girl in matric (..) and she said no
31 ways must somebody say to her (.) you are previously
32 disadvantaged ("agtergeblewe") (.) she grew up in a
33 home with father and mother as attorneys (.) she
34 said there is nothing that she wanted that she could
35 not have
36 Interv very interesting
37 Erika (...) she does not want that label
38 Interv very interesting
39 Erika and there are quite a few more of these children
40 that simply say they don't want that label of (.)
41 of previously disadvantaged ('agtergeblewene') (.)
42 they don't want it
43 Interv hmm hmm

44 Erika and I I I really hope that it (.) is something
45 that (.) that we are not going to drag with us for
46 three generations

Erika relates the narrative (Extract 4, from line 1 onwards) talking to the children in her class about student bursaries and the like, and where the children asked her whether her own daughter, Nolene, had obtained a bursary for tertiary education studies. She replied no and elaborated on the incident that happened at their school where officials from the agriculture sector came to recruit prospective students. Learners from the different racial and ethnic groups were invited to attend the recruitment session, except white males: "but then those ('white') boys were excluded" (lines 15-16). Erika elaborates: "and then the (black) children said 'but why?' (..) then they said but it is (.) it is unjust" (line 15-18). Erika is strategically utilizing the voice of young black learners to protest against the exclusion of the 'white' boys. She builds up her argument even stronger rhetorically by positioning herself as a supporter of the status quo: "I then said we:ll but (..) it is reckoned that there are already such a number of (..) whites in in that sector and it has to become more representative" (lines 18-21). Even despite this giving of a "good" reason to black young people why it could be acceptable for having affirmative action practices the young black learners still rejected it outright: "that they plainly say but it is unjust" (line 27). Erika also represents it as a surprise to her that young black people are progressive thinking to this extent, and that she has come across it accidentally: "the black children's reaction is for me actually (.) very often amazing" (lines 23-25). Erika is representing the black young people's views as arrived at counter to her own expectations in order to make it more credible. Edwards (2003) maintains that one way of grounding factual claims and making them more robust is to

offer them as arrived at counter to one's own presumptions and biases. Erika is recruiting the voices of the black children in her school to construct the affirmative action practices as unjust and threatening to the opportunities of 'white' and Afrikaner young people. By utilizing the voice of black children Erika is countering the danger of being seen as making a 'white' or Afrikaner claim (Edwards, 2003). Erika is also offering her version of events as shared (in other words not hers alone) and indeed by those whom she might be expected to be biased against. This is a further discursive manoeuvre to present her version as unbiased and credible. If black children (the new generation) are saying that white boys should not be excluded and should have equal opportunities, then it is time for everybody to move forward (particularly the Other in power) and forget about the past. The discursive strategy of utilizing the voices of black speakers to argue for Afrikaner interests have emerged quite frequently in the discourse of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the texts.

Erika furthermore narrates the story of a black female learner in their school who protested against the label of being "previously disadvantaged" (line 41) and adds: "and there are quite a few more of these children that simply say they don't want that label of (.) of previously disadvantaged (.) they don't want it" (line 39-42). Erika, after having prepared the reader, draws the following conclusion: "and I I I really hope that it (.) is something that (.) that we are not going to drag with us for three generations" (line 44-46). She draws a parallel between the rejection of the label of "previously disadvantaged" by the black schoolgirl and the label that belongs to the Afrikaner people of "previously advantaged" and "oppressor". She expresses the wish (implicitly) that Afrikaners will not have to "drag" (line 45) along that baggage for many generations. What Erika is doing

here is constructing Afrikaners as a stigmatized and threatened community. They are struggling under the burden of apartheid: the memory of being the oppressor. It seems crucially important for WASSAs to let go of this burden, to be set free, in order to move forward, embracing the new society and becoming citizens in the full sense of the word.

5.3. THE AMBIVALENT STRUCTURE OF AFRIKANER THREAT NARRATIVES: DENIAL OF RACISM AND THREAT

In a multi-ethnic society like South Africa where people's lives are becoming more closely interconnected, it is inevitable that when Afrikaner families were asked to talk about how they would define Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid society that this talk would closely entail Afrikaners' relations to black South Africans. The narratives that Afrikaner families have shared in the conducting of the family conversations were pervaded by senses of threat and stigmatisation where the Other was concerned.

5.3.1. Ambivalence and contradiction: "Our future looks good... we shall hopefully survive"

'White' Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, in the present historical situation, seem to be talking about identity, ethnicity (Afrikaansness), and 'race' from a fundamentally different position than whites in so-called first world settings (USA, Western Europe, Australia, etc.). Whites in these settings are mostly talking about the Other (immigrants, refugees, etc.) from the position of a majority group, including political strength and dominance. This is not the case with WASSAs in the post-apartheid society. Afrikaners, in the present socio-historical situation, are talking from a position of relative weakness in terms of the political realities of the country. The narratives about the new South Africa and the people who form part of it, and particularly

narratives of threat, voiced by the participants in the study, were dominated by ambivalence and contradictions:

Extract 5: English translation (speaker: Alan= father)

1 Interv ... last question how do you see our future future
2 as Afrikaans-speakers, Afrikaners? How do you see
3 the future?
4 Alan no our future is is is looks good I mean we (.) we
5 shall we shall hopefully survive we are (...) in
6 terms of numbers we stand strong enough we shall
7 not (.) easily be turned into a Zimbabwe (.)
8 because we can (...) hmm as whites hopefully (.) not
9 that we can stand together but we can hopefully
10 offer resistance if we are being forced into a
11 Zimbabwe situation (...) hmm the future of the
12 Afrikaans language as long as it is spoken it
13 will live on (.) as long as it is spoken and it
14 is written and it is sung (.) it will grow (.)
15 hmm I don't have an illusion or a fear that that
16 Afrikaans will die out (.) hmm the government
17 hasn't (.) nearly enough (.) power to squash it
18 to death absolutely not hmm even even with the
19 Afrikaans culture or I mean what Afrikaners do
20 with their culture (.) is will be what what what
21 if the culture will continue to live on or will
22 become extinct I mean it now depends on the
23 Afrikaner him or herself (.) and then I believe
24 you will always have an Afrikaner that will
25 remind you (.) fight for your language (.) fight
26 for your culture etcetera etcetera (...)

In Extract 5 Alan is responding to a question on the future of Afrikaners in South Africa. Alan starts by stating that he thinks "our future ... looks good" (line 4). If one analyses how Alan constructs his argument it appears to be in sharp contrast to his initial formulation of a good future. This opening statement is immediately followed by words such as: "we shall hopefully survive" (line 5). The argument that Alan constructs to support his claim of a good future appears unconvincing and contradictory. He uses the utterance "hopefully" two more times (excluding line 5) in the talk that follows his opening statement: "Because we can (...) hmm as whites hopefully (.) not that we can stand together but we can hopefully offer resistance" (lines 8-10). The words "hopefully", "survive", "offer resistance" assume a

threatening Other and do not speak of supreme confidence in a secure and prosperous future for Afrikaners in Alan's talk. Alan is talking with ambivalent and contradictory voices about the future. It is as if Alan as an Afrikaner in the new society is struggling with the tension between speaking as a true citizen by viewing the future of Afrikaners in a positive way, but at the same time being deeply uncertain and anxious about the future under black majority rule.

There seems to be a contradiction in Alan's rhetoric in Extract 5 that is weakening his grounds for a secure future for Afrikaners. In lines 5 and 6 Alan gives the following reason for Afrikaners' hope for survival: "in terms of numbers we stand strong enough". Alan is relying on the numeric strength of 'whites' and Afrikaners in particular to form a strong and unified group that can bolster the political and cultural position of Afrikaners. Yet in lines 9-10 Alan contradicts this argument: "not that we can stand together". He is undermining his reliance on the numerical strength of 'whites' and Afrikaners with his representation of the inability of Afrikaners to stand together. It is a well-known belief in Afrikaner circles that Afrikaners as a group find it extremely difficult to transcend differences of all kinds and work together as a unit. The reference to Zimbabwe is used twice in the passage of talk (lines 7 and 11) and it is constructed as the worst case scenario that can happen to Afrikaners. Although it is not clearly specified in the above stretch of talk it can be deduced that Zimbabwe is constructed as the prototype of how things can go wrong. Alan fears that Afrikaners might be "forced into" (line 10) a Zimbabwean kind of situation: it is implied that the more powerful political and racial Other might bring Afrikaners against their will to a situation of disempowerment and subjection.

After having painted this rather bleak and uncertain picture of future prospects for Afrikaners, despite his

initial positive statement, Alan elaborates that the Afrikaans language will survive and live on if Afrikaners will continue to use it in its many forms (lines 11-14). Although Alan states that he is not fearful that "Afrikaans will die out" (lines 15-16) he (in a contradictory manner) constructs an enemy for the Afrikaans language and culture: "hmm the government hasn't (.) nearly enough (.) power to squash it to death absolutely not hmm even even with the Afrikaans culture" (lines 16-19). The utterance "power to squash it to death" (lines 17-18) shows the hostile and malevolent intent of the Enemy that constitutes the threat. The government is constructed here as an enemy of the Afrikaans language and culture and the rhetoric that Alan is using resembles a sense of defiance and protest. It comes across as a challenge: they are not "nearly" (line 17) strong enough to "squash" (line 17) it. One senses that the strong, emotive language (the emphasis on "nearly" in line 17, and the use of the strong word "absolutely" in line 18), from a psychoanalytic point of view, could be interpreted as hiding away a deeper sense of threat and insecurity.

Alan draws on the discourse of the "laager" (sticking closely together as an ethnic group) and represents the basis for the continued survival and existence of the Afrikaans language and culture as dependent on Afrikaners themselves: "I mean it now depends on the Afrikaner him or herself (.) and then I believe you will always have an Afrikaner that will remind you (.) fight for your language (.) fight for your culture" (lines 23-26). It is not part of Alan's way of talking as an Afrikaner, for example, to think in terms of the possibility that the Other might also be sympathetic towards the Afrikaners' desire and quest to build out their language and culture. Relying on a traditional, culturally-minded (conservative) Afrikaner to remind fellow Afrikaners to "fight" (line 25) for their language and culture has appeared

in other family conversations as well. This call to struggle for the survival of the Afrikaans language and culture seems to be part of a militaristic discourse (Van Jaarsveld, 1976) that appears characteristic of many WASSAs' way of making sense of their social world in contemporary post-Afrikaner-nationalist society. These ways of talking that draw heavily on discourses of the past (we should stand together as a unified ethnic group: in the 'laager'; the 'Swart Gevaar' (Black Danger); militarism) seem to be major stumbling blocks in enabling 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in making the transition from being settlers to becoming citizens of the democratic society.

5.3.2. Using disclaimers: "I don't have a pain or something ... that they pulled them up"

The ambivalent structure of Afrikaner threat narratives can also be seen in the utilization of disclaimers in the construction of these narratives. Van Dijk (1992) argues that the use of disclaimers, mitigations and other forms of racism denial are the routine moves in social face-keeping when 'white' speakers are talking about the Other:

Extract 6: English translation (speakers: Annette= mother; Johan= father)

1 Annette but Charlie my (.) thing is (emotional) is I don't
2 have I don't have a pain or something (.) with
3 (..) that they (.) they pulled them up (.) but the
4 one must not oppress the other (.) we should all
5 have equal rights if you apply for a post
6 (emotional) irrespective whether you are English
7 speaking Afrikaans speaking Xhosa or (.) Zulu or
8 whatever else
9 Johan (inaudible)
10 Annette if your qualification is there the one that is
11 doing the job best must get it (...)

In Extract 6 Annette is making use of the disclaimer "I don't have a pain or something (.) with (..) that they (.) they pulled them up" (lines 2-3). This utterance is followed

by a "but" (line 3), and then two concerns on the part of the speaker: "the one must not oppress the other" (lines 3-4), as well as "we should all have equal rights" (lines 4-5).

Discourse analytic researchers have emphasized that the use of a disclaimer like the one used by Annette serves a particular function. For example, when 'white' speakers express a negative opinion about black South Africans, particularly in a racially sensitive society like ours, the possibility exists that the utterance may be interpreted as a racist statement.

Van Dijk (1992) and others have established that 'white' speakers in western settings are most often concerned that negative talk about so-called minority groups or immigrants may be heard as biased, prejudiced or racist. What happens is that such discourse needs to be mitigated or managed in such a way that it will not be held against the speaker. Van Dijk (1992) contends that face-keeping, positive self-presentation and impression management are discursive and rhetorical strategies that 'white' speakers utilize in situations of possible 'loss of face'. They want to make sure that they are not misunderstood and that an unwanted inference like 'racist' is made from what they say. In Extract 6 it seems that the disclaimer that Annette is mobilizing has the function of conveying to the interviewer that she has nothing against the fact that "they pulled them up" (line 3). She wants to communicate that she is not against the changes that have occurred in the South African society where black South Africans now enjoy equal rights with their 'white' counterparts. The disclaimer has been used as a preparation for the statement of Annette's concerns. Annette's implicit sense of threat is framed in de-racialized terms in the utterance: "but the one must not oppress the other" (lines 3-4). This utterance can be viewed as a subtle criticism of apartheid, but it is also ironical against the historical and political backdrop where Afrikaners were regarded as the

maintainers of an oppressive and abusive system. It is evident that Annette is implicitly constructing a threatening "dominator" and draws upon the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger). Annette continues to make an appeal for "equal rights" (line 5) in a society where the negotiated constitution and bill of rights of the country seem not to provide the necessary security for her. (It is interesting to note the resonance with the talk in lines 28-30 of Extract 3 where the message is conveyed: 'we are all equal now') Her sense of fear for the Other seems to override this fundamental guarantee. The concern about being oppressed and not having "equal rights" is interpreted in the context where young 'white' Afrikaans-speakers (or 'white' young people) have to compete with young black South Africans in an era of affirmative action in an open market. Annette concludes her argument by constructing security in a "qualification" (line 10) and in "the one that is doing the job best" (lines 10-11) that will hopefully be successful. The hidden implication of this construction seems to be that the 'white' or Afrikaner young person should be this kind of person. It is evident from this analysis that the disclaimer is used to manage threat on the part of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, and to convey the message: "we are not against social change in the South African society". However, the ambivalent structure of the threat narratives seems to contain the message: we are not against change, "but" ...

5.3.3. Letting go of mitigation: "And then I have a big worry"

'White' Afrikaans-speakers that took part in the family conversations in the present study did show resemblances to discourse analytic research results reported by Van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1992) about the nature of everyday talk about ethnic and racial affairs in studies conducted in the

Netherlands and California. For example, a large number of topics in the family conversations of the present study similarly dealt with threats, either explicitly or implicitly, relating to social, economic, cultural, and political domains of life as viewed by the 'white' group. Furthermore, the relating of narratives was conducted in the form of an argument and certainly not with the intention of entertaining the listener. Narratives served as the persuasive and personally experienced premises to a generally negative conclusion: "they are the problem". The style, rhetoric and communication generally indicated critical distance, if not negative attitudes towards the Other (Van Dijk, 1992). Van Dijk (1992) reported that norms of tolerance controlled the expression of evaluations in the talk of 'whites' to such an extent that discourse with strangers (for example, the interviewers) was, generally speaking, rather mitigated and strong verbal utterances (for example, aggression) tended to be avoided.

The discourse of Afrikaner families in the present study showed an awareness of what a negative characterization of black South Africans could mean in the present South African situation, which is in a sense comparable to Van Dijk's (1992) findings. However, I would like to argue that important differences were established in comparison to the western studies in the sense that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers seem to experience profound senses of stigmatisation, uncertainty and threat that emerged in discourses about themselves as Afrikaners as well as fellow black South Africans:

Extract 7: English translation (speaker: Eloize= mother)

1 Eloize hmm I have a little bit of an anxiety but I think
2 I I think we will have to put up a little bit of
3 a fight for our language and our culture in the
4 future (.) I I feel I I think so hmm especially
5 maybe children's children will definitely have it
6 a little more difficult (.) to keep their culture
7 and Afrikaans going and to keep it strong (.) and

8 then I have a big worry about the crime (.) I I
9 cannot I I don't know how are we going (.) to
10 solve the thing but I think it is a a big worry
11 or something that (...) yes if we talk about the
12 future crime and poverty

In the passage of talk in Extract 7 Eloize is elaborating about how she views the future of Afrikaners in the new, democratic society. It is evident that Eloize is utilizing the discursive and rhetorical strategy of mitigation in order to manage her threat talk: she has a "little bit of an anxiety" (line 1); "we will have to put up a little bit of a fight" (lines 2-3) to preserve the language and culture; our children's children will "have it a little more difficult" (lines 33-34). The use of the category "fight" (line 3) implies an adversary or opponent that will make things difficult for us to maintain and develop our language and culture. However, the speaker is engaging in face management to diminish or conceal her anxiety about the future of Afrikaners as a minority group, and where some sort of struggle or action is needed to preserve language and cultural rights. Eloize does not want to be seen as being in disharmony with the values and goals of the new society when it comes to maintaining your language and culture. However, an interesting variation is evident in Eloize's construction of her "big worry about the crime" (line 8 and also line 10). A sense of desperation seems to be visible in her utterance: "I don't know how we are going (.) to solve the thing" (lines 9-10). Whereas Eloize is mobilizing the discursive strategy of mitigation in managing the threat relating to language and culture, the situation is different when talking about the threat of crime. In the context of talking about crime there is no mitigation in terms of a sense of threat for the criminal Other.

It is significant that Eloize is making the connection between "crime" and "poverty" in talking about the future in

the conclusion to this passage: "it is a big worry ... yes if we talk about the future crime and poverty" (lines 10-12). The criminal Other is obviously also the poor Other. What Eloize leaves unsaid in this concluding passage (lines 10-12) is that she is expressing her fear as a member of the community of "haves". What becomes clear is that she is mobilizing the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) in different terms: in economic terms, in talking about the future. To put it in other words, the three Others fuse into one: the senses of fear for the criminal Other, the poor Other and the racial Other are preventing Eloize, and middle class 'white' Afrikaans-speakers like her, to embrace the future in the democratic society in an optimistic and constructive manner, and making the transition from settler to citizen.

5.3.4. Shifting senses of threat

As could be seen in the previous section 5.3.3, the production of threat varies depending on the context of the discourse. What also became apparent was that the utilization of contrasting and contradictory representations can contribute to the (skilful) management of threat:

Extract 8: English translation (speakers: Rhoda= mother; Simon= father)

1 Rhoda huh I didn't have a terrible problem with Mbeki
 2 (.) had we we actually had nothing to do (with
 3 him) (...) you know (.) after the (.) everybody went
 4 on so terribly and (.) thought a:fter the election
 5 the whole world (.) our our lives did not change
 6 that much (..) we live pretty much as we used to
 7 live
 8 Simon hmm (agreeing)
 9 Rhoda there is a bit of tension around Simon's work (.)
 10 every now and then a bit of tension (.) around my
 11 own work (...) but (.) and you see we are in a
 12 rural setting (platteland) (.) you still have
 13 your Afrikaans friends (.)
 14 Interv hmm
 15 Rhoda you are I mean we (.) maybe the rural people's
 16 ('plattelanders')(.) views about this are
 17 different to those in the (.) cities I don't know

18 Interv hmm hmm hmm
19 Rhoda you see I am not a farmer where they come and
20 take away my farm (.)
21 Interv hmm hmm
22 Rhoda you see we don't really have a crisis relating to
23 that isn't it (.)
24 Simon hmm (agreeing)
25 Rhoda it's just (.) as a result of your work but he has
26 again secured a fixed appointment (.) so now we
27 are fine again hahaha
28 Interv hmm hmm

One could characterize the passage of talk in Extract 8 as a narrative of shifting senses of threat and varying senses of security and insecurity. There are a number of contrasts that emerge in the narrative: Rhoda "didn't have a terrible problem with Mbeki" (line 1) as the president of the country, but "everybody went on so terribly and (.) thought a:fter the election the whole world" (line 3-5) (notice the non-completion of the utterance) would come to an end metaphorically speaking. The non-completion of the sentence in line 5 could point to the awkwardness of the situation at the time of the first democratic election when many Afrikaners stocked up canned food in anticipation that their most ghastly, cataclysmic fears might have come true with the coming into power of a black majority government. Rhoda constructs their lives as relatively without threat in line 6: "we live pretty much as we used to live" despite the fact that "everybody went on so terribly" (lines 3-4) before the 1994 democratic elections. Rhoda uses the rhetorical manoeuvre of contrast to convey the message that life is relatively without threat and quite good in the new South Africa, despite what some 'whites' had anticipated: this is also a strategy of face management. She is actually using the voice of those that said "here comes big disaster" to say that life is not that bad in the new South Africa. This analysis can be regarded as a form of 'deviant case' analysis since what seems to be

emerging in this passage of talk is a form of denial of threat that is produced and contrasted with constructions of threat.

Furthermore, Rhoda utilizes mitigation strategies in lines 9-11 to manage the threat that both Simon and herself are experiencing in their respective work situations with "a bit of tension". Rhoda uses the contrast between the city and the "platteland" (rural setting) where "you still have your Afrikaans friends" (lines 12-13) as a source of security against the threat of a transforming society. What is significant is that Rhoda also contrasts their own position with that of vulnerable farmers: "you see I am not a farmer where they come and take away my farm" (lines 19-20). Farmers are constructed as being in the unenviable position where the dangerous and powerful Other (discourse of the "Swart Gevaar") can just lay claim to their land without being in a position to offer resistance. Rhoda concludes that they "don't really have a crisis relating to that" (lines 22-23). In contrast to this major threat where the black government or "they" can be a threat to farmers, Rhoda and Simon only have to contend with a "bit of tension" (lines 9-10) around their work situations. Because Simon has "secured a fixed appointment" (line 26) again, their personal lives are "fine again" (line 27) and relatively without threat. Rhoda is making use of rhetorical and discursive manoeuvres of diminishing threat, but at the same time showing how close and how cataclysmic threat can be. Rhoda's discourse throughout the passage of talk, and particularly in talking about the position of 'white' farmers, did implicitly reveal a construction of a dangerous enemy and opponent of Afrikaner people that poses a threat to their interests.

5.3.5. Reversal of racism: "You've got the problem"

Van Dijk (1992) has reiterated that mitigation strategies are particularly widely used in social settings where norms against the practice of racism are very clear and strong. The more stringent the norms against discrimination and racism, like in post-apartheid South Africa, the more people will tend to have recourse to denials and also to mitigations. The strongest form of denial of racism that has been identified in western studies is the strategy of reversal (Van Dijk, 1992):

Extract 9: English translation (speakers: Eloize= mother; Alan= father)

1 Eloize but hmm cannot remember exactly what the question
2 initially was but (.) on racism I just want to
3 (tell) something that I experienced in my class
4 recently (.)
5 Interv yes
6 Eloize hmm I am very honest when I say hmm I I get angry
7 sometimes over things but I am not a racist I see
8 myself genuinely not hmm our school is 90% or 99%
9 black hmm I teach black children (.) virtually the
10 entire day but I think (...) I don't know when
11 racism will be eradicated from our schools even
12 amongst our children if it ever will be corrected
13 Interv very interesting point
14 Eloize because I I write for example (.) on the board I
15 am teaching the class I don't have an idea about
16 racism in my head or something I do adjectives
17 'byvoeglike naamwoorde'
18 Interv hmm hmm
19 Eloize then I write on the board 'the black cat'
20 immediately I hear but I stand with my back a few
21 say something about 'black' 'black' I let it go
22 by
23 Interv hmm hmm
24 Eloize these are grade sevens
25 Interv I see
26 Eloize the next sentence (smiling) is the hmm 'The boy
27 wears a white shirt' 'white' and (inaudible) and
28 just there yes they (said) something behind my
29 back (...) you know you hear it (.) there was first
30 something about 'black' these are grade seven
31 primary school children
32 Interv so they are aware (...)
33 Eloize and I immediately (just) there (.) maybe I
34 shouldn't have (...) I snapped and I turned around
35 and told them just there the entire class (.) we
36 started talking about (...) then I said to them you

37 have got the problem I said I didn't just now hmm
38 racism or something (.) you know you are busy to
39 (doing) racism here (.) you talk about 'black'
40 and 'white' does it have anything to do with
41 adjectives? It (affected) me incredibly (.) but
42 it shows those children (.) and (they) are in
43 grade seven
44 Interv so awareness of
45 Eloize when when is it going to (.) it is not with me
46 any more I can honestly say I don't have a
47 problem with a white child I am not going to
48 favour the one or the other I give the same
49 education to everybody (.)
50 Interv very interesting very interesting
51 Eloize and they were they were when we started talking
52 about it (emotional) they were ashamed they were
53 ashamed immediately and they knew what it was
54 all about and what I was talking about
55 Interv it is very interesting
56 Eloize and they became dead quiet dead quiet
57 Interv so so what you are actually saying is that we the
58 society is still (.) hey race is an issue that is
59 (.) alive and well
60 Alan no but the the these childrens' parents (.) still
61 have an issue (...) our government still have an
62 issue (.) and as soon as you begin to say (.)
63 listen there must be five players of colour in a
64 team
65 Interv that is my next question (.) yes hmm
66 Alan you know (.) now you harp on race all the time
67 (...) instead of saying select the best team and if
68 the best team is pitch black or lilly white then
69 we all accept it like that (.) but select the
70 best team (.) the experts not the politicians
71 Interv hmm hmm

In Extract 9 Eloize, wife of Alan and a teacher at a local primary school is responding to a question on how the family is experiencing the new South Africa where 'white' South Africans, including Afrikaners, are not dominating to the same extent as in the past. The issue of 'race' has surfaced in the family conversation. Eloize starts by relating an experience that she had encountered in her grade 7 (black) class not too long ago. Although Eloize becomes "angry" at times in circumstances where black South Africans are involved, she makes it abundantly clear that she is "not a racist" (line 7). She repeats this denial of racism in lines 43-46: "it is not with me any more" (lines 43-44). She

positions herself as concerned about the fact that racism seems to surface in the school setting: "I don't know when racism will disappear from our schools even amongst our children if it ever will be corrected" (lines 10-13). Eloize starts the narrative by telling that she is teaching adjectives to a grade 7 class consisting of black learners: "I am writing for example (.) on the board I am conducting this class I don't have an idea about racism in my head or something I am doing adjectives" (lines 15-17). Eloize is constructing herself as innocently doing her job of teaching the children adjectives and that she has nothing to do with anything racial. She writes on the board: 'the black cat' and she hears some remarks about 'black' from among the learners but she lets it go by. The next sentence is: 'The boy wears a white shirt'. Again she hears remarks, this time about 'white' and then she reacts: "and I immediately (.) maybe I shouldn't have (..) I snapped and I turned around and told them just there the entire class (...) then I said to them you have the problem I said I have not referred to racism or something (.)" (lines 32-37). Eloize was standing with her back to the class writing on the board when she heard something about 'black': "immediately I hear but I stand with my back a few say something about 'black' 'black' I let it go by" (lines 20-22). It is evident from what Eloize is telling that she did not hear precisely what the children were saying. The same applies to what she is relating in lines 28-29: "and just there yes they (said) something behind my back (...) you know you hear it (.) there was first something about 'black'". The words "you know you hear it" as well as "yes" seem to be ways of trying to convince the listener that she in actual fact heard what she claimed to have heard. Eloize only hears something about 'black' and 'white'. She hasn't heard the context within which this was said, or any clear racist content. However, it is she that hears what the children were

saying as racist. Eloize, in other words, brings a racist framework to bear on what she had heard the children saying. This stretch of talk can also be interpreted as a narrative of threat: Eloize, although the teacher, is being intimidated about race.

The story reaches a climax with Eloize bursting out ("snapped") and confronting the children with their pre-occupation about 'race'. She is wary that maybe her conduct was not appropriate and was going overboard: "maybe I shouldn't have" (lines 33-34). The teacher who is innocently teaching adjectives in the classroom (and not having an idea about 'race' in her mind), is confronted with black children in her class who are making a racial issue out of the learning content: she is constructing the children as being pre-occupied with race whereas she is just doing her work. They are represented as having a problem with race while she is above 'race', just doing her work: "you have the problem" (line 36). She also constructs the reaction of the children as a sign that they were on the wrong: "they were immediately ashamed" (line 59); "they became very very quiet" (line 62). It confirms her observation that they are pre-occupied with race. Eloize initially ignored the remark of the interviewer when he said: "so they are aware (of racial issues)" (line 42). At that moment she was talking quite passionately on how she confronted them. Rhetorically Eloize's strong reaction can also be viewed as a form of protest. The interviewer responded again and summarized what was said in the following way: "so what you are actually saying is that our society is still (.) hey race is an issue that is (.) alive and well" (line 63-65). Her husband, Alan, burst into the conversation also quite emotionally and responded: "no but the the these children's parents (.) have an issue (...) our government has still got an issue (.) and as soon as you begin to say (.) listen there must be five people of colour in a team" (line

66-69). From a psychoanalytic point of view these reactions can be interpreted as classic examples of projection. Eloize and Alan have been doing exactly what they accused the black children in Eloize's class of doing. Their own narratives have revealed themselves in terms of how strongly both of them feel about 'race' and how pre-occupied they are. In their representing themselves as beyond 'race' their narratives have exposed them as racists.

It is evident from analysing this passage that both speakers are utilizing the rhetorical and discursive strategy of reversal in their talk. As Billig (1988), Van Dijk (1992) and other authors have emphasized, this strategy is an extreme form of denial of racism. The speakers are accusing the children in Eloize's class (Eloize) as well as the children's parents and the government (Alan) of having "got the problem" (line 37). This talk can also be interpreted in the sense that Eloize and Alan are feeling threatened by the 'racism' of the children, as well as the parents and the government. Van Dijk (1992) reiterates that reversals are no longer a form of social defence, like in the case of using milder forms of denials of racism such as mitigations, but that it is a strategy of (counter-)attack. It was established by analysing the talk and text of forms of elite discourse, as well as everyday talk, that the rhetorical strategy of reversal has been widely used by right-wing groups in different parts of Western Europe and the USA. The strategy of reversal has been widely used by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the family conversations of the present study. I want to argue that the abundant mobilization by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the present study of the discursive and rhetorical strategy of reversal is an indication of the extent to which they experience their position as threatened and stigmatised in the contemporary South African situation. It seems that what is regarded as an extreme reaction in a western cultural context

is a relatively 'normal' reaction among 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary society. It appears that Afrikaners have to continuously deal with the suspicion (and being extremely sensitive in terms of racial issues), imagined or real, that is linked to Afrikaners' position of being racists and oppressors under apartheid.

It has also become evident from studying the talk of Afrikaner families in the present study that the past, and particularly the recitation of discourses from the past, play a significant role in the construction of threat narratives in post-apartheid society.

5.4. RECITATION OF DISCOURSES OF THE PAST IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFRIKANER THREAT NARRATIVES

This section focuses on the recitation of traditional ways of talking, in other words, drawing on discourses from the apartheid era of Afrikaner nationalism in constructing threat narratives. The threat narratives are produced in the process of making sense of their experiences and themselves in post-apartheid society. The following recitations of discourses of the past are distinguished:

- * "In the laager", or we should stand together as an ethnic group against threats from outside
- * our unity (social and religious life) is disintegrating
- * the purity of Afrikaans is threatened
- * fixed moral principles, as we knew these, are disappearing
- * the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) is threatening us:
 - a) "I will remain a South African come what may"
 - b) our history is threatened
 - c) "he was just wiped out": whites will not get the jobs
 - d) "power is the mistake of all African countries"
 - e) "our lives are worth nothing": crime

5.4.1. "We are a small little group": In the laager

During the apartheid years and before that era nationalist political and cultural Afrikaners leaders have conveyed the message that Afrikaners should stand together and form a unified community against those outsiders: the widely used proverb was "unity is power" ("eendrag maak mag") (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Murray, 1986). This discourse of "we should stand together" or "in the laager" was drawn upon by 'white', Afrikaans-speakers in the family conversations:

Extract 10: English translation (speakers: Joyce= mother; Johan sr= father)

1 Joyce all that I can say we are a small little group (...)
2 a small (...) you know a small little group of
3 Afrikaners because it's English and its (.) Xhosa
4 and its what else isn't it?
5 Johan sr ye:s (..) and even more (.) more reason that (.)
6 the Afrikaner must (stick) together more
7 Joyce yes must stand together (...)
8 Johan sr like for example Steve Hofmeyr with his (..)
9 marches that he holds (.) for Afrikaans
10 Interv yes

In Extract 10 Joyce is responding to the question on how the family members are viewing Afrikaners today with a construction of Afrikaners as "a small little group" (line 1). She contrasts the "small little group of Afrikaners" (lines 2-3) with the rest or the majority: "English" (line 3), "Xhosa" (line 3) and "what else isn't it?" (line 4). The use of "you know" in line 2 is associated with appeals to intersubjectivity, in other words, not having to spell things out (Edwards, 2003). Joyce frames her talk as something generally knowable among Afrikaner people that they are a small minority that is up against a large majority. Similarly the utilization of "what else isn't it?" in line 4 is also a way of representing these ethnic and racial matters as common knowledge. This implies that these matters can be vaguely formulated, and there is no need to explicate in full details

(lines 3-4) what the other ethnic and racial groups in South Africa are. It is a way of framing potentially controversial issues as nothing of the sort.

Johan sr, Joyce's husband, confirms her representation and draws on the discourse of the "laager" to emphasize that "the Afrikaner must (stick) together more" (line 6). The implication here is that Afrikaners are on their own, they are set apart from the rest of the South African society, and each individual from the group is needed to bolster their weak and vulnerable position. This reference to the numerical strength of Afrikaners is similar to the talk in Extract 5 where there is also a reference to numbers and the unity of Afrikaners. A further implication is that the majority group is a foreign community and different from "us". Johan sr refers to the Afrikaans musician, Steve Hofmeyr, as an example of an Afrikaner cultural leader who holds "marches" (line 9) to strengthen the position of Afrikaans. Forms of collective action (like marches) and protest are needed to bolster the interests of this "small little group of Afrikaners" against this foreign, but powerful Other. The recitation of the discourse of "the laager" featured prominently in the talk of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers during the family conversations. It is evident from analysing this passage of text in Extract 10 that it was not part of the framework of both husband and wife that Afrikaners could be part of a bigger and inclusive majority whose interests and well-being are intimately tied together and transcend sectarian divisions. It seems that this is the kind of mental and ideological shift that many Afrikaners need to make to move from the position of settler to citizen of the post-apartheid society.

5.4.2. Out of the laager: "Then you are a lost human being"- Afrikaners' traditional social and religious life constructed as threatened

A deep sense of loss, threat and anxiety seem to accompany a situation where traditional Afrikaner cohesiveness is disintegrating:

Extract 11: English translation (speakers: Johan= father; Annette= mother)

1 Interv precisely precisely (.) hmm is there do you think
2 (.) Afrikaans people have (.) changed drastically?
3 Johan yes
4 Interv or a person can possibly phrase it broader (.)
5 white people (.) generally but Afrikaners
6 specifically
7 Annette their morale has weakened very much
8 Johan they they (unclear) don't stand together like in
9 the olden days any more (.) they are gone (.) in
10 the olden olden times yes (..) you know your
11 neighbour (.) was your neighbour (.) he was your
12 friend (..)
13 Interv yes
14 Johan (...) you looked after him he looked after you (...)
15 you visited each other (.) everything (.)
16 nowadays everybody walks past each other (.) a
17 man can see another man lying in the street (.)
18 he will just say why is the man lying there is he
19 drunk? You know (.) he will not have a look (.)
20 if he was hurt (unclear) hmm (.) it is as if (.)
21 the Afrikaans-speaking person and humanity
22 generally (...) has nothing left for his fellow
23 human being (...) it can be that life has become so
24 hectic and crazy you know life is too fast now
25 hey (..) everyone is in a hurry everyone wants to
26 get there (.) as a consequence you don't have
27 time for other people (..) you barely have time
28 for yourself (...) if you take your religion (...) on
29 a Sunday go to a Dutch Reformed Church to an
30 Afrikaans-speaking church and see how many people
31 are in that church (...) so many people came to
32 church regularly (.) we attended a Eucharist
33 service (.) recently (.) if there were sixty
34 people from the congregation attending the
35 Eucharist then it was a lot (...) see now we again
36 come to the (inaudible) moral matters (.) the
37 morality is declining (.) religion has started to
38 decline (.) already (...) and if people lose (.)
39 their religion (.) and lose your interest in your
40 fellow human being (.) then you are (unclear) a
41 lost human being

In Extract 11 two family members, Johan and Annette responded to a question on whether 'white' Afrikaans-speaking people have changed drastically since social and political transformation started with the birth of the new democratic society in 1994. Both Annette and Johan are positioning themselves critically towards Afrikaners' ways of doing things in the new South Africa in their talk. Johan draws on the discourse of the laager by constructing Afrikaners as not "stand(ing) together like in the olden days any more" (lines 8-9). He uses a strong utterance to characterize the implications of this change: "they are gone" (line 9). Johan continues by using the rhetorical strategy of building up two contrasting pictures, the one of the idealised past of how things were in the good old days ("your neighbour (.) was your neighbour" in line 10-11; "you visited each other" in line 15) and the other one of how things have changed for the worse: "nowadays everybody walks past each other (line 16). Johan employs the image of "a man lying in the street" (line 17) to characterize the typical response of "the Afrikaans-speaking person" (line 21) and "humanity generally" (lines 21-22). Afrikaners are constructed as having "nothing left for his fellow human being" (lines 22-23); they "will not have a look (.) (to see) if he was hurt" (lines 19-20). Rhetorically, the nature of the discourse has the character of a criticism, of a sense of complaining, and even a sense of accusation. In Extract 11 the criticism is levelled at the Afrikaner himself or herself. It is directed inwards and not (directly) towards the Other as has happened so often in many family conversations.

Johan constructs Afrikaners' predicament as part of a (post-apartheid) setting where "life has become so hectic and crazy" (lines 23-24); where "everyone is in a hurry" (line 25); and where "you don't have time for other people" (lines

26-27); and "barely ... for yourself" (lines 27-28). This scenario is also extended to the church (religious) domain in Johan's talk: the rhetoric of criticism of Afrikaners' ways continues with complaints about "how many people are in that church" (lines 30-31) today as opposed to "so many people came to church regularly" (lines 31-32) in the past, and the poor attendance of a "Eucharist service (.) recently" (lines 32-33). Johan constructs a far-reaching conclusion about Afrikaners from observing the decline of "morality" (line 37) and "religion" (line 37): "and if people lose (.) their religion (.) and lose your interest in your fellow human being (.) then you are (unclear) a lost human being" (lines 38-41). The use of the utterance "lose" twice in this passage is significant. It is a narrative of loss and threat: and this loss is constructed as a catastrophic loss where Afrikaners "are gone" (line 9) and a "lost human being" (line 41). The implicit reasoning that emerges here is that it is a catastrophic and devastating loss to Afrikaners and their identity when their social and religious life is structurally changing and when it is not possible to continue in the old ways. The traditional discourses in relation to social life and religion (for example, the discourse of *our group* standing together in the laager) are being recited in the construction of this threat narrative. One does not hear, for example, of a sense of renewal that potentially can emerge from a disintegration of traditional structures in Afrikaners' social, cultural and religious life. The discourse of the speaker, Johan, is lacking in a sense of hopefulness and renewal that speaks to the challenges and needs of Afrikaners in these times of transition where new discourses and forms of co-existence are required. It is the embracing of new ways of speaking and relating in terms of their social, cultural and religious life that will enable 'white' Afrikaans-speakers to

make the transition from settler to citizen of the new democratic society.

The recitation of traditional ways of talking also emerged in relation to speaking 'pure Afrikaans'.

5.4.3. Purity of the Afrikaans language threatened

The recitation of discourses of the past also appeared in settings where speakers were talking about the use of 'pure' (or the so-called 'standaard Afrikaans': standard Afrikaans) Afrikaans, as well as who is regarded as part of this domain of 'pure' Afrikaans:

Extract 12: English translation (speakers: Johan= father; Annette= mother)

1 Interv hmm would would you for example (.) we have here
2 (.) Brian Habana where is he? There he is (points
3 to photo) (..) a Coloured guy hey or (.) Soli
4 Philander (..) hmm here is Alan Boesak and so
5 forth would you (.) include people like this in
6 your definition of (.) Afrikaans? At this stage?
7 Johan hmm not at the present moment (..) because there
8 is not one of them that speaks pure Afrikaans (..
9 if you switch on your TV and these presenters
10 appear (.) it is a 'show' and it's a 'gig' and
11 it's a 'film' that type of thing (.)there is no
12 more Afrikaans (unclear) they don't speak
13 Afrikaans
14 Annette no more pure Afrikaans
15 Johan they speak a mixed bag
16 Annette Soli is a very good presenter
17 Johan yes
18 Annette very good presenter
19 Johan but they (.) they speak they are not pure
20 Afrikaans
21 Annette but it is not pure they don't speak pure
22 Afrikaans any more
23 Interv this has also changed hey
24 Annette yes
25 Interv that that issue as you stated it as 'pure
26 Afrikaans'
27 Johan (inaudible)
28 Interv it's it's definitely so that it ...
29 Annette but listen to your Afrikaans artists there's also
30 Robbie Wessels (..) listen to his songs (.)
31 there's nn he is also not pure Afrikaans (...)
32 Interv that's right (.) so that (.) image of (.) the
33 pure

34 Johan the Afrikaner is something of the past (.) th th
35 there it is (..) if you cannot speak Afrikaans
36 your language (.) he cannot speak his own
37 language how can he be an Afrikaner?
38 Interv hmm hmm

In Extract 12 the question is posed to this particular family as to whether they would include so-called Coloured Afrikaans-speakers in their definition of Afrikaans. Names of prominent and well-known so-called Coloured persons like Soli Philander, the TV personality; Brian Habana, the Springbok rugby player, and Alan Boesak, the prominent theologian and political activist during the apartheid years, were mentioned. The purpose of the question was to investigate how 'white' Afrikaans-speakers are drawing the boundaries of Afrikaansness in their talk in the post-apartheid era: whether the boundaries of being Afrikaans are shifting and becoming more permeable when it comes to 'race'.

Johan responded to the question by stating that he would not include so-called Coloured speakers of Afrikaans in his definition of Afrikaans "at the present moment" (line 7) "because there is not one of them that speaks pure Afrikaans" (lines 7-8). The utterance "at the present moment" (line 7) is a rhetorical strategy implying that "they" might be included in the future, so it is not categorical in the sense that "they" are permanently excluded from the category of (pure) Afrikaans-speakers. Johan draws on the discourse of purity or speaking Afrikaans in a pure or traditional way in his talk on how people like Soli Philander speaks Afrikaans when he appears on TV. Johan illustrates his point by referring to words like "show" (line 10), "gig" (line 10) and "film" (line 11) that presenters like Soli Philander use when speaking his non-pure Afrikaans. He concludes that "there is no more Afrikaans" (lines 11-12) which Annette, his wife, confirms and clarifies: "no more pure Afrikaans" (line 14). From a rhetorical point of view these utterances of "no more

(pure) Afrikaans" are also a complaint, a form of criticism and protest against the state of affairs of how people are using Afrikaans in the post-apartheid era: "they speak a mixed bag" (line 15). Although Soli is constructed in a face-saving way as a "very good presenter" (line 16) by both speakers, he is located outside the boundaries of the community of pure (and "white") Afrikaans-speakers: "they are not pure Afrikaans" (lines 19-20).

When the interviewer challenged the speakers on the notion of purity of Afrikaans (lines 23-26, 32-33), Annette concedes and uses the example of Robbie Wessels, the 'white', Afrikaans musician, who is "also not pure Afrikaans" (line 31). Johan, in a clear and unambiguous reaction, constructs the Afrikaner as "something of the past" (line 34) on the grounds "if you cannot speak Afrikaans your language" (lines 35-36). Johan constructs a sense of loss for the Afrikaner if he or she cannot speak his/her language in the traditional, "pure" and 'white' way. The reference to "your language" (line 36) and "his own language" (lines 36-37) clearly constructs the ownership of the language to 'white' Afrikaans-speakers (Afrikaners). The speaker, Johan, constructs a sense of threat that is closely linked to the sense of loss. Rhetorically, the speaker is arguing or warning against a dangerous or threatening situation or force or Other that is jeopardizing the (traditional) identity of Afrikaners. The recitation of the discourse of purity, and Afrikaans as fundamentally a 'white' language and the possession of traditional Afrikaners is creating a dilemma for Afrikaners in the new democratic society. The situation could have been different and less problematic for Johan and Annette had they acquired new ways of talking. One way of dealing with this dilemma is constructing new and inclusive boundaries of being Afrikaans by including "non-'white'" and hybrid forms of speaking Afrikaans in their definition: Afrikaans can be

defined as multi-voiced, and not in a monological fashion where there is only one legitimate way to speak the language: the traditional, "pure" and 'white' way of speaking/being Afrikaans. It seems that embracing new and inclusive definitions of Afrikaansness could be an important way of moving away from the position of settler and old-style ways of being Afrikaans towards becoming a citizen of a colourful, hybrid South Africa.

The recitation of discourses of the past also emerged in talk about moral matters.

5.4.4. Afrikaners' moral life as threatened

Traditional ways of speaking and thinking about moral issues emerged in a family conversation where all three family members agreed that Afrikaners, as well as the country as a whole, are facing a moral crisis:

Extract 13: English translation (speakers: Annette= mother; Johan= father)

1 Annette but Charlie just look at your principles hey (.) I
2 am talking about moral principles (.) look when we
3 grew up (.)
4 Interv yes
5 Annette how strict was (.) moral principles not just among
6 whites (.) not just among Afrikaners but also
7 among your black population (..)
8 Interv hmm hmm hmm it's very true (...)
9 Annette where are those moral principles today? (...)
10 Interv these things are in flux isn't it (.) it it is
11 very true some of these things have disintegrated
12 (.) and this is precisely why we are having the
13 conversation because (.) you know the whole thing
14 (.) of searching for identity isn't it (.) of a
15 new (.) well a I say nearly new solidity ('vastigheid')
16 Annette yes
17 Interv how does (.) a person achieve this? Hey what you
18 are saying (.) it it is
19 Annette but you cannot exist without fixed moral
20 principles (emotional) (.) you will go under in
21 the world (.)
22 Johan no country can (.)
23 Annette no country can (emotional) (.) exist without
24 those moral principles (.) it doesn't matter who
25 you are (emotional)

26 Interv hmm hmm
27 Noel to take a good example England was a strong
28 country previously (.) in it's time (.) people
29 still think it is a strong country but if a
30 person really look at its structure and goods (.)
31 because there are such a lot of immigrants and
32 things (.) it hasn't actually got (.) that
33 physical pride that it (.) had previously (...)
34 when it was still (.) how can I (say) when it was
35 still known as an empire

In Extract 13 Annette, the mother of the family, focuses attention on moral principles (lines 1-2) and makes a comparison between how things were "when we grew up" (lines 2-3), when moral principles were "strict" (line 5) among "whites" (line 6), "among Afrikaners" (line 6), "but also among your black population" (lines 6-7), and how things are presently. Her criticism of the present is expressed in the question: "where are those moral principles today?" (line 9). Rhetorically, this question can be characterized as displaying a sense of protest, a sense of accusation, and a sense of complaining about the loss of something important, the loss of "strict" moral principles that belonged to a bygone era. The interviewer's somewhat abstract attempt (lines 10-18) to point out that the era of social change and uncertainty that South Africans are presently dealing with makes it worthwhile to have a conversation about identity, did not distract Annette's line of thought. She continues with her protest that "you cannot exist without fixed moral principles (.) you will go under in the world" (lines 19-21). Annette constructs the loss of "fixed moral principles" as a loss which is disastrous and which will lead to devastating consequences ("you will go under" in line 20). The implication here is that the loss of "fixed moral principles" of a bygone era, of traditional ways of making sense morally, is posing a major threat to South Africans, as well as to Afrikaners in particular.

Johan broadens his construction of the moral crisis to the national context: "no country can" (line 22), which is

confirmed by Annette in an emotional way. The implied message is that the new national context, the new South Africa is in a moral crisis, because it has lost the "fixed moral principles" of the bygone era. The sense of protest emerging from the passage seems to be associated with the experience of threat and loss: the traditional identities are being threatened.

The teenage son of the family, Noel, embraces the way of talking of his parents when he adds: "to take a good example" (line 27). He uses the example of England that "was a strong country previously" (lines 27-28) as what clearly seems to be a parallel for South Africa. England hasn't got "that physical pride" (lines 32-33) any more, "because there are such a lot of immigrants and things" (lines 31-32). Noel constructs the reason for the moral crisis as the moving in of the Other. The Other coming into "our space" is constructed as problematic and inferior, and having negative and destructive consequences. The Other cannot make a moral and constructive contribution. It is noticeable that the most blatant form of racism in the Extract comes from the young voice that hasn't experience apartheid first hand. This finding is in harmony with Jansen's (2009) argument based on his research among Afrikaner youth studying at the University of Pretoria.

What is evident is that the speakers in Extract 13 are drawing on the discourse of "fixed moral principles as it was", which was mainly white-dominated, to construct the present situation as problematic and threatening. The rhetoric that was used can be characterized as protest and criticism against the sense of loss and threat of the traditional identity that they experience. The recitation of the discourse of the past restricts the speakers in their capacity to deal with new moral dilemmas of the present. In the talk of the family in Extract 13 there are no indications of new voices of sense making in the moral realm that

transcends the "fixed moral principles of the past" in confronting the complex new South African realities. The holding on to discourses of the past is making the transition from settler to citizen problematic.

The recitation of traditional ways of talking by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers also included the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger).

5.4.5. Reciting the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger)

Of all the discourses that were recited by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the family conversations, the one discourse that was most frequently used to construct narratives of threat was the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (the Black Danger) (Murray, 1986). The family members, both old and young, often constructed black South Africans, "they", the "government", both explicitly and implicitly, as a threat to the survival, well-being and interests of Afrikaners. The next five sections focus on the recitation of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) discourse:

5.4.5.1. "I have grown up here and I shall die here"

Extract 14: English translation (speakers: Johan sr= father, Joyce= mother, Johan jr= son)

1 Interv and do you feel the same Johan jr? that hh (.)
2 that's right that hh (.) that it doesn't really
3 matter much and some people also (.) you know also
4 use the (.) term 'African' hey 'cause it refers
5 to the continent and so on (.) how would you feel
6 about about that? Or South African?
7 Johan sr I will (.) remain a South African come what may
8 running away I cannot (do) (.) and also I'm not
9 going to (do) (...)
10 Interv very interesting
11 Johan jr I was born here and raised here
12 Joyce yes (.) no (.) and you are Afrikaans
13 Johan jr yes
14 Interv I like that (.) expression (.) in other words (.)
15 hh it is our (.) we are rooted here hey

16 Johan sr that's right
17 Interv that kind of thing
18 Johan sr my father had a saying "you do not replant an old
19 tree" (...) and it's the same in my case
20 Joyce (inaudible)
21 Johan sr I have grown up here and I shall die here (...)
22 it's it's my country

In Extract 14 the interviewer is directing the question how the family members would prefer describing themselves in terms of different categories like "Afrikaner", "Boer", "South African" (line 6) or "African" (line 4) to the son, Johan junior, to get his input on the matter. His father, Johan senior, ignores this and takes the turn instead (line 7). In line 7-9 Johan sr exclaims that "I will (.) remain a South African come what may running away I cannot (do) (.) and also I'm not going to (do)". Johan sr finds it necessary to offer this statement of entitlement and claiming the right to stay in the country: it is as if the word "South African" (line 6) acted as a stimulus word. From a rhetorical point of view this utterance seems to address a deep sense of threat and uncertainty. The utterance "come what may" (line 7) implies that adverse circumstances may pose a challenge to his right to remain in the country, but even that will not deter his commitment to stay in the country. The expression "running away" (line 8) similarly constructs a situation of threat or danger from which you want to escape or get away. The emphasis placed on the words "may" (line 7) as well as "going" (line 9) confirms the strong sense of determination and seriousness with which Johan sr is making the claim to entitlement. Johan sr continues by drawing on his father's metaphor of "not replant(ing) an old tree" (lines 18-19) to emphasize how difficult would it be for him to be uprooted from "my (his) country" (line 22). It is significant that Johan sr talks about "my" (line 22) country and not inclusively as "our" country in making his claim to citizenship. His expression of entitlement reaches a climax

with his emotional statement: "I have grown up here and I shall die here" (line 21).

It is evident that (implicitly) Johan sr is constructing an enemy or threatening power that is against "us". There is an imagined and threatening Other that "warrants" statements of entitlement made by both Johan sr and his son, Johan jr (line 11). Against the backdrop of social transformation in South Africa the two Johans, father and son, are reciting the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) in the construction of this narrative of threat and insecurity in the new South Africa. From a rhetorical point of view these utterances of entitlement can also be viewed as a form of fighting back, and a warning to the enemy. It has been mentioned that Johan jr also participated in this rhetoric of entitlement (line 11) of his father in the context of constructing a threatening enemy that wants Afrikaners or 'white' people out of the country or continent: "I was born here and raised here" (line 11). The speakers are constructing threatened identities of being Afrikaans and 'white' in the face of producing a threatening Other in the new society. In order to move towards full citizenship of the new South Africa 'white' Afrikaans-speakers will have to not only learn to befriend this threatening Other, but also deal with the discourses and ideologies of the past that are still being used to construct this threatening enemy.

5.4.5.2. "They have taken away all our history"

The discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) was also recycled in relation to talk about the Afrikaner's history and heritage:

Extract 15: English translation (speakers: Bernice= daughter, Rhoda= mother)

1 Bernice accept I don't like the idea that they still
2 attempt to bomba:rd you with apartheid in our

3 schools through books on that period (..) it is
4 history leave it there (firmly stated) (.) do not
5 continue to do to us (..)
6 Rhoda no but
7 Bernice do not continue to upset the idea with such things
8 that belong to the past (long silence)
9 Rhoda no o.k. (to daughter) there mom does not agree
10 with you (.) they must (unspecified) the history
11 (.) there I (think) again differently they have
12 taken away all our history (.) you cannot take
13 away the history of any thing it is your (.) it's
14 your (.) hmm (...)
15 Interv it's your roots
16 Rhoda it's your anchor it's your roots
17 Interv it's your
18 Rhoda your roots
19 Interv (inaudible)
20 Rhoda and it is today it was on the main news bulletin
21 Bernice but then they must not
22 Rhoda about it (.) the thing that was broken down now
23 (...) this hmm (..) statue (..) I mean why do you
24 go and break down a statue of people (.) that you
25 didn't even know? (.) just because you now (.)
26 because it was whites that put him up now (.)
27 Bernice but then they must not choose which (.) which
28 history they want to (.) include put in
29 everything or don't include or (.) include a
30 variety do not (do: unspecified) to us (.) I hear
31 nothing about the Voortrekkers any more
32 (emotional) (.) I I last heard something about
33 the Voortrekkers in standard three
34 Rhoda (to daughter) but that is what mom is saying now
35 (.) because we
36 Bernice I just hear about apartheid and how the (.)
37 blacks toyi-toyied (very emotional and cuts mom
38 out) (..) I (.) as ss soon as that (...) hh topic
39 is brought up then I don't listen any more (tone
40 of voice defiant) (.) so hh (...) it does not make
41 sense any more

In Extract 15 the speakers, mother (Rhoda) and daughter, were giving their views on apartheid. Bernice, the daughter in grade 11, took the initiative to speak first. From a rhetorical point of view Bernice's discourse is characterized by a sense of criticism and protest against the government/the Racial Other/"they" (lines 1, 27) for continuing to "bomba:rd" (line 2) Afrikaners "with apartheid in our schools through books on that period" (lines 2-3). Bernice complains that this stigmatising history should "belong to the past" (line

8), people should "leave it there" (line 4), and it should not be used to "continue to upset" (line 7) 'white' Afrikaans-speakers (or people more widely) by continuously bringing up this unfortunate history that is so difficult to deal with for Afrikaners. It is clear that Bernice, as a youthful Afrikaner voice, is protesting against the stigma that is attached to the apartheid history and the fact that it is coming into the present to haunt Afrikaners.

Rhoda disagrees with Bernice's interpretation of history as something that belongs to the past and as something that should be discarded (lines 9-11). However, Rhoda's talk is equally a sense of protest against the Other: "they have taken away all our history" (lines 11-12). Rhoda blames the Other for taking away Afrikaners' "anchor" (line 16) and "roots" (line 16), in other words, a substantial loss, and elaborates on a story that she had heard on the news bulletin that same day. She uses the story of a statue that was broken down by local authorities in a South African town to illustrate how the enemy is disregarding the history and heritage of Afrikaners: "why do you go and break down a statue of people (.) that you didn't even know?" (lines 23-25). She constructs the reason for this demolition act as "just because ... it was whites that put him up now" (lines 25-26). Rhoda, like her daughter, draws on the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) and constructs an adversary and enemy of the Afrikaner people, their heritage and identity. The words "just because" (line 25) suggest that it was an anti-'white' action that was intended to get back at 'whites'.

In tandem with her mother, Bernice continues with her protest and constructs the powerful Other that "must not choose which (.) which history they want to (.) include" (lines 27-28). The Other is constructed as in control and "us" as helpless victims that are subjected to their agenda. "They" have control over what they want to include in the

history curriculum: they are selective ("include a variety" in lines 29-30) and are deliberately including the apartheid history that humiliates us. Bernice's complaints continue with an emotional utterance that she "hear(s) nothing about the Voortrekkers any more" (lines 30-31). The implication is that this version of (Afrikaner) history is overlooked and pushed to the side. The protest reaches a climax with Bernice's angry and defiant exclamations that she "just hear(s) about apartheid and how the (.) blacks toyi-toyied" (lines 36-37), that she doesn't "listen any more" (line 39) when the topic of apartheid is brought up and "it does not make sense any more" (lines 40-41). The emotional nature of the talk is indicative of the extent to which particularly the daughter, Bernice, as a member of the younger generation, is grappling with the history of apartheid and the Afrikaner's discredited past. Bernice and her mother are embracing protesting identities in the face of a powerful Other that is constructed as wanting to remind Afrikaners of a discredited and painful history from which they (Afrikaners) want to get away and distance themselves. The sense of protest seems to be closely associated with the stigma and threat of apartheid. The discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) is recited in the construction of this threat narrative (where the Other has malevolent intentions) of "our" (conventional) history and loss of identity, or where apartheid history is being used to humiliate 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the new South Africa.

The recycling of the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" emerged in contexts where 'white' Afrikaans-speakers were talking about job opportunities for the youth.

5.4.5.3. "He was just wiped out": No bursaries for 'whites'

One of the biggest threats that surfaced during the family conversations among young and old was the anxiety of not being able to find employment in the new South Africa:

Extract 16: English translation (speakers: Johanna= daughter, Pieter= father, Anneke= mother)

1 Johanna last quarter there was a guy from the SA Navy
2 with us (.)
3 Pieter ahuh
4 Johanna he then said to us it is a reality that (.) hmm
5 (.) for a job (.) let's say there are (.) four
6 people a white woman a white man black man black
7 woman (.) and let us also say disabled people (.)
8 then he said to us it is a reality the (.) black
9 woman will be first (...) in line to get (.) to get
10 the job if she (.) if she is ready for it (.) she
11 will be looked at first (.) then the black man
12 (.) then only the disabled people (.) only then
13 the white woman and then only the white man (.)
14 he said it really works like that in the navy (.)
15 and he admitted it himself this is how they look
16 at it (.) so I still feel it's (.) it's (.)
17 unjust (.) because everybody (.) must get the
18 same opportunity you cannot advantage one (.)
19 just because of his skin colour
20 Anneke we already had the first experience in 1994 (.)
21 with (.) April we had we had hh hmm (...)
22 Pieter hh
23 Anneke what is the word? (...)
24 Pieter (inaudible) we seek (...)
25 Anneke no man no no April (..)
27 April (...)
26 Interv when the election was held
27 Anneke when the election was held (.) when the apartheid
28 now (.) when they came into power (..) and (..)
29 Sarel had Sarel was in matric (.) in 1994 (.) we
30 had (..) twenty five thirty five?
31 Pieter joe (.) more
32 Anneke fifty
33 Pieter there were more than fifty (.) applications
34 Interv applications?
35 Anneke applications that Pieter submitted
36 Interv is that so?
37 Anneke applications for bursaries
38 Interv I see (.) yes
39 Pieter applications to companies
40 Anneke companies (..)
41 Pieter various (inaudible)
42 Anneke because he wanted at that stage he wanted to
43 study chemical engineering

44 Interv I see
 45 Anneke we got answers back (.) he was called for three
 46 interviews I think (.) he went hmm hh (to) De
 47 Beers (.) hmm he was actually selected for the:
 48 hmm (...) hmm (...) the the North Eastern Cape (..)
 49 rugby team (.) during the month of July (.) that
 50 holiday they were to have gone on a tour
 51 Interv yes (.) I see
 52 Anneke but he didn't go because we were so excited about
 53 the two interviews that he received (an
 54 invitation to)
 55 Interv yes joo
 56 Anneke this was the start of that period/time/era
 57 Interv I see
 58 Pieter yes
 59 Anneke (..) he was just (.) just wiped out (...) then
 60 already they had said (.) you can forget you are
 61 not going to (..) hmm (.) we are not going to we
 62 are not going to allocate the bursaries to the
 63 whites and so on
 64 Interv hmm

In Extract 16 Johanna, the grade 11 daughter, relates a narrative about a representative from the S.A. navy that visited their school and spoke about the "reality" (line 17) of black South Africans standing first in line of being appointed in job opportunities in the navy, and "only then" (line 25) will disabled people, 'white' women and 'white' men be considered. Johanna is positioning herself critically towards affirmative action practices in South Africa presently. Rhetorically, she is constructing these practices as "unjust" (line 17) and protests that "everybody (.) must get the same opportunity" (lines 17-18) and that "you cannot advantage one (.) just because of his skin colour" (lines 18-19).

Anneke, Johanna's mother, continues the protest with the narrative of their "first experience in 1994" (line 20) when their son, Sarel, was in matric and they had applied for bursaries for further studies for him in the new society. Anneke constructs the birth of the new South Africa as "when they came into power" (line 28): "they"/the racial Other/the enemy/our adversary took over the political control of the

country and "we", our group of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers (or 'whites'), are out of power and in a weak position. She is mobilising the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) in her construction of the end of apartheid "when the election was held" (line 27). Pieter, in dialoguing with Anneke, disagrees with her when she underestimates the number of bursary applications ("joe .. more" in line 31) that he had made on Sarel's behalf, and thereby weakening the rhetoric of how they have struggled since 1994. The utilization of "we" in Anneke's utterance "we got answers back" (line 45) is significant: it indicates the collective dimension of this experience. It is not just her son, Sarel who received the "answers", but they collectively as a family. Similarly, the family ("we" in line 52) "were so excited" (line 52) about the two interviews that he received an invitation to. Anneke constructs the birth of the new South Africa as the "start of that era" (line 56) of 'suffering' under the Other. She uses strong and emotive language in drawing on the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" in the construction of this threat narrative: "he was just (.) just *wiped out* (...) then already they had said (.) you can *forget* you are not going to (..) hmm (.) we are not going to we are not going to allocate the bursaries to the whites and so on" (lines 59-63). The Other is constructed as a powerful and uncompromising enemy that is a threat to the opportunities and well-being of 'whites' and Afrikaans-speakers. They have intentions to hurt and harm us. It is evident that Anneke is bringing her own (pessimistic) framework to bear in making sense of her son's application for bursaries in the new South Africa. It is an example of how Afrikaner parents are partly responsible for creating a bleak picture of job opportunities for Afrikaner youth. It is a way of teaching pessimism to the youth: it becomes more intelligible that thousands of young Afrikaners have left the country to look for greener pastures over the past 15 years

and more (Visser, 2007). It is evident from Extract 16 that the production of threat in relation to job opportunities for Afrikaner youth, in this case, is a collective effort of young and old. The construction of threatened identities of being 'white' and Afrikaans, by both young and old, is preventing Afrikaners from making the transition from settler to citizen in the post-apartheid context.

'White' Afrikaans-speakers' senses of insecurity and threat seem to be closely associated with holding on to old ideologies pertaining to Africans and power.

5.4.5.4. Threatened by the Other in power

In the apartheid years the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) has been effectively used by Afrikaner Nationalist governments and Afrikaner leaders in different spheres of society to produce a deep-seated fear among ordinary 'white' citizens and Afrikaners for African political aspirations and to call on 'white' voters to support the Nationalist Party (Murray, 1986). It seems that some Afrikaners are not finding it easy to let go of this discourse in the present historical context:

Extract 17: English translation (speakers: Dirk= father)

1 Dirk what sometimes hmm scares me is this power
2 element in South Africa (..) hh I read in the
3 newspapers (..) about the (inaudible) the guards
4 (..) of the president (..) Mothlanthe (.)
5 Interv hmm
6 Dirk they were involved in an accident (..) and
7 somebody had had died (.) hh power is is is is a
8 is a (..) always a dream for Africa (.)
9 Interv hmm
10 Dirk Africa has a lot (inaudible) and Africa is
11 (inaudible) over power (.) hmm (...) and I feel
12 like the whole the whole Zuma movement worries me
13 very much (..) hh hmm (.) no respect for the
14 constitution for (.) for hh (.) the laws of the
15 country (.) hh the (.) the absolute dictatorship
16 (...) hh hh (...) you know Nelson Mandela was a (..) he
17 (.) stepped down from the president's position
18 without a fuss (.)

19 Interv hmm
20 Dirk and so Mbeki without fear or any ob ob objection
21 Interv hmm
22 Dirk he did he did (.) he did step down step down from
23 his (.) chair (.) and I know Lekhota would also
24 if he would become president (.) I am concerned
25 that (..) Jacob Zuma (...) could become a next (.)
26 hh Mugabe (.) because this is the mistake (of)
27 all the African countries it's power (...) hh (..)
28 but then you get a man like like Obama (.) who
29 is currently president of America (.) who (.) is
30 basically the (fulfilment) (.) of the American
31 dream (.) from Martin Luther King "I have a
32 dream" (.) it is an incredible story (.) of the
33 black man that has control (.) of the most
34 powerful country in the world (.) something else
35 about the genuineness of the people that man
36 obtained his position not on the grounds of (.)
37 of a (.) of favouratism (.) it was a hard-fought
38 election battle (.) his dynamic personality got
39 him there (.) hh (...) hh hh I am very much afraid
40 (...) in this country for a (.) for a (.) power can
41 be very dangerous (.) hh hh (...) I personally
42 (inaudible) this (.) COPE (.) that was formed
43 recently can possibly break this power base (...)
44 so I feel it will help us all power (.) how do
45 they say power corrupts absolute power corrupts
46 absolutely
47 Interv yes yes
48 Dirk this is my only major (.) fear for South Africa
49 (...) hh hh (...) my prayer is that we shall find the
50 right leader (.) that that hh (..) that will
51 govern our country with wisdom and not with power
52 (...)

In Extract 17, lines 1-2, Dirk does not talk directly about his fear of the *black* government. He deracializes his talk by using the utterance: "this power element in South Africa" (lines 1-2). He introduces the story of "the guards (.) of the president (.) Mothlante" (lines 3-4) that allegedly caused the death of people in a manner that portrays him as having come across it accidentally, as reluctantly arrived at (Edwards, 2003) by reading in the newspaper about it, in other words, reporting what was written by an objective source and not his own subjective conclusion. Dirk then makes the following inference from this narrative (premise): "power is ... always a dream for Africa" (lines 7-8). We see the operation

of the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" when Dirk generalizes the interpretation of power abuse by the security guards to the entire African continent. The use of "dream" (line 8) suggests that power is something that Africans have hungered for over a long period of time.

Dirk is more open and forthright when he expresses his fear for the "Zuma movement": "the whole Zuma movement worries me very much" (lines 12-13). The emphasis on "worries me very much" is an indication of the intensity of his feelings of anxiety towards this constructed threat and enemy. Dirk makes use of innuendos when he characterizes this "movement": "no respect for the constitution" (lines 13-14), "for ... the laws of the country" (lines 14-15) and "the absolute dictatorship" (line 15). Dirk makes use of the rhetorical strategy of contrasts to build up the "Zuma movement" as a dangerous enemy and threat to all South Africans, not just 'whites' or Afrikaners ("it will help us all" in line 44). He contrasts Zuma with Nelson Mandela that "stepped down from the president's position without a fuss" (lines 17-18), with Thabo Mbeki, who resigned as president "without fear" (line 20) and protest, as well as with Lekhota and Obama. Dirk reveals his preference for and faith in the COPE leader, Terror Lekhota as a source of hope in opposition to Jacob Zuma: "and I know (own emphasis) Lekhota would also (not cling to power) if he would become president" (lines 23-24).

Dirk recites the ideology of the past, the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) when he expresses fear that Zuma "could become a next (.) hh Mugabe (.) because this is the mistake (of) all the African countries it's power" (lines 25-27). Dirk continues to work up this picture of the "mistake" of the "Zuma movement" with the "incredible story" (line 32) of Barack Obama, the fulfilment of the "American dream (.) from Martin Luther King" (lines 30-31). Dirk constructs Obama favourably as "the black man that has control

(.) of the most powerful country of the world" (lines 32-34), who was elected on the basis of "a hard-fought election battle" (lines 37-38) and "not on the grounds of ... favouritism" (lines 36-37), and which shows "the genuineness of the people" (line 35) that can see through a power hungry politician (like Zuma), but are attracted to the "dynamic personality" (line 38) of a man like Obama. By mobilizing the "voices" of a Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Lekhota, and Barack Obama against the power hungry Jacob Zuma and Mugabe, Dirk is positioning himself in association with respected and moderate (good) black leaders and not as a racist who only has 'white' and Afrikaner interests at heart.

Dirk is constructing political events and leaders like Jacob Zuma that have moved onto the forefront in recent years as dangerous and threatening to not only 'whites' and Afrikaners, but to all South Africans. Rhetorically, the discourse that Dirk is utilizing can be described as a complaint, an expression of strong senses of concern and threat, and also forms of criticism and protest. He is constructing the relatively new political organization, COPE, as a hopeful development that "can possibly break this power base" (line 43) and what will be to the advantage of all South Africans.

By mobilizing the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" in interpreting political (and national events) events and actions/words of leaders like Jacob Zuma, a speaker like Dirk is introducing such powerful irrational forces into his understanding of (political) events and the construction of this kind of threat narrative. The recitation of discourses of the past, like the "Swart Gevaar" discourse, is preventing 'white' Afrikaans-speakers from interpreting political events in more nuanced and less threatening ways (in terms of Afrikaner interests), and enabling Afrikaners to make the

transition from settler to citizen when it comes to political matters.

The recitation of the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" also emerged in contexts where participants in the family conversations spoke about crime.

5.4.5.5. Personal threat: Crime

There is no doubt that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers often construct crime in an emotionally intense way as a major threat to their existence and survival. This also came to the fore in a family conversation where the husband and father, Basie, is working as a crime investigator in the South African Police:

Extract 18: English translation (speakers: Dina= mother, Basie= father, Carl= son)

- 1 Dina and do you know what they did to that child (..)
2 because the child started to become (..)
3 Basie bewildered (verbouereerd)
4 Dina you know those children have a sense of
5 anticipation if something is wrong (..)
6 Interv yes
7 Dina and that child started to wriggle and so on (.)
8 they just threw a cushion over the child
9 Interv hmm
10 Dina so it shows you they don't have (.) feelings for
11 a human being (.)
12 Interv absolutely
13 Dina our lives (..) are (.) worth (.) nothing
14 Interv hmm
15 Dina I can sit here now (.) and (.) have no connection
16 with apartheid or the politicians or anything
17 else (.) but (.) that guy that is going to come
18 in here and kill me (.) doesn't know it (.) he
19 doesn't care
20 Interv hmm absolutely
21 Dina he is only concerned about (.) what he can steal
22 Interv yes yes
23 Dina and I feel (..) the death penalty must be brought
24 back because the people that murder other people
25 (.) and (.) black white yellow pink I don't care
26 Interv hmm
27 Dina they must be hanged
28 Interv hmm hmm
29 Dina because (.) all their people (.) if that old man
30 must die now (.) who is going to care for that

31 family?
 32 Basie because he they possibly get old age pension (.)
 33 or he is the breadwinner
 34 Dina because he is obviously the the the the
 35 breadwinner
 36 Carl because it's as they say in English life is cheap
 37 and death comes easy
 38 Dina yes
 39 Basie yes but there is no (inaudible) and that is why
 40 it happens (.) and they throw away their own
 41 culture

In Extract 18 Dina, Basie's wife tells of an experience that she had encountered when accompanying Basie over a weekend to the site of a crime in a rural village where an elderly couple and their mentally challenged child had been attacked. Basie was called out to investigate the scene of the crime. Dina's talk emanates from first-hand experience and partially contributes to the emotional nature of her rhetoric (see lines 1 to 27). From a rhetorical point of view her discourse can be characterized as a form of scolding, complaining, protesting and even fighting. From lines 1-8 Dina is telling emotionally "what they did to that child" (line 1). Dina uses the universal category of "a human being" (line 11) (to show how callous and *in-human* the deeds were) in her construction of the perpetrators of this violent act as without feelings, and like animals basically. She emotionally (see utterances underlined and in bold) constructs "our lives" as "worth (.) nothing" (line 13). "That guy" (line 17), the racial Other (and masculine) "that is going to come in here and kill me" (lines 17-18) is constructed as dangerous, violent, and heartless. Interpreted within the social, cultural, economical and historical context in South Africa, this violent and criminal Other is not going to have consideration for 'white' Afrikaans-speakers, like Dina and Basie, that did not support apartheid in the past: "I can sit here now (.) and (.) have no connection with apartheid" (lines 15-16). The reference to "apartheid" places the discourse within the political domain in South Africa, and particularly

the position of 'whites' and blacks within this context. Dina makes a passionate and urgent appeal, it can even be seen as a demand, "that the death penalty must be brought back" (lines 23-24) and that the perpetrators "must be hanged" (line 27). Ironically, Dina reveals her colour consciousness through her effort to represent herself as beyond colour in terms of who should be hanged: "because the people that murder other people (.) and (.) black, white, yellow, pink I don't care" (lines 24-25). By naming the colours in detail she displays her own colour consciousness and pre-occupation with 'race'. Carl, their son in grade 12, participates in this rhetoric of protest against the threat of crime articulated by his mother with his own construction of "life is cheap and death comes easy" (lines 36-37). This finding shows how discourse relating to crime and threat is reproduced within the family context in contemporary South Africa. Crime is discursively constructed as racially motivated, personal threat: and it can be qualified as a form of "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) talk. Basie offers an explanation for this phenomenon of rampant crime by blaming the Other: "that is why it happens (.) and they throw away their own culture" (lines 39-41). "They" have allowed their traditional or cultural ways of doing things, for example, treating the elderly with respect, to disintegrate and these are the consequences. Basie shows no consideration for other factors that could have contributed to the eruption of crime, for example devastating poverty and the social, cultural and psychological destruction that it brings.

In summary, the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" is also recited in the construction of this threat narrative where the racial Other and the criminal Other (male) fuses into one. The Other is constructed as a dangerous and heartless enemy that has no sympathy for even the weakest among us.

5.5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The first section of Chapter 5 focuses on 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' dealing with the stigma and threat of apartheid. A number of discursive strategies have been identified that are used to confront this problem of continuously having to say sorry for the sins of the past. Firstly, Afrikaners are constructed as presently disadvantaged. It might have been the appropriate thing to do to ask for forgiveness years ago when Afrikaners were still privileged, but circumstances have changed. Black South Africans are often more privileged today than Afrikaners were. Asking for forgiveness is not appropriate any longer. Secondly, Afrikaners are constructed as presently disempowered and in a weak position. Afrikaners are not in control any more, which means the responsibility has shifted to the racial Other. We are in a new dispensation and what happened in the past belongs to the past. A third discursive strategy that emerged in the family conversations in dealing with the stigma and threat of the past is to construct the Other as the problem "now" with Afrikaners in the position of victim. "They" are the oppressors now and want to get back at "us" for what happened in the past. People should take pity on Afrikaners at present and asking for forgiveness for the past is not appropriate any longer. A challenge to 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary society seems to be to learn to relate to black South Africans in more open and fulfilling ways: this is problematized, many would argue, when black South Africans are constructed as the "problem" and a threat to "our" existence and interests. A fourth discursive strategy that has been identified in dealing with the stigma of the past is to construct it as having taken place a long time ago. It is difficult to remember it exactly and better for us to move on and forget about the past. It also emerged in the family conversations that the voices of black South

Africans are often mobilized to protest against the sense of stigma, threat and perceived unjust treatment of Afrikaners by the Other. Rhetorically, the discourse of Afrikaners was often characterized by senses of criticism and protest against the present ("now"). The Other is constructed as a threatening Other that wants to disadvantage, hurt or even destroy the Afrikaner's language, culture, interests and opportunities in the new South Africa. The present study shows how 'white' Afrikaans-speaking participants produce constructions of threat and stigma relating to the past among themselves during family conversations. It is fundamentally a deconstruction of stigma and threat in conversation within a particular historical period.

The second section of the chapter deals with the ambivalent structure of Afrikaner threat narratives. 'White' Afrikaans-speakers in the present historical situation are talking about identity, ethnicity and 'race' from a fundamentally different position in comparison to 'whites' in so-called first world settings. South African 'whites', including Afrikaners, are talking from a minority position. It became evident from the family conversations that the narratives about the new South Africa, including narratives of threat, were often dominated by ambivalence and contradictions. The ambivalent structure of Afrikaner threat narratives can be seen in the use of disclaimers, mitigations, and other forms of racism denial in the construction of threat narratives. Researchers agree that these are the routine moves in social face-keeping when 'white' speakers are talking about the Other. These discursive and rhetorical manoeuvres serve a particular function: discourses of 'race' and threat need to be managed. I want to argue that Afrikaners seem to experience profound senses of threat and anxiety in the present South African context. The rhetorical strategy of reversal of racism, the strongest form of denial of racism

identified in western studies and mostly used by right-wing groups in western contexts, was often used by family members in the present study. This strategy is no longer a form of social defence, but a strategy of counter-attack. The present study shows qualitatively how threat is produced and managed within the context of a particular social practice, the situation where Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are having a conversation on what it means to be Afrikaans in a post-apartheid historical context. As far as can be ascertained, no other study so far has focused directly on how senses of threat are discursively (or qualitatively) produced.

In the third section, the focus of attention is the recitation of discourses of the past in the construction of Afrikaner threat narratives. In unpacking Afrikaner threat narratives, it was shown how the participants in the study recited discourses or ways of talking, that were dominant in the apartheid era, in making sense of changing realities in post-apartheid South Africa. Some examples of these discourses are: "in the laager": we are a small group and should stand together; "our language should remain pure" or standard ('white') Afrikaans; "the Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) is threatening us". The discourse of the Swart Gevaar seems to be a widely used way of talking among WASSAs in making sense of their experience in contemporary society. It is used to construct a powerful Enemy that wants to harm and hurt the language, culture, interests and identities of Afrikaners. The challenge for Afrikaners, many would argue, would be to re-interpret and even discard some of these ways of talking and sense making in order to grow towards more productive and fulfilling subjectivities, towards citizenship in the new society. Being able to productively and creatively manage and deal with threat seems to be a major challenge for Afrikaners, as well as 'white' South Africans, in the transforming South African society. The inability to deal

with threat constructively will most probably affect the lives of Afrikaner South Africans negatively for many years to come.

The present study is about investigating qualitatively, in rich detail, how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are producing identities of being threatened in conversation, in other words, in relationship, in a post-apartheid historical context. The main contribution is about how threat and Afrikaansness is put together and managed within a particular social practice, a conversation between Afrikaner young people and their parents. A number of studies have revealed that Afrikaners are experiencing threat in relation to particular areas of life, for example, affirmative action, crime, the decline of the Afrikaans language, but have, as far as can be ascertained, not focused directly on the quality of threat experiences in relation to these areas. What discursive manoeuvres are applied when Afrikaner adolescents and their parents try to make sense of being Afrikaans in dialogue in the post-apartheid context?

In Chapter 6 the focus of attention is on analysing the *interaction* between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents when they talk about constructing identities of Afrikaansness in a cultural context of perceived threat in post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER 6

NEGOTIATING AFRIKANER YOUTH IDENTITIES DURING FAMILY CONVERSATIONS IN CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF PERCEIVED THREAT: CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH ERIKSON-MARCIA RESEARCH PARADIGM

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 6 the main purpose of the discourse analysis of the transcribed texts of the family conversations is to gain an understanding of the emerging identities of being Afrikaans between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in contemporary South African society. The intention is to obtain a better grasp of how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are jointly (in interaction and dialogue) constructing identities of Afrikaansness in historical circumstances of fundamental social change in the post-apartheid society which many Afrikaners are experiencing as a threatening context.

The study of Afrikaner identities (in conversation) in the present study is conducted from the perspective of social constructionism, discursive psychology and the dialogical self theory. This approach to the study of identities is an innovative methodology that has been developed in recent years to address questions of identity formation qualitatively and founded on assumptions that are critical of positivistic ways of scientific thinking. According to the perspectives of social constructionism, discursive psychology and the dialogical self theory, identities are taken up as discursively produced in relationship between speaking persons, in social practices and in social, cultural and historical contexts. This understanding is at variance with the conventional psychological conceptualisation of identity within the neo-Eriksonian research model formulated by Marcia (1964, 1966). The Marcia model has become a widely used approach for the study of identity formation during adolescence over the past 50 years. According to the identity

status model identity is conceptualised as intra-psychic and objective structures of personality (the four identity statuses of identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and identity diffusion) that make adolescent behaviour intelligible in all cultures of the world. A second purpose of the discourse analysis of empirical materials of the present study is to engage critically with the neo-Eriksonian identity status model from the perspectives of social constructionism, discursive psychology and dialogical self theory.

In the present study a number of theoretical perspectives emanating from social constructionism, discursive psychology and dialogical self theory inform the conceptualisation and analysis of the discourse. The understanding of identities as discursively produced in relationship, social practices and context has already been discussed. A further theoretical perspective relevant for the present study is the understanding of identities as historically contingent social performance. Identities are taken up as performances in social context, in other words, ways of enacting or doing identities. In terms of the present study the question can be asked, namely what kind of identities of Afrikaansness are produced in conversation and what do the speakers hope to achieve with these constructions. What kind of 'identity talk' is enacted by the speakers in conversation and what do they intend to achieve with these performances?

In the present study the theoretical perspective of the *collective* construction of identities is relevant. Identities are not produced by decontextualised individuals. The view is held that the speakers, or participants in the study, are embedded in social practices, and that discourses are collectively produced between speakers. Identities of being Afrikaans are collectively produced in interaction during the family conversations. The discursive constructions or

identities are not the production of an isolated speaker, but the accomplishment of the entire family. Furthermore, the individual speakers in the family conversations draw on discourses and ideological resources that belong to cultural and language communities of a particular historical era.

The dialogical self theory advances the theoretical perspective relevant for the present study of a multiplicity and heterogeneity of voices or identities in dialogue, and takes issue with the conceptualisation of a unitary self embedded in the neo-Eriksonian identity status model. These voices or identities of the dialogical self are often in contradiction with one another and frequently result in tensions and conflicts within and between persons. I want to argue that the dialogical self theory is an illuminating theoretical perspective for understanding the multiplicity, the contradictory nature, and complex identity struggles of Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in conversation in the contemporary, rapidly transforming South African society.

The material in Chapter 6 is organized in the following three sections. In the first section (6.2.) the discourse analysis reveals the collaborative nature of (jointly) reproducing discourses of threat, as well as discourses of the past (apartheid or settler discourses) that are keeping WASSAs trapped in identities of settlerhood, apartheid and threat. Afrikaner young people are forming identities of Afrikaansness in particular social practices (and not in a decontextualized and universal manner), and in a context that is often collectively constructed as a threatening place where a powerful Enemy is at work. In the second section (6.3.) the discourse analysis of the talk between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents, about being Afrikaans in the new South Africa, reveals the contested nature of identities of Afrikaansness that is being negotiated. This section focuses on identity formation, not as an internal, psychological

struggle taking place within a private, intra-psychic (and de-contextualized) world, but as a dialogical and discursive struggle taking place between generations in a particular social, cultural and historical context. In the third section (6.4.) the analysis of the discourse of being Afrikaans reveals, despite this threatening cultural context (as constructed by Afrikaners), the emergence of identities of Afrikaansness which transcend discourses of threat, as well as the apartheid past.

6.2. AFRIKANER ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR PARENTS COLLABORATING IDENTITIES OF THREAT AND SETTLERHOOD/APARTHEID IN TALKING ABOUT AFRIKAANSNESS DURING FAMILY CONVERSATIONS IN CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF PERCEIVED THREAT

6.2.1. Introduction

In this section the focus of attention is on the collaborative nature of reproducing discourses of threat, as well as discourses from the apartheid past (collectively referred to for the purpose of the thesis as 'settler discourses'), that emerged in the talk of Afrikaner adolescents and their parents about being Afrikaans in the democratic society. It was evident from analysing the discourse that Afrikaner young people and their parents often collaborated and assisted one another in collectively constructing these narratives of settlerhood and threat.

In Chapter 5 it was argued that Afrikaner young people and their parents often constructed their social and cultural situation as a threatening context in post-apartheid South Africa. The nature of this threatening cultural context, as constructed by the participants in the study, was presented. This discussion in Chapter 5 forms the backdrop for understanding the cultural context within which Afrikaner young people presently are formulating ethnic identities.

Afrikaner young people and their parents are embedded in the same cultural context of threat and dislocation and they draw on the same discourses in making sense of their social world. In other words, the identity formation processes of Afrikaner young people do not take place in a social and cultural vacuum, but in particular social and cultural conditions of threat and dislocation. This point of view is at variance with the thinking found in the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm. In the Marcia model the four modes of identity formation are understood as universal ways of resolving the identity crisis, irrespective of the nature of the social context. In other words, in the Marcia model the intra-psychic structures (ego identity statuses) of personality are prioritised (an individualistic understanding) at the expense of taking the nature of the social context sufficiently into account.

What follows in this section is a presentation of the empirical data where the analysis reveals how Afrikaner adolescents enter into the conversations with their parents about being Afrikaans in the democratic society. It shows how Afrikaner adolescents take on board and re-articulate this cultural crisis that they do not grapple with as separate individuals, but share with their parents (and other members of their ethnic group) collectively. In other words, the cultural crisis is distributed and collectively owned by members of families and Afrikaners as an ethnic group.

6.2.2. Reproducing a sense of threat: "The Afrikaners must not stand back for what is right for them"

It became evident from the discussion in Chapter 5 that senses of threat were not only produced by the older generation during the family conversations, but also by young Afrikaner voices. Collaboration was evident. There were instances during the family conversations where the family

setting became a social space for the reproduction of a sense of threat and Afrikaners constructed as a threatened community:

Extract 1: English translation (speakers: Joyce= mother, Johan sr= father, Johan jr= son)

1 Joyce all that I can say we are a small little group (...)a small
2 (...) you know a small little group of Afrikaners because
3 it's English and it's (.) Xhosa and it's what else isn't
4 it?
5 Johansr ye:s (..) and even more (.) more reason that (.) the
6 Afrikaner must (stick) together more
7 Joyce yes must stand together (...)
8 Johan sr like for example Steve Hofmeyr with his (..) marches that
9 he holds (.) for Afrikaans
10 Interv yes
11 Johansr and then (...) the rights of the Afrikaner
12 Joyce yes (that) is
13 Interv that's a good example hey
14 Joyce yes
15 Interv that's a good
16 Joyce yes (it) is
17 Interv as somebody that moves onto the foreground that (.) that
18 that that (you) know it's (.)
19 Joyce (inaudible)
20 Interv who has got a voice hey who also let his voice be heard
21 Johansr that's right
22 Interv that kind of thing (..) so (..) I take (it) (.) you like
23 what he does hey if I
24 Joyce yes
25 Interv if I can ask (.) Johan jr yourself? Hhh (...) how? (.) do
26 you also like Steve? Are there other figures perhaps
27 other (..) persons or (.) hh hh musicians perhaps or (.)
28 leadership figures?
29 Joyce (inaudible)
30 Johanjr I also say that (.) the Afrikaners must not stand back
31 for what is right for them (.) they must believe in their
32 language and everything and they must not (.) hide it
33 away in a wardrobe or somewhere (.) if you are Afrikaans
34 (.) "go for it"
35 Joyce (it) is so you must be proud of it
36 Johanjr yes

In line 30 of Extract 1 Johan jr, the adolescent son in the family, emphasizes, "I also say that." Johan jr is re-iterating what his parents have said earlier. What Johan jr is re-saying is that "Afrikaners must not stand back" (line 30), Afrikaners "must believe in their language" (lines 31-32) and "not (.) hide it away" (lines 32-33), and "if you are

Afrikaans (.) 'go for it'" (lines 33-34). Johan jr is representing Afrikaners as a vulnerable group that need to be called up to "believe" (line 31) in themselves again. Joyce is responding to her son's rhetoric with a confirming "(it) is so you must be proud of it" (line 35). She orients to her son's call or challenge to Afrikaners to stand up and promote their interests as a vulnerable and marginalized community in the post-apartheid society. What Johan jr is doing with his talk is ventriloquating the voice of his parents. Johan jr is imitating the voice of his mother, Joyce, who earlier in the passage constructed Afrikaners as "a small little group" (line 1) that is set up against a powerful and foreign majority that is indifferent towards the interests of Afrikaner people (see Chapter 5, pp. 182 and 183 for a detailed analysis of the first section of this passage). His father, Johan sr, draws on the discourse of the laager and concurs that "the Afrikaner must (stick) together more" (lines 5-6) to strengthen their weak and vulnerable position, and he mobilises the "example (of) Steve Hofmeyr with his (..) marches that he holds (..) for Afrikaans" (lines 8-9) as an exemplary Afrikaner who fights for Afrikaner interests and rights in the post-apartheid context. It is in relation to this narrative of threat and the call on Afrikaners to promote themselves that Johan jr uses the utterance "I also say that". Johan jr is reciting, in his own words, the construction of Afrikaners as a threatened group.

This analysis brings to the fore the issue of adolescent identification within a particular social context, a context of threat as constructed by an Afrikaner adolescent in conversation with his parents within a wider socio-historical and cultural context of post-apartheid South Africa. Johan jr enters into the conversation by re-stating what his parents have constructed in terms of Afrikaners as a threatened community. Another way of interpreting this interaction

between adolescent and parents is to view it as ventriloquating adult voices. Bakhtin (1986), the Russian literary scholar, introduced the notion of ventriloquation and how individual speakers are influenced by what he called 'collective voices'. Bakhtin (1986) was not only interested in the utterances of individual speaking subjects, but also paid attention to *types of speech* produced by particular groups in society, for instance, Afrikaners as an ethnic group. He referred to these types of speech as *collective voices* (Bakhtin, 1986; Wertsch, 2001). The term *collective voices* refers to points of view, opinions and perspectives that reflect the views of particular social and cultural communities. These collective voices can also be reflected in the way individuals speak about themselves, social life and their identities. This phenomenon is referred to as ventriloquation. The identity status of *foreclosure* within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm, formulated by Marcia, can be interpreted as allowing the collective voices of the parents or family and culture to be extremely dominant in the voice of a particular individual. I want to argue that the form of rhetoric that emerged in the interaction between the adolescent and his parents in the above passage of talk can be characterized as ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk'. The collective voices of the parents (including Afrikaners as a cultural community), pertaining to Afrikaners as a threatened group, dominated the voice of Johan jr in the stretch of talk in Extract 1. It would appear that 'foreclosure talk' or ventriloquation as a discursive and rhetorical strategy emerged quite frequently in the interaction between Afrikaner young people and their parents in how they talked about being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid society and these rhetorical strategies appear to be interactionally effective in the dialogue with their parents.

Johan jr has bought into the discourse of threat and has taken on the identity of threatened Afrikanerness in collaboration with his parents. These identities have been collaboratively produced in discourse *between* the family members. In contrast to the de-contextualised and individualistic conceptualisation within the neo-Eriksonian identity status model, identity formation in the present study is understood as taking place collectively, in particular social practices of family conversations, and within a particular social and cultural context of threat and dislocation as experienced by many Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa.

From the point of view of the theory of the multi-voiced and dialogical self, this finding can be viewed in the sense that threat seems to be a prominent voice in the consciousness of the youthful Afrikaner, Johan jr, and both his parents. The family context became a social space where voices and identities of threat were communicated and reproduced. The danger of such a situation is that unless more constructive voices (such as willingness to engage in dialogue with the Other, for example) can temper or diminish the voices of uncertainty, fear and threat, these destructive voices can grow out of proportion with dire consequences for individuals, families and the South African society at large. A disproportionately strong voice of threat (among Afrikaner families or in individual lives) can lead to monological selves with a hierarchical position structure where one or a limited number of voices dominate the self-structure and can lead to all kinds of defensive activities (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Threatened and monological selves, like Afrikaners who are experiencing high levels of threat and uncertainty in the post-apartheid society, are most often not open to dialogue with people and groups whom they view as a threat to their interests and identity.

It has been established in the analysis of the empirical data that Afrikaner young people and their parents also collaborated in terms of collectively reproducing settler or apartheid identities.

6.2.3. Reproducing 'white' domination: "We govern that school through and through"

From analysing the transcribed texts of the family conversations it was found that the family settings often became a social space where discourses of the past were collaboratively recycled and where identities of settlerhood for Afrikaners in the new South Africa were perpetuated. One of the discourses (of the past) that emerged in the family conversations was a sense of old style whiteness, or whiteness as being dominant and superior in a social setting where groups of different racial and cultural backgrounds were involved:

Extract 2: English translation (speakers: Rhoda= mother, Bernice= daughter)

1 Interv you know we know some people have emigrated (..) young
2 guys and some people have also moved (.) to Orania and so
3 on (.) hh what are your experience of the (.) new South
4 Africa where 'white' people are not (.) in the same
5 dominating position as in the past? (long silence)
6 Rhoda do you think a white person will ever not be in a
7 dominating position? (.)
8 Bernice no we still are (.)
9 Rhoda I am going to now ask you a counter question we remain
10 dominant man (.) they can do as they like (.)
11 Interv hahaha
12 Rhoda hahaha no ask because I mean (.) (to daughter) how many
13 are you in the high school? (.)
14 Bernice I tell you mother we are maybe (.) thirty white children
15 out of a high school of 400
16 Rhoda and those thirty white children are (inaudible)
17 Bernice we govern (manage) that school through and through
18 Interv hmm
19 Bernice we (.) each first team consists of our thirty white
20 children (.) basically (.) my circle of friends of seven
21 (.) or eight white girls (.) we are the entire first
22 (netball) team in that entire school (.)
23 Interv very interesting

24 Bernice we think (.) if something is organized who organizes it
25 we organize it (.)
26 Interv ahmm
27 Bernice so we decide if anything has to be done we (.) dominate
28 that school (.)
29 Interv hmm hmm
30 Rhoda so that is what I am trying to tell you

Rhoda's rhetoric in lines 6-7 challenges the assumption in the interviewer's question (lines 1-5) in Extract 2 (that 'white' people, including Afrikaners, in the present are not dominating in the same way as in the past) with a counter question: "do you think a white person will ever not be in a dominating position?" Her daughter, Bernice, orients to this 'argument' and provides her own answer: "no, we still are" (line 8). Rhoda addresses the interviewer with a "counter question" (line 9) to which she immediately, without waiting for the interviewer's response, provides an emotionally charged protest: "we remain dominant man (.) they can do as they like" (lines 9-10). The interviewer's laughter (line 11) reveals his surprise at Rhoda's forthright display of 'kragdadigheid' (show of force) in this context. Rhoda then addresses her daughter with the question: "how many are you in the high school?" (lines 12-13). She is clearly not interested in the exact number of the learners at the school, but has a different objective. Rhoda is calling her daughter into her narrative. Bernice allows her to be drawn in with her reply: "we are maybe (.) thirty white children out of a high school of 400" (lines 14-15). The phrase "I tell you mother" (line 14) (directing her talk specifically at her mother in this instance) gives an indication of the seriousness with which Bernice is taking part in the building of the narrative alongside her mother. Rhoda's reaction "and those thirty white children are" (line 16) (in other words, a group of 'special' learners) already gives an indication of the direction in which the narrative is evolving and provides encouragement to Bernice. Bernice orients precisely to that

'introduction' and constructs her conclusion: "we govern that school through and through" (line 17). Bernice continues to strengthen the narrative of the domination of "our thirty 'white' children" (lines 19-20) by providing details from her experience in the school context: "each first team consists of our thirty white children" (lines 19-20); "my circle of friends of seven (.) or eight white girls (.) we are the entire first (netball) team in that entire school" (lines 20-22); "we organize it" (line 25) and "so we decide if anything has to be done" (line 27). After having recruited her daughter into her narrative Rhoda can now reply: "so that is what I am trying to tell you" (line 30). Bernice has been instrumental in answering the mother's challenging question to the interviewer. Mother and daughter have collaborated in utilizing the discourse of 'white' domination in constructing their experience in the post-apartheid society in a particular way. The analysis of this extract reveals the collaborative and collective nature of forming identities (of dominant Afrikaansness) within a particular social practice and social context. Bernice as a youthful Afrikaner voice is re-articulating the discourse of 'white' domination that has been part of the discursive and ideological tools available to Afrikaners since the apartheid era and before.

Furthermore, one can argue that Bernice has also utilized the discursive and rhetorical strategy of ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' in collaborating with her mother in Extract 2. Bernice allows herself to be recruited into her mother's narrative of 'white' domination and she 'successfully' (interactionally) assists her mother in constructing the narrative. Where the identity status of *foreclosure* would often be viewed within the neo-Eriksonian identity status model (particularly in western contexts) as a psychologically less favoured status (in comparison to the status of identity achievement, for example), from a discursive point of view, 'foreclosure talk'

or ventriloquation can be understood as rhetorically successful in this particular social setting. This form of talk can be seen as an inter-actional competence or strength, particularly when adolescents are dialoguing with their parents over a relatively sensitive topic like negotiating an ethnic identity in a perceived context of uncertainty and threat.

From the point of view of the multi-voiced and dialogical self theory, the voice of 'white' domination, that is shared and recited between mother and daughter in Extract 2, is rooted in a social and cultural context of 'white' domination that was shaped during the apartheid years. Individual Afrikaner voices, both young and old, are embedded in family and cultural contexts where collective voices of the past are still playing a significant role to a greater or lesser degree. The voice of 'white' domination is one of the identities among Afrikaners that is challenged by voices of the democratic society on all levels in the post-apartheid society.

6.2.4. Reproducing racial purity: "Sheep and goats don't mate"

The discourse of racial purity has emerged throughout the family conversations. It is evident that Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are often utilizing this discursive resource in constructing themselves and their relationship with the racial Other:

Extract 3: English translation (speakers: Annette= mother, Johan= father, Noel= son)

1 Interv (laughing) I see haha o.k. just two more questions
2 to go (.) hmm Noel hmm so (I) know you have to do with
3 both boys and girls at school (.) hhh would you consider
4 say being friends a little bit with or going out with (a)
5 Coloured girl or a black girl (.) and so on?
6 Noel see

7 Interv or how do you feel about it?
8 Noel look there is a friendship (.) but (.) it remains with
9 friendship I believe in (.) you do not climb over the (.)
10 racial line (...) to tie the knot in a relationship with
11 such a person (.) a personal relationship (...) I believe
12 (.) strongly that sheep and goats don't mate
13 Interv o.k. o.k. haha
14 Annette haha there he has given a lively answer hahaha
15 Interv (laughing) I assume you can pick up trouble if you
16 perhaps
17 Annette no uhuh
18 Noel no I won't pick up trouble
19 Johan it is in contradiction with the religion as well (...)
20 (long pause)
21 Annette that is his own opinion
22 Noel relax (.) now I find it now after
23 Interv I appreciate it
24 Noel Tiger Woods also (.) he got himself a Swedish wife (...)
25 he recently got a little one (.) now what
26 Johan now what is the
27 nationhood of that?
28 Noel yes now which nationality?
29 Interv hmm hmm
30 Johan (inaudible)
31 Noel because Tiger himself is half Taiwanese (.) half (...)
32 Annette American
33 Noel American Black American (...)
34 Interv hmm
35 Noel now how (.) how must that (.) child now feel? Because at
36 school you (.) even in America you continue to be (.)
37 oppressed (...) and things
38 Interv hmm
39 Noel how must he feel now what is his race?
40 Interv hmm
41 Noel so I feel I personally just don't want to place my
42 children in that situation where he (.) has got no
43 identity

Noel, the teenage son in the family uses the analogy of Tiger Woods who "got himself a Swedish wife" (line 24) and who "recently got a little one" (line 25) in answering the interviewer's question on how he views girls of colour. As if father and son are speaking out of one mouth they ask the same question nearly simultaneously: "now what is the nationhood of that?" (lines 26-27). Noel collaborates with an affirming: "yes now which nationality?" (line 28). In asking this question it is clear that Noel and his father construct Tiger Woods' child, a child born from a mixed race marriage as

highly problematic. Noel positions himself as sympathetic to the plight of Tiger's son in the face of a hostile and unaccepting social environment: "how must that (.) child now feel?" (line 35). He constructs the consequences of being of mixed race, of having a hybrid identity "even in America" (line 36), as if talking from first hand experience, as unfortunate and bringing disadvantage: "you continue to be (.) oppressed" (lines 36-37). Noel positions himself as selfless and responsible, and taking the plight of children of mixed race seriously: "(I) don't want to place my children in that situation where he (.) has got no identity" (lines 42-43). Noel's representation (and his father's) does not make provision for a society that is tolerant towards a person with a hybrid identity. The implication is that people who do not fit in with the accepted or prescribed categories in a society (like the race classification system in the apartheid society) are regarded as a misfit, an outcast, as a nothing or having "no identity" (lines 42-43). Noel and his father are utilizing the discourse of racial purity, which was widely accepted by WASSAs in apartheid South Africa and beyond, in making sense of mixed race heterosexual marriages and the phenomenon of hybridity. This ideological and discursive resource is brought to bear on interpreting events in the present. It is interesting to note that, unlike in Extract 2 where the mother, Rhoda, takes the initiative, in this case it is the youthful Noel that develops the narrative. His father is assisting him in constructing the narrative of racial purity.

Noel's construction of the narrative of Tiger Woods was mobilized as an answer to a question on whether he would consider going out with or dating a girl of colour. Noel discursively constructs his relationships with girls of colour as follows: "look there is a friendship" (line 8), but "you do not climb over the (.) racial line" (lines 9-10), "I believe (.) strongly that sheep and goats don't mate" (lines 11-12).

Noel, utilizing the discourse of racial purity, constructs a clear demarcation between 'white' and black when it comes to engaging with women of colour in a more serious heterosexual relationship. Noel's mother, Annette's direct response (in line 14: "there he has given a lively answer") to her son's utterance appears to imply he is making his own voice heard and she feels good about it. The utterance "lively" is ambiguous and open to various interpretations. It is not far-fetched, however, to assert that she is not antagonistic to her son's arguing for racial purity when it comes to relating to girls in de-segregated school contexts.

What is furthermore significant is the collaboration that occurs between mother and son when the interviewer remarks: "I assume you can pick up trouble if you perhaps" (lines 15-16). First Annette ("no uhuh" in line 17) and then Noel ("no I won't pick up trouble" in line 18) reject the implications of the interviewer's utterance. Both mother and son reject the identities that they are cast into with the interviewer's insinuation. The mother objects to the fact that she is cast into the identity of forcing Noel to have relationships with 'white' girls only. And Noel is protesting against the insinuation that he hasn't got the freedom to choose whom he wants to date. He does not take on the representation or identity that he chooses to date 'white' girls because his parents force him to do this. What Noel is doing in line 18 is saying that he is his own person and he has his own voice. His utterance or rhetoric can be interpreted as a typical adolescent display of independence: he is basically saying he is dating whom he wants to date and these are 'white' girls, that a hybrid identity is not 'cool'- just look at the plight of Tiger Woods' son. From a discursive and rhetorical point of view this talk can be interpreted as 'independence' talk or 'I know what I want' talk, of not wanting to be bogged down, and it resembles the moratorium identity status from the

Marcia identity status model (Grotevant, 1987; Schwartz, 2001).

What emerges from the discursive analysis of the talk (collaboration) between Noel and Johan is the collective process of forming identities of pure Afrikaansness between son and father. By (together) drawing on the discourse of racial purity, they collaborate in reproducing identities of being puritans in the racial sense of the word in the new South Africa. This understanding is at odds with the individualism embedded in the neo-Eriksonian identity status model. Furthermore, the collective construction of puritanist identities of Afrikaansness occurs within a particular social practice of a family conversation, as well as a social, cultural and historical context. The collective production of puritanist Afrikaansness takes place within family conversations in post-apartheid society where ideological and discursive pressure, emanating from the new government and its policies, is being exerted on identities of Afrikaansness that are rooted in the apartheid past. The family setting, in this case, has become a domain where settler identities are being recycled.

The theory of the multi-voiced and dialogical self allows one to interpret the finding in Extract 3 in terms of the dominance of the collective voice of racial purity in the lives of Noel as well as his father, Johan. This particular identity (or voice) of Afrikaansness will have a powerful influence on the way that Noel, and others like him, constructs himself as an Afrikaner and his social life in a post-apartheid South African context. Because Afrikaners are finding themselves in a different ideological and discursive world in the post-apartheid society, Afrikaners like Noel and Johan will find themselves under continuous pressure to re-interpret their identity of puritanist Afrikaansness in the contemporary democratic society. The question can be asked to

what extent the dominance of a collective voice of puritanist Afrikaansness will restrict other voices and prevent Afrikaners from becoming dialogical selves in a post-apartheid context.

6.2.5. Reproducing apartheid: "I am not in favour of us mixing at school"

It became evident from analyzing the family conversations that 'white' Afrikaans speakers, both young and old, are often grappling with self-definition and how to deal with black South Africans in the context of interpersonal relationships in the post-apartheid era. And it is clear that Afrikaners are shaped by powerful collective voices and ideologies of the past in dealing with black South Africans in the present:

Extract 4: English translation (speakers: Anneke= mother, Pieter= father, Johanna= daughter)

1 Anneke no no it is not it is not hh (..) yes or you may not
2 associate with them or something else (.) no and (...)
3 Pieter I I believe because it emanates from personal
4 relationships (..) each one has got its place but
5 Anneke yes that we believe
6 Pieter but to be friends at least (..) with
7 Interv hmm
8 Pieter to take people out for a meal or something that is not a
9 problem any more that is for me nearly also a business
10 thing nowadays
11 Interv hmm hmm
12 Anneke hmm hmm
13 Pieter you have to mix with them in the business world and
14 therefore (...)
15 Interv hmm
16 Pieter is it easier therefore Indians, Blacks (.) who who are
17 reps (.) come to us (our business) (..) we (.) Sasol
18 people and so on
19 Interv I see very interesting
20 Pieter (inaudible)
21 Anneke we don't know if you are going to find yourself in a
22 situation or something like that how you are going to
23 deal with it but (...) hmm hhh (...) yes (.) no we are still
24 (..) hh inclined to to place us (...) in a separate box (.)
25 other than than (...) hmm you know (...) say the Blacks and
26 so on
27 Pieter yes (.) no definitely but
28 Anneke we do it

29 Interv one can also understand it hey (.....)
 30 Interv it is it is a process (.) that is ongoing (.) and I want
 31 to specifically ask Johanna how you experience it at
 32 school (.) hh the fact that you are in a (.) you know are
 33 going to school in a multi-cultural set up in contrast to
 34 us (.) all three of us father mother and myself went to I
 35 was in a 'white' (.) school
 36 Anneke yes yes yes
 37 Interv university hey and so on how do you experience it at
 38 school (.) level Johanna?
 39 Johanna oom at our (school) also we also stay whites on the one
 40 side blacks on the one side and coloureds usually stay on
 41 the one side/separately (.) we don't really mix at school
 42 (.) that's why I also don't like it very much (slight
 43 laugh) I am not in favour of us mixing like that
 44 Interv I see

Johanna, the daughter in the family, makes it clear that "I am not in favour of us mixing like that" (line 43). She constructs the inter-racial contact at her school in the following way: "we don't really mix at school" (line 41); "at our (school) also we also stay whites on the one side blacks on the one side and coloureds usually stay on the one side" (lines 39-41); and referring to her preference for non-mixing or segregation: "I also don't like it very much" (line 42). Johanna is reciting or re-saying what her parents have said earlier in the conversation. Her father, Pieter specifies an important belief that guides him in his struggles in dealing with people of colour in the present: "each one has got its place but" (line 4). Johanna's mother, Anneke, orients to her husband's utterance and confirms this representation: "yes that we believe" (line 5). Anneke continues this collaboration: "no we are still (..) hh inclined to place us (...) in a separate box (.) other than than (...) hmm you know (...) say the blacks and so on" (lines 23-26). This rhetoric is emphatically endorsed (note the emphasis on the words in the utterance) by Pieter in line 27: "yes (.) no definitely but". One can conclude that Johanna is restating, in her own words, what her parents have expressed. Johanna is making use of the discursive and rhetorical strategy of ventriloquation or

'foreclosure' talk to interact with the interviewer and her parents relating to the question of dealing with people of colour. She is, like her parents, drawing on the collective voice or discourse of separateness (or apartheid) in constructing her experience in the desegregated school setting. In other words, the family members collaborate in utilizing this settler discourse in making sense of contact with the racial Other in this post-apartheid context.

It is significant that Johanna chose this line of speaking, because making sense of dealing with fellow black South Africans in the present seems to be a contested area for WASSAs. This emerged in this family conversation numerous times. Despite having constructed a clear apartheid style demarcation or "place" (line 4) for the different racial or ethnic groups, the parents also voice their greater openness and willingness to relate to black South Africans more closely in the new context. For example, Anneke explains as follows: "it is not hh (...) yes or you may not associate with them or something else" (lines 1-2). Johanna's father continues in a similar vein: "but to be friends at least" (line 6); "to take people out for a meal or something that is not a problem any more" (lines 8-9); "you have to mix with them in the business world" (line 13). Anneke does (lines 21-26) voice a sense of uncertainty and anxiety in relating to black South Africans when they would find themselves in situations of more close and intimate contact: "we don't know if you are going to find yourself in a situation or something like that how you are going to deal with it". What is emerging from the talk of Pieter and Anneke, from the perspective of dialogical self theory, is a multi-voicedness. The parents are talking about relating to black South Africans in multi-vocal ways: the one voice is rooted in the collective voices and ideologies of the past, whereas there are also voices emerging from experience and expectations of the post-apartheid context. In Extract 4

Johanna has identified and collaborated with the voices of a bygone era. The youthful Afrikaner voice has constructed her encounters with black (including coloured) young people at her school by utilizing the settler discourse of separateness and apartheid.

From analysing the identity formation process from a social constructionist and discursive point of view in this extract, it becomes clear that discourses of the past, such as the discourse of separateness, are collectively owned and continue to be embedded in the discursive worlds of, for example, Afrikaner families. There seems to be a danger that the family context can become a social setting in the new South Africa where a sense of settlerhood and apartheid is communicated and where Afrikaner young people identify with discredited ideological and discursive resources of the past.

6.2.6. Reproducing racism: "You feel like racism building up in you"

The family context is an important domain within which adolescent identity formation takes place. Because the family members are closely intertwined in this intimate social world, the communication of experiences in discourse, also relating to 'race', becomes an important way of shaping the identities of each other, including the adolescents in the family:

Extract 5: English translation (speakers: Annette= mother, Noel= son)

1 Annette yes (.) because look in (.) Charlie in my working
2 situation (.) you know yourself (...) there (..) absolutely
3 (.) you have (...) you work with every one and everything
4 (...) you have to treat everybody the same way (...) there I
5 have (...) I have already (.) changed my views and things a
6 lot (..) but you still get your (...) your (..) better one
7 (.) better black person (.) he treats you on an entirely
8 different level (...) in comparison to (.) and then you
9 obviously get your arrogant young ones (...)
10 Interv very interesting

11 Annette absolutely (...) who who just with his attitude say to you
 12 man (.) we are in charge now (.) who you are the peasants
 13 (julle is klaas)
 14 Interv hmm
 15 Noel (inaudible)
 16 Annette it does'nt matter (.) what language you speak (.) because
 17 (.) I speak English two-thirds of my (.) of my day
 18 Interv I see (...) very interesting
 19 Noel when you come into contact with (.) those arrogant ones
 20 then you you feel like racism building up in you (..)
 21 because it is (.) part of your culture (.) it is you are
 22 being brought up (.) to an extent (.) is like I that
 23 learn about the things you feel proud (.) about your past
 24 and things (.) then you get him (.) that is arrogant so
 25 then those (feelings) (.) like surface in you again
 26 (.) that racism so (.) we want to oppress you again (...)
 27 and things

Noel, the adolescent son, takes over his mother's narrative after listening to her: "when you come into contact with (.) those arrogant ones then you you feel like racism building up in you" (lines 19-20). Noel orients to his mother's protest against the "arrogant young ones" (line 9) that she has encountered in her work setting and "who who just with his attitude say to you man (.) we are in charge now (.) who you are the peasants" (lines 11-12). Annette's discourse has a strong rhetorical character, arguing against something (the "arrogance" that she is seeing), and a form of protest. This is also evident from the emphasis that she places on the utterances "arrogant young ones" and "we are in charge now". She constructs her "working situation" (lines 1-2), a desegregated setting where she has encountered new experiences and challenges, in multi-vocal ways: "you work with everyone and everything" (line 3) and not just members of your own ethnic or racial group like in the past; "you have to treat everybody the same way" (line 4) is the 'new' expectation or moral imperative of the new South Africa; and it is a space which has "already (.) changed my views and things a lot" (lines 5-6). Annette has also come across "your (..) better one (.) better black person (.) he treats you on an entirely different level" (lines 6-8) in contrast to the "arrogant

young ones". What Annette is doing is communicating particular categories (for example, "young ones"; and "better black person") with particular contents (for example, "arrogant" and "treats you on an entirely different level") associated with it. This has been taken on board by her son, Noel. Annette draws on the discourse of "baasskap" (being the boss or in charge) in describing the "attitude" (line 11) of the "arrogant young ones". The opposite extreme of "baasskap" is being subservient ("klaas"-original Afrikaans): 'our' group (Afrikaners or 'whites') is constructed as "peasants" (line 12) and relegated to a position of subjection. It is significant that this binary of *being in control* versus a group *in subjection* is applied in this instance and that the roles are now reversed. The implication is that the Other is constructed as an unfriendly and threatening force.

Noel takes over his mother's narrative and relates his own experience of "those arrogant ones" (line 19). He embraces an identity of racist in developing his response to the "arrogant young ones": "you feel like racism building up in you" (line 20). It is significant how Noel puts his talk together: he is constructing a passive subject. The implication is that it is happening to him, and the feelings of racism overcome him. With this kind of talk the responsibility for these feelings of racism is deferred and diminished. Furthermore, Noel is constructing his response as culturally sanctioned: "because it is (.) part of your culture" (line 21). The teenager is constructing "him (.) that is arrogant" (line 24) as insulting his culture and heritage: "you feel proud (.) about your past" (line 23). Noel produces an Afrikaner identity of racist oppressor in his response to the 'arrogant' youthful Other: "then those (feelings) (.) like surface in you again (.) that racism so (.) we want to oppress you again (...) and things" (lines 25-27). What is evident is that Noel is utilizing collective

voices from the Afrikaner community, the voices of racism, cultural pride and oppression to characterize his experience of "those arrogant ones". One can also say that he is ventriloquating collective voices of his culture and making use of the discursive and rhetorical strategy of 'foreclosure talk'. These rhetorical strategies 'work' within this discursive and inter-actional context and Noel 'successfully' contributes towards building his mother's narrative. Furthermore, the family conversation in this instance becomes a social space where discourses of racism and oppression are reproduced and recycled. The collaboration between mother and son is clearly evident: they are united in their production of identities of protesting Afrikaansness, and racism against this Arrogant Other.

What again emerges from this analysis is the collective nature of producing identities within this particular social practice and historical context. The identities of racism, oppressor and protesting Afrikaansness, produced in a context of dramatic social transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, are jointly constructed between mother and son, and the discursive and rhetorical strategy of ventriloquation is used. Within a cultural context of threat and dislocation, it seems that Afrikaner families often resort to familiar, yet discredited discursive and ideological resources in making sense of their social experience, and particularly experiences of encountering the Other in new, changing and unfamiliar contexts and identities.

In summary: what has become clear from the analysis in this section of Chapter 6 is that identities of threat and settlerhood (or apartheid) emerged in the conversations between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents and these identities are constructed collectively. Afrikaner young people and their parents collaborate and assist one another in producing these narratives of threat and settlerhood in a

cultural context of threat and dislocation in post-apartheid society. During these collaborations between Afrikaner young people and their parents in talking about being Afrikaans the discursive and rhetorical strategy of ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' was often utilized by the youthful voices. 'Foreclosure talk' seems to 'work' well for the Afrikaner adolescents within interactional contexts where they and their parents are collaboratively constructing narratives of threat, for example, in making sense of their experiences in the post-apartheid setting. As was argued above, the identity status of foreclosure as a way of addressing an identity crisis within the neo-Eriksonian identity status model has often been viewed as a less favoured and developmentally less advanced identity status for particularly young males in mainly western cultural contexts. From a discursive and rhetorical point of view 'foreclosure talk' can be understood as an interactional strength and competency. In this section of Chapter 6 it has become evident how Afrikaner adolescents and their parents jointly constructed narratives of threat, 'white' domination, and racial purity, a sense of separateness or apartheid, and racism.

One way that Afrikaner adolescents entered into the conversations with their parents around being Afrikaans in the new South Africa, was to take on board and reiterating discourses of Afrikaansness and whiteness that belong to the apartheid era. However, this is just one face of entering into the conversations with their parents. The dialogue between Afrikaner young people and their parents was also riven with contradictions and contestations.

6.3. AFRIKANER ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR PARENTS CONTESTING IDENTITIES OF AFRIKAANSNESS DURING FAMILY CONVERSATIONS IN CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF PERCEIVED THREAT

6.3.1. Introduction

In this section the discourse analysis of the talk between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents about being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid society reveals the contested nature of identities of Afrikaansness that is being negotiated, embraced and discarded. What emerges from this discussion is that identity formation is not understood as an internal, psychological struggle taking place within a private, intra-psychic and de-contextualized world, but as happening *in interaction*, as a dialogical and rhetorical struggle taking place between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in a particular social practice of a family conversation and in a cultural and historical context of threat and dislocation.

6.3.2. Drawing on discursive resources from another authority to contradict your father: "They don't have those leadership qualities"

Afrikaner young people and their parents often draw on different discursive and ideological resources that are circulating in the Afrikaans cultural community in order to contradict one another in terms of identities of Afrikaansness:

Extract 6: English translation (speakers: Johanna= daughter, Pieter= father, Anneke= mother)

1 Johanna can I say something it is not completely in line with
2 this (.) subject but
3 Pieter hmm
4 Johanna today in our P.T. class we had a hh open discussion thing
5 where you (.) throw (.) hmm questions that you want to
6 ask the teacher

7 Interv interesting
8 Johanna you throw in a box and then (.) she reads it to the class
9 now but it is anonymous (.)
10 Interv I see
11 Johanna then she now gives an answer to it but she is also like a
12 (..) what is she? Also a?
13 Interv counselling person or
14 Anneke yes counselling yes yes
15 Interv a bit that kind of thing
16 Johanna and then hmm one of the (.) Afrikaans children and we are
17 the majority is but 'white' so we know it was a 'white'
18 (..) 'white' child (..)that asked (..) why is our vice head
19 boy a Coloured? And then again there was (.) and (.) then
20 again there was a question by one of the black children
21 (..) why are all ten prefects white? And there's all nine
22 are 'white' (..) and there is one Coloured (..) but the
23 'white' (..) person (..) will go and ask why is there one
24 Coloured? So it is peculiar to me that they would view
25 both sides (..) this way
26 Interv that's right (..) interesting hey it it also reflects a
27 bit the (..) as you rightly say the different points of
28 departure/angles ("invalshoeke") hey
29 Anneke yes (..) yes
30 Pieter hmm
31 Interv the (..) different (..) worlds also hh
32 Pieter but I had (..) said again to Anneke (..) I think it would
33 have made a lot of sense to (..) have two blacks on that
34 management hhh student council (..) because there are 50%
35 not just to (..) hmm (...) that (..) blacks have to be
36 brought up/elevated but (..) that they they are very noisy
37 that lot (..) get the black prefects to keep their own
38 people quite
39 Johanna no but (..) but there are in our (..) grade eleven class
40 what will be next year's matrics (...) there are no blacks
41 that can do the work
42 Anneke who (can provide) leadership
43 Johanna and (..) the more miss explains to them that (..) they
44 don't have those leadership qualities (..) and it is but
45 the children that are the best for that job (..) that
46 were chosen (..) the more they fight and say no it's
47 corruption and things and (..) it's the teachers that
48 Anneke hmhhh

Johanna is drawing from a discursive resource from one authority, her teacher at school (the "counselling person" in line 13) to contradict another authority, her father in Extract 6: "the more miss explains to them that (..) they don't have those leadership qualities" (lines 43-44). This is rhetorically a powerful thing for a young adolescent person to do in dialogue with her father. Johanna is utilizing a rhetorical strategy, the ventriloquation of an adult voice (or

'foreclosure' talk), to contest her father's sympathetic argument: "it would have made a lot of sense to (.) have two blacks on that management hhh student council" (lines 32-34). Johanna uses the utterance "no but" (line 39) as a way of hedging her disagreement with her father before echoing her teacher's construction: "there are no blacks that can do the work" (lines 40-41).

One can argue that Johanna's rhetorical manoeuvre (making use of 'foreclosure' talk to contradict her father) is a skilful way of countering her father's voice in this interactional situation. Similarly, in line 1, Johanna uses the utterance "can I say something it is not completely in line with this (.) subject but" as a respectful and culturally acceptable way of asking permission to take part in the conversation. This utterance can be interpreted as a form of 'foreclosure' talk and serves a particular function in this context. These forms of 'foreclosure talk' are successfully employed in these interactional settings to communicate with her parents in socially and culturally acceptable ways, and even disagree with her parents. These discursive and rhetorical manoeuvres can be understood as interactional strengths and accomplishments between Johanna and her parents. This positive interpretation of ventriloquating parental voices (including collective voices of the culture), in other words 'foreclosure talk', as a skilful rhetorical move in interaction with other speakers, stands in contrast with the general understanding within the neo-Erksonian identity status model that the foreclosure status (viewed as removed from the interactional context) is a psychologically less favoured status in comparison to the identity achievement status, particularly for males within western cultural contexts.

Johanna adopts the essentializing way of talking of her teacher by ascribing the perceived lack of leadership potential to the group of *black* learners as a racial category:

"they don't have" (lines 43-44). She positions herself as being unsympathetic and in opposition to the "fight" (line 46) of the black learners who claim "no it's corruption" (lines 46-47) and blaming "the teachers" (line 47) as part of the conspiracy. Pieter, Johanna's father ("blacks have to be brought up" in lines 35-36), sensitive that black young people should be advanced in the democratic society, positions himself as being sympathetic to the protest of the "black children" who inquired "why are all ten prefects white?" (line 21). Pieter constructs the reasons for the inclusion of "two blacks" (line 33) on the student council as not only their numerical strength ("there are 50%" in line 34) and the contemporary expectation to give opportunities to black South Africans, but also to "get the black prefects to keep their own people quiet" (lines 37-38). Here Pieter mobilises an apartheid discourse of separation to construct this duty for the "black prefects" because they have to look after this "very noisy ... lot" (lines 36-37).

What is significant in this passage is the contestation of identities of Afrikaansness in terms of concrete events taking place between father and daughter. Johanna is contradicting her father's voice of sympathy for the black learners' protest, and his support for their inclusion in the student representative council. She draws from her teacher's representation of black learners as not having the necessary (static or essential) leadership qualities, to contradict her father. The young Afrikaner voice embraces a racist identity of Afrikaansness in her dialogue with her father. What becomes clear in this passage is that it is not only the older generation of Afrikaners that becomes entrapped in discourses and identities of the past. It has been established in the family conversations of this study that the youthful Afrikaner voices were sometimes more outspoken than their parents in embracing racist discourses from the past and performing

identities of Afrikaansness that have been discredited in the post-apartheid era.

In this case, the family context has become a social space where identity contestation has taken place. The contestation relating to identities of Afrikaansness can be understood as a rhetorical struggle between daughter and father. As was argued above, the dialogue between Afrikaner young people and their parents during the family conversations about being Afrikaans in the new South Africa did not only reveal the recitation of discourses of threat and settlerhood that was jointly produced between parents and the young people. In analysing Extract 6 it becomes evident that a dialogical and discursive struggle emerged. In contrast to the conceptualisation within the neo-Eriksonian research paradigm where identity formation is taken up as an intrapsychic and decontextualized process and struggle, from a social constructionist, discursive and dialogical self theory point-of-view, identity formation is understood as taking place in discourse and dialogical (between people), and within particular social, cultural and historical contexts.

6.3.3. Daughter and mother speaking with contradictory voices: "I am not interested in what is going on in government side of things"

In analysing the transcribed texts of the family conversations it became clear that Afrikaner young people and their parents, the two generations, would often speak with contradictory voices: the older generation from a position of authority and life (historical) experience, and the young person finding his/her voice and talking from personal experience and from the position of "my life". Young people and their parents, in the process of contesting and negotiating identities of Afrikaansness, would inevitably utilize different rhetoric and ways of speaking:

Extract 7: English translation (speakers: Rhoda= mother, Bernice= daughter)

1 Rhoda I must tell you a bit more about history
2 Interv hahaha
3 Bernice I am serious I am not interested in what (.) is going on
4 (.) in the government side of things because it doesn't
5 affect my life (..) I am not in the slightest interested
6 in that (.)
7 Rhoda it does actually affect you but you don't realize it at
8 the present moment
9 Bernice now at the moment I talk like this regarding that I don't
10 want to (.) I shall only when it starts to affect me then
11 I will start doing research on it (bemused) (.)

In lines 3-4 (Extract 7), Bernice, the daughter, is making the point very clear by placing emphasis on her utterance "I am serious I am not interested in what (.) is going on (.) in the government side of things". This raising of her voice here suggests an emotional tone and that she feels strongly about what is being communicated. She confirms her conviction: "I am not in the *slightest* (italics added) interested in that" (lines 5-6). Bernice is reacting strongly to her mother's teasing remark (note the interviewer laughing in line 2) to her: "I must tell you a bit more about history" (line 1). The context of these utterances is a stretch of talk where views were expressed in relation to Adriaan Vlok's washing the feet of Frank Chikane (of which Bernice was quite ignorant) to ask for forgiveness for injustices perpetrated during the apartheid years. Bernice constructs the reason for being "not interested" in government affairs as "it doesn't affect my life" (lines 4-5). The utterance "my life" (line 5) suggests a typical adolescent way of speaking: it reveals the youthful voice of personal experience. Rhoda disagrees in a typical parental way of speaking: "it does actually affect you but you don't realize it at *the present moment*" (italics added) (lines 7-8). She is speaking from the point of view of parental authority, from the conviction that she has got the relevant life experience (speaking with the voice of

historical experience) and that she knows better. The following utterances from Bernice illustrate her determination to stand her ground against her mother: "now at the moment I talk like this" (line 9); "I don't want to" (lines 9-10); "I shall only when it starts to affect me" (line 10) and "then I will start doing research on it (bemused)" (lines 10-11).

Bernice's rhetoric reveals a typical adolescent way of speaking, a display of independence and an example of 'non-collusion talk'. This form of talk stands in sharp contrast to the respectful utterances of Johanna in Extract 6, line 1. This display of independence and 'non-collusion' talk resembles the moratorium status within the neo-Eriksonian ego identity status model (Andrews, 1973; Grotevant, 1987; Marcia, 1980; Podd, Marcia & Rubin, 1970). This discursive strategy also stands in contrast to the strategy used by Johanna in Extract 6 of recruiting another adult voice with the purpose of countering your mother or father. What is significant about Bernice's rhetoric in lines 9-11 (Extract 7) is the argumentative nature of expressing strong feelings and the fact that it creates clear divisions in points of view. This discursive strategy of 'moratorium talk' is often less 'successful' inter-actionally (particularly within the context of a family conversation involving adolescents and their parents) and rhetorically in comparison to the strategy of ventriloquation. In Extract 7 it is evident that a negotiation of identities between daughter and mother is taking place. It emerges that an identity struggle is happening discursively in dialogue, in a particular social practice (and not intra-psychically) and in a particular social, cultural and historical context.

In Chapter 5, Extract 15, from p. 207 onwards, an analysis is presented that reveals Bernice's positioning of protest and defiance (which is relevant for the analysis of this section) against being constantly reminded of the

apartheid past and the struggle against it. I want to argue that, based on the empirical evidence in Chapter 5 as well as in Extract 7 (this section), Bernice is performing an identity (of Afrikaansness) of an antagonist, deeply sceptical and critical towards her mother and the government, past and present. She is contesting her mother's identity (of Afrikaansness) of being interested, involved and aware (or informed) about the "government side of things", and resisting the fact that her mother wants her to be similarly involved. At this point in time she doesn't want to know anything about the government. This analysis reveals an identity struggle (in the form of a discursive struggle between daughter and mother), a developmental process (of coming to terms with yourself as an adolescent during a particular stage in one's development) that is playing itself out within a particular social context of post-apartheid South Africa: a social, cultural and historical context of dislocation, stigma and threat as constructed by WASSAs in present day South Africa.

The negotiation of identities of Afrikaansness between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents also involved dialogue relating to relinquishing a traditional Afrikaner identity.

6.3.4. Letting go of a traditional Afrikaner identity: "I feel I must raise my children in English"

An analysis of the texts of the family conversations indicated that Afrikaner adolescents are exploring different identities of Afrikaansness in dialogue with their parents in a post-apartheid context of threat and dislocation: some Afrikaner young people have expressed the desire to rediscover and embrace a more traditional form of Afrikaansness, whereas others have considered letting go of Afrikaans as a home language and a traditional image of being Afrikaans:

Extract 8: English translation (speakers: Johanna= daughter, Anneke= mother, Pieter= father)

1 Interv the future how you see it
2 Johanna I (.) yes I have already said it to my mother and all a
3 year or so ago (.) hmm (.) now if I have children one day
4 or so I feel I must raise my children in English (.)
5 because I get the feeling our language is going to die
6 out (.) and then I don't want (.) to sit where everybody
7 you speak the language and nobody understands it (.) I do
8 want where every one in the world can understand you when
9 you speak that language (.) and it is for me the ugliest
10 thing to listen to when an Afrikaans-speaking person
11 speaks English with that (.) strong Afrikaans accent (.)
12 that's why I don't like it (.) I will teach my children
13 in Afrikaans as a second language (.) but (.) I very much
14 want to raise them in English and I also feel (.) I will
15 rather change over to English than I would stay Afrikaans
16 Interv interesting interesting
17 Anneke (inaudible) (laugh uncomfortably)
18 Pieter is it out of a practical viewpoint because you feel the
19 world is like dominantly (.) English?
20 Johanna yes, but it's also for me it's only for me (.) I don't
21 want my English must (.) ag my children must speak
22 Afrikaans (laugh)
23 Pieter hmm
24 Johanna I don't like (.) I just don't like it (.) I don't know
25 why it's just (.)
26 Pieter is it that more (.) possibilities/options will (.) open
27 up for them?
28 Johanna yes it's yes it is
29 Pieter are you ashamed of Afrikaans?
30 Johanna no, I am not ashamed of Afrikaans it's just (.)
31 Pieter it is not that hey?
32 Johanna everybody just amazes me it's a (.) world language
33 Pieter (inaudible) practical considerations
34 Johanna that's how I feel about it (.) Afrikaans is for me (.)
35 beautiful because it is so unique (.) and so (.) just in
36 South Africa in Africa do we speak it (.) but still I
37 feel you (need) a (.) you should rather have a world
38 language (.) because if you go overseas the people (.)
39 will think you are weird if you speak English with an
40 Afrikaans accent (.) and then it is not going to (.)
41 sound that nice (.) and it is I also want to get away
42 from (.) often with these hmm (.) stories also hmm (.) on
43 TV (.) what them so the common-ness of the Afrikaners
44 that speak English (.) and I do not want to be associated
45 with it
46 Pieter hmm

Pieter, Johanna's father, confronts his daughter with a question that cuts to the bone of her ethnic existence: "are you ashamed of Afrikaans?" (line 29). She denies this: "no, I

am not ashamed of Afrikaans" (line 30). Her father's question in response to Johanna's answer suggests a sigh of relief: "it is not that hey?" (line 31). Johanna responded to a question on the future of Afrikaners in South Africa by unveiling: "now if I have children one day or so I feel I must raise my children in English" (lines 3-4). The utterance "I have already said it to my mother and all a year or so ago" (lines 2-3) suggests it is not a new conviction (in other words, it has been with her for some time) and also implies that her mother is not opposing her idea. This way of talking strengthens the credibility of what she wants to communicate. Johanna constructs the main reason for wanting to raise her children in English as: "because I get the feeling our language is going to die out" (lines 5-6). A consequence of this construction of a threatened future pertaining to her home language, Afrikaans, is: "and then I don't want (.) to sit where everybody you speak the language and nobody understands it" (lines 6-7). She prefers a scenario where: "I do want where everyone in the world can understand you when you speak that language" (lines 7-9). Johanna constructs her aversion ("the ugliest thing" in lines 9-10) and dis-identifies with a traditional Afrikaner speaking in a non-Afrikaans context in lines 9-11: "it is for me the ugliest thing to listen to when an Afrikaans-speaking person speaks English with that (.) strong Afrikaans accent". To avoid such a situation Johanna is prepared to let go of a traditional Afrikaner identity: "I will teach my children in Afrikaans as a second language" (lines 12-13); and "I will rather change over to English than I would stay Afrikaans" (lines 14-15). She is prepared to consider embracing an English identity that will give her access to a bigger world. From a historical point of view one can argue that embracing a non-Afrikaans, and particularly an English identity, would be quite unthinkable for a young Afrikaner daughter in conversation

with her parents in the heyday of Afrikaner nationalism during for example the 1960's in South Africa.

The reactions of Johanna's parents seem to suggest two things: they are trying to be accommodating to their daughter, but as the older generation they are solidly rooted in their traditional Afrikaans identity. For example, Anneke, her mother, laughs uncomfortably (line 17) in response to her daughter. Pieter engages in a dialogue with Johanna by asking a series of questions: "is it out of a practical viewpoint because you feel the world is like predominantly (.) English?" (lines 18-19); "is it that more (.) possibilities will (.) open up for them? (lines 26-27). Pieter's utterances can be interpreted as trying to assist his daughter in a fatherly way to voice and clarify her motives for wanting to discard Afrikaans, but at the same time he is creating a moral field. The third question confronts Johanna's moral stance relating to Afrikaans ("are you ashamed of Afrikaans?" in line 29) and is not just about pragmatic considerations. It is about whether the Afrikaans language (and traditional Afrikaner identity) has lost its credibility for Johanna, and whether it is (still) something worthwhile to embrace. Johanna confirms ("yes it is" in line 28) that practical considerations did play a role in her identification with this "world language" (line 32): "you should rather have a world language" (lines 37-38). And Johanna does orient to this moral field that her father has created by first rejecting the identity of being ashamed of Afrikaans in line 30 ("no, I am not ashamed of Afrikaans"), and by constructing Afrikaans as "beautiful because it is so unique" (line 35). Johanna is partially taking on board the voice of her father, but she is doing more than this. She is also maintaining her own voice by arguing in favour of adopting an alternative (English) identity. From the perspective of the dialogical self theory Johanna is utilizing a multiplicity of voices in this context. She

succeeds in interacting with her parents in a relatively satisfactory manner through accommodating her father's voice (ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk'), but at the same time allowing her own independent voice to be heard.

She makes clear the restrictiveness of her home language in that "just in South Africa in Africa do we speak it" (lines 35-36). She mobilises a form of talk that we can call 'non-collusion' talk (or 'moratorium talk') and displaying a sense of independence: "*but still* (italics added) I feel" (lines 36-37) and "you *should rather* (italics added) have" (line 37) a "world language" (lines 37-38). Johanna constructs an Afrikaner that speaks "English with an Afrikaans accent" (lines 39-40) in a non-Afrikaans setting (for example, "if you go overseas" in line 38) in negative terms: "will think you are weird" (line 39); "it is not going to (.) sound that nice" (lines 40-41); "I also want to get away from" (lines 41-42); and "I do not want to be associated with it" (lines 44-45). These discursive resources are utilized as a way of dis-identifying with "the commonness of the Afrikaners that speak English" (lines 43-44), in other words with a traditional identity of Afrikanerness. What is essentially taking place between daughter and father (or parents) in this passage is a contestation of identities of Afrikaansness. The questioning by Pieter reflects a positioning relating to adherence to a more traditional identity of Afrikaansness, while his daughter is talking about letting go of this traditional image and embracing a cultural (English) identity that will enable her to operate in contexts beyond South Africa and Africa. It is significant that Johanna's discourse contains references to places beyond "home": "because if you go overseas" (line 38); "where everyone in the world can understand you" (line 8).

What Extract 8 foregrounds is the issue of an identity struggle, in other words a discursive struggle taking place between adolescent and parent in a particular historical

context. This discursive struggle can be seen in the interaction occurring between Johanna and her father from lines 18 to 31. In line 18 Pieter starts his questioning of Johanna about her wish to bring up her children in English. Johanna's utterance "yes, but" (line 20) reflects her partial agreement with her father (in terms of the "practical viewpoint" in line 18), but also her determination to speak her own mind: "I don't want my English must (.) ag my children must speak Afrikaans" (lines 20-22). Note how Johanna fumbles discursively by using "my English" (line 21) incorrectly, suggesting a sense of interactional discomfort. These discursive strategies used in lines 20-22, including the talk in lines 24-25 ("I just don't like it (.) I don't know why") can be interpreted as a form of defence and resistant talk. Johanna is defending a contradictory identity of Afrikaansness in comparison to her father (or parents). This identity struggle, in the form of negotiating identities of Afrikaansness between daughter and father, is happening in a particular stage of the life cycle (during adolescence), and taking place within a particular social, cultural and historical context of perceived threat and dislocation in post-apartheid South Africa. In other words, it is about growing up and finding yourself amidst a cultural context of threat and social dislocation. Moreover, this conceptualisation of an identity struggle as happening discursively between people, stands in contrast to the understanding of an identity crisis within the Erikson-Marcia paradigm as taking place intra-psychically within a decontextualised individual.

It became evident from analysing the transcribed texts that Afrikaner young people did not only talk about letting go of a traditional Afrikaner identity, but also rediscovering and re-imagining traditional forms of Afrikaansness.

6.3.5. Re-imagining traditional Afrikaansness: "She wants to go back to where I come from"

In contrast to the previous section where the struggle and identity contestation revolved around a young Afrikaner's aspirations to break away from a traditional form of Afrikaansness and embrace a foreign (English) identity, in the following extract the rhetoric is about wanting to go back to a nostalgic and traditional identity of being Afrikaans:

Extract 9: English translation (speakers: Anle= daughter, Ton= father, Bianca= mother)

1 Anle but (.) I shall (say) how things are now I would wish (.)
2 that things must again be as it was (.) in previous years
3 (.) I am now because I am now so (..) over the new South
4 Africa that it e that it bothers me so much what is going
5 on now that and (.) like we (.) maybe looked down upon
6 them during those times or the Boers (.) they are now
7 doing the same to us and I (.) I don't know (...) I myself
8 and those times there were still respect and all that
9 (inaudible) now there are no more such things there is
10 not (..) yes (.)
11 Interv you mean generally speaking in the country?
12 Anle generally speaking and (.) and especially in (...)
13 Afrikaner homes there are no more (.) because the new
14 South Africa has also changed that even in the Afrika:ner
15 (.) homes not just (.) and nobody has any respect any
16 more there is no more (..) in a family there is no more
17 respect (.) there is no more (.)
18 Interv as you
19 Anle the Afrikaner traditions and such things I would (..)
20 want to have (.)
21 Interv very interesting very interesting (.) I found it
22 interesting your idea that Afrikaans people (changed) for
23 you from what you've said that (.) hmm things have
24 changed a bit hey Ton hh hh so it is hey you I I
25 understand well what you are saying around the old (.)
26 that old viewpoint hey the old (.) definition of being
27 Afrikaans or Afrikanerness (.)
28 Ton do you pick up? (...)
29 Bianca hahaha
30 Ton strangely enough (inaudible) we differ
31 Bianca they differ
32 Interv yes yes
33 Ton she wants to go back to where I come from (.) I want to
34 get away from it
35 Bianca hahaha
36 Interv yes hahaha

Ton turns to the interviewer and asks: "do you pick up?" (line 28). With this question he wants to bring the interviewer back to the talk of his daughter, Anle, who constructed a relatively negative picture of the "new South Africa" (lines 3-4) and particularly present-day Afrikaners (lines 1-9). The interviewer was taking the conversation in a different direction (see him addressing Ton in line 24) and focusing on "the old (.) viewpoint hey the old (.) definition of being Afrikaans" (lines 25-27) that Ton had spoken about earlier in the interview. Ton is basically asking the interviewer whether he understood the significance of his daughter's words. His wife, Bianca laughs at this remark in agreement with Ton (line 29). Ton enlightens the interviewer in line 30: "strangely enough (inaudible) we differ". Bianca confirms this: "they differ" (line 31).

Ton constructs the difference between Anle and himself as follows: "she wants to go back to where I come from (.) I want to get away from it" (lines 33-34). He is addressing the interviewer here and referring to his daughter in the third person. This utterance can be interpreted as a fatherly way of saying: we agree to disagree. Although he disagrees with his daughter in terms of defining Afrikaansness he is accommodating her in a fatherly way and giving space for her voice to be heard. Ton is talking with the typical parental voice of experience and authority in the dialogue. What he is saying is that he knows better from first hand experience: "where I come from" in line 33. That is why he wants "to get away from" (lines 33-34) a traditional way of being Afrikaans, something that his daughter is idealizing at the present.

Anle constructs her experience of the democratic society clearly in negative terms: "over the new South Africa ... it bothers me so much what is going on now" (lines 3-5). The emphasis on the utterances "so" and "now" points to the intensity of her feelings of being troubled. She draws on

current discourses (for example, discourses of threat) that are prominent in the Afrikaner cultural and discursive communities and constructs the relationship with black South Africans, the racial Other, in terms of a sense of guilt, victimhood and threat: "like we (.) maybe looked down upon them during those times" (lines 5-6), but "they are now doing the same to us" (line 6-7). Anle is utilizing rhetorical resources of ventriloquating collective voices of her culture (or 'foreclosure' talk) in constructing her experience in the post-apartheid context. She imagines a time when "there was still respect and all that" (line 8), but these valued things were lost: "now there are no more such things" (line 9). Anle blames the loss and moral deterioration on the post-apartheid society which is affecting Afrikaners negatively: "because the new South Africa has also changed that even in the Afrika:ner (.) homes" (lines 13-15). She constructs a sense of loss in relation to "the Afrikaner traditions and such things" (line 19). Anle is re-imagining nostalgically how things were years ago: "I would wish (.) that things must again be as it was (.) in previous years" (lines 1-2); "the Afrikaner traditions and such things I would (..) want to have" (lines 19-20). In the face of this perceived sense of loss and threat in the transforming society Anle is embracing a traditional form of Afrikaansness that she is romanticizing. This is the identity that her father, Ton, is reacting against and "want(s) to get away from" (lines 33-34). It is significant to note that in the family conversations in Extract 9, as well as in Extract 8 (in the previous section), both the Afrikaner adolescents constructed senses of threat and loss. In Extract 8 the youthful voice positioned her as embracing an alternative, non-Afrikaans (English) identity and letting go of a traditional Afrikaner identity in response to this threat, whereas in Extract 9 the adolescent is searching for security,

direction and fulfilment in re-imagining and embracing a traditional Afrikaner identity.

From a social constructionist and discursive perspective father and daughter, embedded in the same cultural and family context, are embracing opposing representations of Afrikaansness within the practice of the family conversation. They are producing different versions of being Afrikaans with the daughter, contrary to expectations, re-imagining and romanticizing a traditional image of Afrikaansness and the father resisting and challenging Afrikaner identities rooted in a conventional Afrikaner history. This finding illustrates that it is not only the older generation of Afrikaners who are romanticizing a traditional Afrikaner past, but also at times the younger generation. In this case it is the father who resists traditional Afrikaansness.

In summary, this second section of Chapter 6 has revealed how the family context becomes a social space where identity struggles in a discursive form between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are being played out. The contestation of identities of Afrikaansness is taking place discursively and dialogically between the adolescents and their parents. From a social constructionist, discursive and dialogical self perspective identities of Afrikaansness are being negotiated *between* Afrikaner young people and their parents (in interaction) and not intra-psychically as understood in the neo-Eriksonian identity status model. In the interaction between adolescents and their parents particular discursive and rhetorical strategies or forms of 'identity talk' were utilized by the youthful voices. In managing the identity struggles between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents the rhetorical strategy of 'independence talk' or 'moratorium talk' ('own voice' or 'non-collusion talk') was often utilized by the youthful voices in conversation. The discursive contexts where these forms of 'identity talk' emerged were

dialogical settings where Afrikaner adolescents resisted being cast into particular identities by their parents or the interviewer. Most often these forms of 'moratorium talk' or 'non-collusion talk' were positively accommodated by the parents within the friendly and accepting context of the family conversation. There were instances (for example, Extract 7) where the rhetorical display of independence was accompanied by strong emotions and where the argumentative nature of displaying strong feelings posed the danger of causing conflict and being interactionally less 'successful' talking about sensitive ethnic topics within the family conversation. 'Foreclosure talk', in other words, identifying with an authoritative adult voice, was mobilised by young Afrikaners to contest the voice of a parent in a number of instances. A skilful way of managing difference (in relation to identities of Afrikaansness) in conversation with their parents emerged where the adolescents (see Extract 8) utilized a combination of ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' and 'moratorium talk' (or 'independence talk'), in other words, a multivoiced strategy.

Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are grappling with self-definition and embedded in the same social, cultural and historical context of the post-apartheid society that is often constructed by Afrikaners as a threatening context. Afrikaner young people and their parents are often utilizing contradictory discourses and ideologies, from the past and present, in negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in conversation in contemporary society. In contrast to section one of this chapter, where the collaboration of identities of threat and the past (settler and apartheid identities) between young people and their parents were highlighted, in this section the contradictory nature of identities of Afrikaansness was presented.

In the following section (6.4.) the analysis reveals how youthful Afrikaner voices are often drawing from experience and ways of talking that are rooted in desegregated contexts in dialogue with their parents (about being Afrikaans) in the post-apartheid society. In the process they are transcending discourses from the apartheid era and enacting new identities of Afrikaansness.

6.4. AFRIKANER ADOLESCENTS TRANSCENDING IDENTITIES OF THE PAST IN CONVERSATION WITH THEIR PARENTS ABOUT BEING AFRIKAANS IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PERCEIVED THREAT

6.4.1. Introduction

From analysing the discourse about being Afrikaans emerging between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents during the family conversations it became evident that the young people would often draw from experiences and ways of talking from being embedded in de-segregated settings, mostly at school. They are often able to utilize discourses that emanate from these integrated contexts in defining themselves and their relations with black and coloured peers. Their parents usually do not have the same quality of experience (or the same levels of intimacy, openness and intensity) as well as the discursive and ideological resources to deal with themselves and the Other in the same liberated ways:

6.4.2. Embracing the Other unconditionally: "We don't see him as a Coloured any more"

Extract 10: English translation (Noel= son, Annette= mother)

1 Noel I also agree with him there but (..) it is we had (.) a
2 coloured in our class (.) Myron he's (.) we (.) don't
3 even see him as a coloured any more (.) for us he is just
4 like (.) us he hangs out with us (.) everything (.)
5 unfortunately he is (.) they have moved to Kareedouw now
6 (.) but there is another one now we call him (.) the
7 coloured boer

8 Interv interesting hahaha
9 Noel he iss (.) we don't actually see like the colour
10 difference (.)
11 Interv hmm hmm
12 Noel we deal with him precisely as we (.) deal with each other
13 (..)
14 Interv it's actually (.) beautiful hey what you what you are
15 saying hey because (.) as you also say Johan (.) Annette
16 that a person actually because that I have also learned
17 at Fort Hare over the years you know that a person's (.)
18 colleagues (.) you (.) take joint decisions you work
19 together you (.) know at meetings you sort things out and
20 you learn to (.)
21 Annette yes
22 Interv look beyond colour
23 Annette you treat each other with respect Charlie
24 Interv precisely
25 Annette you but you are not too intimate and friendly ("jy boer
26 nie in mekaar se sak nie") (.) you treat each other with
27 respect
28 Interv hmm hmm hmm
29 Annette you can have a conversation with him (.) you sit and chat
30 ("kuier") as you have tea together (.) tea time you sit
31 and talk
32 Interv hmm (..) hmm (..)

In Extract 10 two contrasting representations of the nature of the relationship with the Other emerges. In contrast to her son, Noel, Annette constructs the relationship with black South Africans as follows: "you treat each other with respect" (line 23); "but you are not too intimate and friendly" ("jy boer nie in mekaar se sak nie": literally, you do not stay in each other's pockets) (line 25); "you can have a conversation with him" (line 29); "tea time you sit and talk" (lines 30-31). This characterization of personal relationships with black South Africans by the older generation of 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the study as "respect"-ful, formal and courteous ("you sit and chat as you have tea together" in lines 29-30), but not too intimate ("jy boer nie in mekaar se sak nie"), appeared in the family interviews. One can say it sounds like a "separate, but equal" ideology of the old South Africa. Annette's talk entails a readiness to erect fences ("you can have a conversation with him" in line 29) and to keep a good distance

with the Other: "but you are not too intimate and friendly" (line 25). The contact with the black person is restricted and associated with a particular occasion: "you sit and chat ("kuier") as you have tea together" in lines 29-30. What is actually happening in lines 25-27 is that Annette is basically creating a difference of opinion in response to the interaction between Noel and the interviewer.

Noel describes Myron, the "coloured in our class" (line 2) as follows: "we (.) don't even see him as a coloured any more" (lines 2-3); "for us he is just like (.) us" (lines 3-4); "he hangs out with us (.) everything" (line 4). Noel constructs the relationship with Myron as normal, embracing him unconditionally (not just "hav(ing) tea together" in line 30) as a fellow human being and not on the basis of 'race', and as a loss ("unfortunately" in line 5) when Myron and his family moved to another town. A form of collaboration occurs when the interviewer remarks: "interesting" in line 8 and laughs approvingly. Noel responds to this form of encouragement in line 9: "we don't actually see like the colour difference".

Noel also describes another friend: "we call him (.) the coloured boer" (lines 6-7). By adopting the name "coloured boer" (joining the categories "coloured" and "boer") Noel and his friends have befriended the racial Other, and incorporated the coloured Other into their own group (becoming one of 'us'). The invention of the name "coloured boer" by Noel and his friends is a demonstration of the performance of a group ritual, and a way of accomplishing (discursively) group loyalty and the acceptance of Myron as one of them (Billig, 2001). Mobilising his experience and discourse from a desegregated social context at school, Noel constructs their relationship with the "coloured boer" as follows: "we don't actually see like the colour difference" (lines 9-10) and "we deal with him precisely as we (.) deal with each other" (line

12)- these are forms of discourse that emanate from the new South Africa and have become part of the interpretative repertoires of the youthful Noel. The interviewer is giving Noel's construction a gloss by sharing from his own experience: "it's actually (.) beautiful hey what you are saying hey" (lines 14-15); and "I have also learned at Fort Hare over the years" (lines 16-17). It is in relation to this interaction that Annette creates her difference of opinion.

In this extract two versions of relating to the racial Other are enacted. The youthful version is rooted in integrated contexts of the new South Africa, whereas the representation of relating to black South Africans from the older voice is based on experience and ways of talking cultivated in apartheid South Africa. In this case the family setting becomes a social space where contradictory identities of Afrikaansness are produced. The voice of the young Afrikaner transcends an identity of Afrikaansness cultivated in the apartheid era and is pointing the way towards becoming a citizen in the new, democratic society. In this case the young Afrikaner is speaking with a new voice, embracing the Other unconditionally and transcending the cultural context of threat and separation.

From the point of view of the multi-voiced and dialogical self, one can argue that the young Afrikaner has developed what Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) has termed a 'third position'. The authors maintain that a third position emerges when people find themselves in situations where conflicting positions or voices dominate. The third position serves as a form of integration between the initial or original positions and is able to lessen and mitigate the conflict. In terms of the voice of Noel in Extract 10 one can argue that the young Afrikaner finds himself in a tension relationship between two conflicting positions: the position of his conservative parents (and relating to the Other in apartheid style) and the

voice of the Other-in-the-extended-self, the black and coloured peers at school (who are appealing for acceptance, equality and a new humanity in the democratic context). The emergence of a third position in Noel's repertoire can be interpreted as a form of reorganization of the self in terms of being Afrikaans and 'white'. It is about weaving a new form of self-integration out of strongly contradictory values and beliefs in the post-apartheid context (Hermans & Gieser, 2012).

In the new, democratic society young Afrikaner voices can also set the tone for social change and transformation.

6.4.3. An Afrikaner family embracing multi-cultural friendships: "The majority of my friends consist of people of colour"

One of the most consistent findings emerging from the analysis of the texts is discourse relating to the close relationships that have been forged among young people from all racial and cultural backgrounds in de-segregated school settings. These new ways of enacting identities of Afrikaansness have the potential of a transformative influence on the voices of other family members:

Extract 11: English translation (Rhoda= mother, Bernice= daughter, Simon= father)

1 Rhoda no (.) you know (.) actually the coloureds should never
 2 have been coloureds or brown people (people of colour)
 3 (.) they should have made them (.) even when I was a
 4 child (.) they should have made them 'white'then (.) then
 5 we wouldn't have had all these problems (.)
 6 Interv ahmm ahmm (.) Bernice can I also ask your (.) viewpoint?
 7 (.) on this matter (.) hh brown
 8 Bernice well as I have said I have I have in my school you (.) I
 9 am actually the majority of my friends consist of people
 10 of colour (anderkleuriges) (..) because our school is
 11 like this (.) we are just a small little 'white' group
 12 (.)
 13 Interv hmm
 14 Bernice the 'white' group that are there are are friends but (.)
 15 in the class situations (..) I am very good friends with

16 not just coloureds but (.) many of my good friends are
 17 blacks
 18 Interv hmm
 19 Bernice and (.)
 20 Interv you have no (.) problem with that
 21 Rhoda she has got good coloured friends as well
 22 Bernice yes many (inaudible)
 23 Rhoda with her birthday with your birthday for example (.) we
 24 had a mixed group in the house (.)
 25 Bernice yes blacks whites and (...) coloureds
 26 Rhoda we don't have a problem with that
 27 Simon no

Bernice, in Extract 11, lines 9-10, freely and unashamedly asserts that "actually the majority of my friends consist of people of colour". Although her school has "just a small little 'white' group" (line 11) that also "are friends" (line 14), Bernice is not ashamed to claim that "in the class situation (..) I am very good friends with not just coloureds" (lines 15-16) and continues "many of my good friends are blacks" (lines 16-17). She positions herself in such a way that the relationship with the Other is characterized as friendship ("friends" in line 9; "very good friends" in line 15). From reading the transcribed texts it was very seldom found that the parents in the families would describe their relationships with black South Africans like this.

The utterance "I have in my school" (line 8) refers to Bernice talking from personal experience and voicing her own story. It can be interpreted as a form of independence talk. Her mother, Rhoda, addresses the interviewer and talks on behalf of Bernice: "she has got good coloured friends as well" (line 21). Rhoda joins in the production of this narrative of 'liberation': of being friends across the colour line. Rhoda's taking part in building this narrative is the reverse of what happened in Extract 2 when Bernice was called into the narrative of her mother in terms of 'white' domination. Bernice confirms emphatically and unequivocally in line 22: "yes many". This unrestricted utterance "yes many" resembles the talk in Extract 10 where Noel talked about their

relationship with the "coloured Boer". Rhoda continues talking on behalf of Bernice: "with her birthday with your birthday for example (.) we had a mixed group in the house" (lines 23-24). Rhoda has now taken over the narrative from her daughter. She is participating in discourses of the new South Africa and embraces multi-cultural friendships: "we don't have a problem with that" (line 26). By utilizing "we" (line 26) Rhoda is talking on behalf of the entire family. Bernice affirms by mentioning the different groups in line 25: "yes blacks, whites and (...) coloureds". Even Bernice's father, Simon, joins in the collaboration: "no" in line 27. He didn't have "a problem" with that. Earlier in the family conversation it became evident the extent to which Simon was trapped in collective voices of the past in constructing his relationships with black and coloured South Africans.

It is significant to note the form of collaboration that has evolved in this passage of talk, involving both parents and revolving around Bernice's embracing of the racial Other. The parents have participated in producing this narrative of co-existence with the Other in a new way in the post-apartheid context. They have participated in the "New South Africa speak" of their daughter. This collaboration stands in sharp contrast to what was evident in section 6.2. of this chapter. In this section the collaboration between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents involved reproducing senses of threat and hegemonic identities of Afrikaansness. In Extract 11 Bernice is drawing from her experience and discursive resources in a de-segregated setting at school, and has opened the way for her parents to take part in the narrative. Bernice, as the youthful voice, can speak with authority and conviction based on her first hand experience with black and coloured peers in the integrated setting at school. This places the young Afrikaner in a position of authority and her

voice can have an impact on those of the older generation through transcending identities of the past.

From the point of view of the theory of the multi-voiced and dialogical self Bernice's discourse in terms of her friendship with the Other in Extract 11 can also be interpreted as the development of a third position (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This third position emerges, similar to Noel in Extract 10, as a reconciliatory position between voices of more conservative parents and traditional collective voices of her Afrikaner culture on the one hand, and the appeal of fellow black and coloured learners for equal and fair treatment in de-segregated school settings on the other. The emergence of a third position in this example can be interpreted as re-organizing the self in a new social, cultural and historical context and will enable Bernice to engage in open and dialogical relationships with fellow South Africans. In Extract 11 this innovative youthful voice becomes a powerful and influential force that also draws in the parents in discourse of renewal.

In the next section the analysis reveals the example of the young Frikkie who contests his father's definition of an Afrikaner (in the old conventional and exclusivist way as a 'white' Afrikaans-speaker), and attempts to construct an inclusive definition of Afrikaansness in line with socio-political and ideological developments in the new South Africa.

6.4.4. Defining Afrikanerness beyond race: "I won't make such a big issue of colour"

Extract 12: English translation (speakers: Frikkie= son, Alan= father)

1 Frikkie I shall not (...) make (...) such a big (...) hmm (...) shall
2 I say (...) will not make such a big issue of colour (...)
3 (I) mean if you (...) there is a difference between an

4 Afrikaner who comes from Africa (...) and is black and (.)
5 an Afrikaner who (..) or a coloured person who speaks
6 Afrikaans (.) I think there is there is a difference
7 there (.) it is not that all are Afrikaners (.) there is
8 the word you speak about an Afrikaner and Africans (.)
9 there is a difference
10 Interv that's right
11 Frikkie an Afrikaner who is 'white' shall I say is non-indigenous
12 ("uitheemse") people (.) who came to South Africa and (.)
13 actually if they talk about your ancestors our ancestors
14 do not come from South Africa (.) our ancestors originate
15 from Europe (..) that is what I think
16 Interv very interesting uh uh yes it is very interesting things
17 that emerge (..) so will you say you say that you and
18 your dad's definition differ a bit?
19 Frikkie yes
20 Interv good (..) hahaha good it is (..) one can anticipate that
21 hey (...) in the (..)
22 Alan he is looking for trouble (jokingly)
23 Interv hahaha
24 Frikkie hahaha
25 Eloize hahaha
26 Alan I just want to say to him his ancestors originated
27 already from 1791 (...)
28 Frikkie yes I know they are (..) arrived from Austria (.....)
29 Interv good I want to move on to the next hmm couple of
30 questions hmm just quickly want to ask this also so just
31 now we touched on this a bit people like Brian Habana (.)
32 hmm Soli Philander (.) Elana Afrika so you still feel
33 that that it doesn't fit within you you did say hey Alan
34 that it doesn't altogether fit within your definition of
35 an Afrikaner
36 Alan no not (in) my definition (.) maybe in my wife's or my
37 child or yours but not in mine I am honest when I say
38 that to you
39 Interv I hear what you say (...) it's 100% (.) Frikkie you have
40 mentioned it that the colour issue
41 Frikkie I assume (.) I separate it you do not have an Afrikaner
42 as a totality ("as 'n geheel") you have 'white'
43 Afrikaners and coloured Afrikaners because and even black
44 Afrikaners people that speak Afrikaans are surely are
45 surely Afrikaners but I wouldn't say that all black
46 coloured and 'white' people are Afrikaners they are
47 coloured Afrikaners (.) 'white' Afrikaners and they are
48 black Afrikaners
49 Interv very interesting
50 Frikkie or Afrikaans-speakers I think that is a better word

Frikkie positions himself in opposition to his father's conventional definition of what an Afrikaner is by stating: "shall I say (..) will not make such a big issue of colour" (lines 1-2). The utterance "shall I say" in lines 1-2 shows a

typical adolescent and respectful way of speaking where the young person is basically asking for permission to speak, particularly when you want to contradict your father. It can be interpreted as a form of 'foreclosure' talk. Alan, Frikkie's father, has reiterated that non-'white' Afrikaans-speakers such as "Brian Habana" (line 31) and "Soli Philander" (line 32) do not fit into his exclusivist, conventional definition of Afrikanerness: "no not (in) my definition (.) maybe in my wife's or my child or yours but not in mine I am honest when I say that to you" (lines 36-38). The youthful Frikkie contradicts his father's conventional definition, and the utterance "will not make such a big issue of colour" (line 2) can be interpreted as a form of non-collusion talk or independence talk. The interviewer orients to Frikkie's talk (from lines 1 to 15) and asks the question: "so will you say ... that you and your dad's definition differ a bit" (lines 17-18). Frikkie replies with an emphatic "yes" (line 19). The interviewer's utterance "differ a bit" (line 18) is revealing in the sense that it attempts to bring to the fore Frikkie's rhetorically skillful way of managing the difference with his father. His father has no reason to pick a big fight with his son in terms of their difference of opinion. One can argue that Frikkie has utilized a combination of 'foreclosure talk' and 'independence talk' or 'moratorium talk' in the interaction with his father. This is similar to what happened in Extract 8 where Johanna used the same combination of 'identity talk' successfully (interactionally).

A playful dialogue develops between father and son when Alan jokingly states: "he is looking for trouble" (line 22). Notice that everybody laughs (in lines 23-25) in response to Alan's comment. This playful comment by Alan references the norm of power in the sense that contradicting your father is "looking for trouble". Frikkie would have been in trouble if he didn't want to accept the authority of his father who is

the head of the family. But Frikkie has done well discursively and interactionally in terms of differing with his father in such a way (so that the interviewer can pick it up as well) that Alan is in actual fact proud of his son. This utterance ("he is looking for trouble" in line 22) can be interpreted as an acknowledgement by Alan and a celebration that Frikkie is developing his own independent voice as a young person, in other words, developmentally as well as socio-politically.

Frikkie attempts to construct a definition of Afrikanerness that transcends the racial and ideological baggage from the apartheid past. From a dialogical self perspective this development can also be interpreted as the emergence of a third position which is utilized to mitigate between two conflicting positions (the conservative position of his father and culture and the Other-in-the-self) (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This development can be interpreted as a form of re-organization of the self in particular socio-historical conditions.

Frikkie utilizes the category "Afrikaner" for not just 'white' Afrikaans-speakers: "an Afrikaner who comes from Africa (...) and is black and (.) an Afrikaner who (..) or a coloured person who speaks Afrikaans" (lines 3-6); "you have 'white' Afrikaners and coloured Afrikaners because and even black Afrikaners people that speak Afrikaans are surely are surely Afrikaners" (lines 42-45). However, it seems not that easy for Frikkie to get past the racial divisions of the past. He speaks in contradictory ways and constructs "a difference" (line 3) between "an Afrikaner and Africans" (line 8) and maintains: "I think there is there is a difference there (.) it is not that all are Afrikaners" (lines 6-7). Frikkie explains that "an Afrikaner who is 'white' shall I say is non-indigenous people" (lines 11-12) and "our ancestors do not come from South Africa (.) our ancestors originate from

Europe" (lines 13-15). Frikkie constructs a difference between non-indigenous Afrikaners and indigenous African people whose "ancestors" originate from the African continent. He admits "I assume (.) I separate it you do not have an Afrikaner as a totality you have 'white' Afrikaners and coloured Afrikaners ... and even black Afrikaners" (lines 41-44).

Frikkie appears to be torn between his expressed enactment of "not make(ing) such a big issue of colour" (line 2) and being entangled in collective voices and ways of talking of the past. He utilizes the category "Afrikaner" for groups other than 'white' Afrikaners, yet he falls back on old ways of talking by separating the groups ('white', coloured and black) on racial grounds. Eventually Frikkie does succeed in resolving this struggle by settling on an inclusive term: "or Afrikaans-speakers I think that is a better word" (line 50). In sharp contrast to his father's conventional definition that belongs to the ideology of Christian-nationalism and apartheid, Frikkie is attempting to construct a definition of Afrikaansness that transcends race and is more inclusive than his father's narrow definition. Frikkie is aware, based on his experience in the de-segregated setting at school (among other reasons), of social issues and ideological developments in the new South Africa. Authors like Erasmus (2002) and Slabbert (1999) have pointed out that many 'white' Afrikaans-speakers over the past years have decided to discard the category "Afrikaner" because of the heavy ideological and racist baggage associated with it and prefer the inclusive label "Afrikaans-speakers".

The analysis of Extract 12 also reveals, apart from the emergence of a third position in the identity formation of young Afrikaners, the multi-voiced and contradictory nature of identity construction among Afrikaner adolescents in dialogue. In his struggle to produce a definition of Afrikaansness Frikkie is torn between conventional ways of speaking

influenced by collective voices of the past and new voices structured by experience and discourses in de-segregated settings. The theory of the dialogical self is a useful theoretical perspective to illuminate the complex identity struggles that young Afrikaners are encountering in dialogue with their parents.

6.4.5. Not feeling out of place in a de-segregated context: "Culture does not cause a division"

Extract 13: English translation (speakers: Liezl= mother; Aneen= daughter)

1 Liezl and it is not that one begrudges them anything (.) but I
2 will feel very uneasy if I if I have to sit in an office
3 (.) and it is only people of colour ("anderskleuriges")
4 and I am the only one that speaks Afrikaans (.) I shall I
5 shall feel very much out of place (.) and hh hmm (.) not
6 that one be begrudges them their (.) positions or
7 anything like that (.) completely not (.) apartheid I
8 feel is wrong (.) but (.) hh (..) maybe again (inaudible)
9 there are other people that might feel I get along fine
10 with them it (.) doesn't matter at all to me (.) hmm (.)
11 and a person learn as well (.) to accept them as they are
12 (.) and and that is an adjustment that (.) that many of
13 us have to make (.) and a jump that many of us have to
14 make (.) hmm (...) hmm (...) but per se hh apartheid forced
15 apartheid (.)
16 Aneen just to link up with what she said about
17 Interv yes
18 Aneen hmm (..) the issue of not feeling at home (.) I have
19 noticed in the past that it depends (..) on what topic
20 (...) is under discussion when you are among them (.) if
21 you discuss say pure (.) academic topics or mathematics
22 in the class or (.) something like that (.) then (.) it
23 has (.) then it (.) it (.) then in any case it it not
24 racist (.) but when you get to a braai occasion or
25 ("braaivleisvuur") (.) you (.) have a party or so (.)
26 then you are going to feel out of place (.) but I don't
27 feel out of place in the classroom situation when I am
28 the only 'white' learner in class (.) I don't feel out of
29 place (.) because (.) we communicate on (.) the same
30 level about the same things and (.) culture doesn't cause
31 a divide mathematics is mathematics in (.) Xhosa or in
32 Afrikaans (it) is the same (.) so it (.) it the level on
33 which communication takes place makes a huge difference

"I don't feel out of place in the classroom situation when I am the only 'white' learner in class" (lines 26-28) is the reply given by Aneen, the daughter in the family, in response to her mother, Liezl. Her mother was giving her views on apartheid. Although Liezl has constructed "forced apartheid" (lines 14-15) as unacceptable ("apartheid I feel is wrong" in lines 7-8), it is significant how she speaks about the possibility (or reality) of increasing social integration in the post-apartheid context. Liezl constructs her concerns (sense of threat) as follows: "I will feel very uneasy if I if I have to sit in an office (.) and it is only people of colour and I am the only one that speaks Afrikaans" (lines 1-4). She reiterates: "I shall I shall feel very much out of place" (lines 4-5). Liezl mobilizes a disclaimer to minimize the chances that she will be heard as a racist: "it is not that one begrudges them anything" (line 1) and "not that one be begrudges them their (.) positions or anything like that (.) completely not" (lines 5-7). Liezl continues that "it (.) doesn't matter at all" (line 10) to her (in other words, it is not a problem for her) that "there are other people that might feel I get along fine with them" (lines 9-10). Liezl constructs dealing with fellow black South Africans in integrated contexts as "an adjustment" (line 12) and "a jump" (line 13) "that many of us have to make" (lines 13-14). This "adjustment" in the new integrated society involves that "a person learns as well (.) to accept them as they are" (line 11). Liezl constructs social life in the new, democratic society as threatening and challenging, and not plain sailing.

Aneen answers her mother based on her experience and discourse rooted in the de-segregated school situation: "just to link up with what she said about ... the issue of not feeling at home" (lines 16 and 18). In contrast to her mother's imagining of a threatening situation ("if I have to sit in an office" in line 2), Aneen talks from personal experience: "I

have noticed in the past" (lines 18-19). This utterance in lines 18-19 shows a gentle and non-confrontational way of introducing the difference of opinion with her mother. She asserts that she doesn't "feel out of place in the classroom situation" (line 27) as the only 'white' learner among black peers for the reason that "we communicate on (.) the same level about the same things" (lines 29-30). These utterances can be interpreted as forms of discourse (discursive and rhetorical tools) emanating from desegregated contexts. She did not experience uneasiness "if you discuss say pure (.) academic topics or mathematics in the class or (.) something like that" (lines 20-22). Aneen maintains that "culture doesn't cause a divide mathematics is mathematics in (.) Xhosa or in Afrikaans" (lines 30-32) and 'race' doesn't come into play: "then in any case it is not racist" (lines 23-24). Talking from first-hand experience Aneen concludes: "so it (.) it the level on which communication takes place makes a huge difference" (lines 32-33). However, she does admit (in harmony with her mother) that at the "level" of "a braai occasion" (line 24) or "hav(ing) a party or so" (line 25) a 'white' learner like herself, outnumbered by black peers, will result in her "feel(ing) out of place" (line 26). At this point in time Aneen is not considering, just like "in the classroom situation", the possibility that the "braai occasion" can become equally socially fulfilling and a context where she can experience "feeling at home" (line 18).

Aneen talks with conviction, authority and the freedom of somebody that has experienced black South Africans constructively and as equals in the school setting. She is in a position to talk in a non-threatening and nuanced way about her experience in de-segregated contexts. In contrast, her mother is dreading that to be outnumbered by the Other would inevitably imply an experience of dislocation, threat and insecurity.

What emerges from the analysis of Extract 13 is a form of contradiction of identities of Afrikaansness in the dialogue between mother and daughter. The daughter, rooted in a de-segregated context in the multi-cultural school setting is in a position to answer her mother based on experience and discursive resources from the post-apartheid, democratic society. From the perspective of the multi-voiced and dialogical self Aneen, as a youthful Afrikaner, seems to have developed what Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) has termed a third position. Aneen's discourse of not feeling out of place can be interpreted as a conciliatory and mitigating position between the conflicting positions of her parents (feeling threatened) and the Other-in-the-extended-self. Through her experience with black and coloured peers in de-segregated settings at school and elsewhere Aneen has developed new voices (a third position) of Afrikaansness and a re-organization of the self. She is in a position, in contrast to her mother, to transcend the collective voices and identities shaped by the apartheid era, as well as threatened identities constructed by Afrikaners in contemporary South African society. What emerges from this extract is the authority with which the young Afrikaner voice can speak based on 'new' identities and discursive resources.

6.4.6. Having faith in the Other: "I have quite a lot of hope for South Africa"

Extract 14: English translation (speakers: Dirk= father; Aneen= daughter)

1 Dirk and so Mbeki without fear or any ob ob objection
 2 Interv hmm
 3 Dirk he did he did (.) he did step down step down from his (.)
 4 chair (.) and I know Lekhota would also if he would
 5 become president (.) I am concerned that (..) Jacob Zuma
 6 (...) could become a next (.) hh Mugabe (.) because this is
 7 the mistake (of) all the African countries it's power (...)
 8 hh (..) but then you get a man like like Obama (.) who

9 is currently president of America (.) who (.) is
10 basically the (fulfilment) (.) of the American dream (.)
11 from Martin Luther King "I have a dream" (.) it is an
12 incredible story (.) of the black man that has control
13 (.) of the most powerful country in the world (.)
14 something else about the genuineness of the people that
15 man obtained his position not on the grounds of (.)
16 of a (.) of favouratism (.) it was a hard-fought election
17 battle (.) his dynamic personality got him there (.) hh
18 (...) hh hh I am very much afraid (...) in this country for a
19 (.) for a (.) power can be very dangerous (.) hh hh (...) I
20 personally (inaudible) this (.) COPE (.) that was formed
21 recently can possibly break this power base (...) so I feel
22 it will help us all power (.) how do they say power
23 corrupts absolute power corrupts absolutely
24 Interv yes yes
25 Dirk this is my only major (.) fear for South Africa (...) hh hh
26 (...) my prayer is that we shall find the right leader (.)
27 that that hh (..) that will govern our country with
28 wisdom and not with power (...)
29 Interv makes a lot of sense your own (.) voice on the matter?
30 Aneen I have (.) quite a lot of hope for South Africa in the
31 sense (.) that I move among children (.) whose parents
32 are ministers or (.) education officials and all so that
33 (.) their parents are very high up in politics many of
34 their parents (.) and if I consider them hmm (.) how they
35 argue (.) they do not always follow a guy (blindly) (.)
36 or follow the (.) leader (blindly) they argue about
37 matters they (.) they are aware that they (.) have the
38 ability to reason (.) and they use their reason they
39 agree with certain things and they don't agree with
40 certain things (.) so that gives me a lot of hope (.) hmm
41 (.) hmm (.) they (..) if I look at how they also argue
42 (.) they (.) it is not an issue any more for them (.) as
43 how they also live among us they (.) they don't see it
44 like that any more (.) to (.) hh to get back at 'white'
45 people or something like that (.) they see (.) they to
46 the contrary they are eager (.) to have 'white' teachers
47 in order to receive good quality education (..) so (..)
48 hmm (...) it is (.) I think they are (...) I if I look at
49 them if they would govern the country I will be happy

Aneen, the daughter, replies (in line 30) without hesitation in response to her father's construction of threat: "I have (.) quite a lot of hope for South Africa". She was responding to her father's "only major (.) fear for South Africa" (line 25). Her father, Dirk, is "concerned that (..) Jacob Zuma (...) could become a next (.) hh Mugabe" (lines 5-6). For a detailed analysis of the construction of threat and how it is put together in this stretch of talk (from lines 1 to

28), Chapter 5, section 5.4.5.4., pp. 203-205, can be consulted. Dirk mobilises the discourse of the "Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger) to construct "the mistake (of) all the African countries it's power" (line 7). He reiterates that he is "very much afraid (...) in this country for a (.) for a (.) power can be very dangerous" (lines 18-19). The utterances "major fear" (line 25) as well as "very much afraid" (line 18) and "very dangerous" (line 19) reveals the intensity of the sense of threat for the Other in power and the country's (and Afrikaners') uncertain future, that is produced.

Aneen indirectly engages in a form of dialogue with her father: she basically answers her father's construction of threat. She grounds her talk in her first hand experience in the integrated setting at school: "I *move among children* (italics added) (.) whose parents are ministers or (.) education officials and all" (lines 31-32). Furthermore, the utterances "if I consider them" (line 34), and "If I look at" (lines 41 and 48) demonstrate that what she talks about is based on first hand experience. Aneen utilizes the rhetoric of independence talk (or non-collusion talk) or moratorium talk to construct her narrative of the optimistic future. The youthful Aneen constructs her first hand experience with black peers ("and if I consider them hmm (.) how they argue" in lines 34-35) in relation to 'political' affairs as follows: "they do not always follow a guy (blindly) (.) or follow the (.) leader (blindly)" (lines 35-36). Aneen represents the capacities of the black leaders of tomorrow as follows: "they argue about matters they (.) they are aware that they (.) have the ability to reason" (lines 36-38). In contrast to Dirk's fearful construction of "absolute power corrupts absolutely" (line 23), Aneen retorts that young black peers at school "they use their reason they agree with certain things and they don't agree with certain things" (lines 38-40). In contrast to her father's construction of threat with undertones of the

"Swart Gevaar" (Black Danger), Aneen continues her optimistic and hopeful narrative: "they don't see it like that any more (.) to (.) hh to get back at 'white' people or something like that" (lines 43-45); "to the contrary they are eager (.) to have 'white' teachers in order to receive good quality education" (lines 45-47). Looking towards the future with the Other in power Aneen utilizes the utterances "a lot of hope" in lines 30 and 40, and concludes: "if I look at them if they would govern the country I will be happy" (lines 48-49).

The analysis of Extract 14 shows a form of contestation of identities of Afrikaansness being played out in the 'dialogue' between daughter and father. In constructing this dangerous and fearful Other in government the father, Dirk, speaks with a voice that has been powerfully influenced by collective voices of the past, particularly the ideology of the "Swart Gevaar" that had been repeatedly used during the reign of Afrikaner nationalist leaders and governments in the apartheid years. Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) maintain that prejudice and stereotyping often lead to the situation where the perceived Other is reduced to one position (Dangerous Enemy) only. The authors continue that threatening situations play a significant role in the reduction of the multiplicity of voices or positions in the perception of the Other. In contrast, the talk of Aneen, the youthful Afrikaner, can be characterized as independence talk or moratorium talk and she speaks with a totally different voice. This voice can also be interpreted as the development of a third position (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). She gives an "insider-perspective" of the leadership potentials of black peers, based on her experience in the de-segregated school setting. What is happening here is that Aneen is acknowledging the alterity of the Other. This stands in contrast to the construction of Johanna in Extract 6 where she questioned (in line with her teacher) the leadership qualities

of the grade 9's in her school. Aneen embraces her black peers and constructs them as competent, rational, responsible, appreciating citizens full of goodwill towards 'white' South Africans. This construction of black leaders of the future is in sharp contrast to her father's representation of a dangerous, power-hungry and threatening Other. In the above extract the youthful Afrikaner voice seems to be rooted in close and intimate ways in her multi-cultural school community and this enables her to speak in positive ways and with authority about black peers and their potential to play leadership roles and govern the country in a constructive way in the future. From the point of view of developmental psychology it seems that young Afrikaners are more often open and receptive to identity transforming influences through close and intimate contact with black peers in de-segregated settings. These young Afrikaners seem to be in a position to promote identity transformation through new ways of talking and enacting identities of Afrikaansness in settings where the lives of family members and members of their cultural communities can be constructively influenced.

In conclusion, I would like to remark about the generalizability of the findings in relation to the entire sample or the total body of the text. The findings that emerged from the analyses of the extracts in Chapters 5 and 6 are, generally speaking, applicable and generalizable to all or most of the family conversations. For example, constructions of threat and stigmatization, as well as examples of ambivalence, contradictions, tensions and uncertainty emerged in the conversations with all the families. An abundance of alternative extracts from most of the family conversations could have been included and utilized in these two chapters. For example, in Family Conversation no. 6 Dina, the mother, also makes use of the rhetorical strategy of reversal (see Extract 9 in Chapter 5) when she

exclaims: "I think they they still have (.) many issues". For the purpose of analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 the main criterion throughout was using the extract that illustrates the finding most clearly and convincingly rather than using a less potent extract for the sake of displaying representativeness. Overall, extracts from all 9 family conversations were utilized for the purpose of analysis. A limited number of extracts were included that illustrated a unique response and were not representative of all the family conversations. An example is the discourse by Johanna in Extract 8 in Chapter 6 where she replies: "I feel I must raise my children in English".

6.5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

From the presentation of the data in Chapter 6 it became evident that Afrikaner adolescents and their parents often collaboratively reproduced discourses of threat, as well as discourses from the apartheid era to construct identities of Afrikaansness in conversation. The family conversation often became a social space where, for example, discourses of threat, 'white' domination, racial purity, apartheid, and racism were collectively recited in the negotiation of identities of Afrikaansness between the young people and their parents. During these collaborations Afrikaner young people often utilized forms of 'identity talk' that can be characterized as 'foreclosure talk' or ventriloquating adult and collective voices of the culture. From the perspective of the Erikson-Marcia model, the identity status of foreclosure has often been understood as a less favoured identity status, particularly for males within western cultural contexts. From a discursive point of view, ventriloquating adult voices or 'foreclosure talk' often became a rhetorically skilful way of interacting with parents around questions of constructing Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid context. For example, a

young person is sometimes called into the narrative of the parent, for example on 'white' domination (Extract 2), and the adolescent rhetorically and skilfully succeeds in managing the dialogue with the parents around being Afrikaans in the contemporary society. In such instances 'foreclosure talk' becomes a rhetorical competence and inter-actional strength in managing dialogue, agreement and difference with parents relating to sensitive identity issues in a context of perceived threat. It is important to emphasize once more that, from a discursive point of view, identity is understood as a form of (discursive) action or performance in relationship, and not as intra-psychic (objective) structures of the mind as taken up within the Erikson-Marcia paradigm.

From a dialogical self theoretical point of view, it can be argued that Afrikaner family settings often became social settings where discourses of the apartheid past were recycled and reproduced, and where rumination and a lack of innovation is taking place (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). According to Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) there is the danger that citizens (like Afrikaners in present-day South Africa) continue to talk from conventional identity positions in conversation with each other, making cyclical movements across these positions, arrive again and again at these same (often destructive) positions, and become absorbed in their negatively coloured memories, cognitions and anticipations. It is evident that rumination, for example between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents, is different from a truly dialogical relationship. This kind of relationship is repetitive in character, there is an absence of innovation during the process of interchange and an inability to move to novel and positive positions. There is the danger of keeping Afrikaners, young and old, trapped in discredited identities of the past, and preventing them from becoming constructive and participating citizens in the post-apartheid society.

From analysing the transcribed texts it also became clear that the family conversation often became a social space where identity struggles in the form of discursive and rhetorical struggles were being played out between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in conversation. At the present historical juncture the question of Afrikaansness seems to be a highly contested discursive terrain. Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are often drawing on contradictory and opposing discourses and ideologies in producing identities of Afrikaansness in conversation. From the perspective of the theory of the multi-voiced and dialogical self one can argue that different and contradictory I-positions dominate in the dialogue between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents. The negotiation of identities of Afrikaansness between young people and their parents can go in different directions. It emerged during the family conversations that Afrikaner adolescents would, for example, draw on racist discourses to contradict their parents. It was not only the parents who were trapped in ethnic identities of the past. Afrikaner young people utilized a number of rhetorical strategies to manage the differences and contradictions with their parents. The most effective discursive strategy that emerged in the dialogue between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents seemed to be a combination of 'foreclosure talk' and what can be termed 'independence' or 'non-collusion' or 'moratorium talk' in managing differences and discursive tensions with their parents. In the present study identity is conceptualised as performance or enactment in dialogue, and not as objective and intra-psychic structures of personality. These discursive and rhetorical strategies or forms of 'identity talk' emerged in particular social contexts: where Afrikaner adolescents and their parents were talking about their sense of Afrikaansness in contexts of social transformation and perceived threat in post-apartheid South

Africa. It will be useful to investigate the 'identity talk' of Afrikaner young people in other social and discursive contexts (for example, between Afrikaner adolescents as a group of peers without the presence of their parents).

The presentation of the empirical data in Chapter 6 also showed how Afrikaner adolescents are drawing from experience and discursive resources from being embedded in desegregated contexts, mostly at school, in negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in conversation with their parents. The parents often do not have, because of historical reasons, the same quality of experience (and on the same levels of intimacy, openness and intensity) and the discursive and ideological resources to deal with identities of Afrikaansness and threat in the same liberated ways. The analysis of Extract 10 shows a significant example where the young Afrikaner voice constructs a narrative of friendship with black and coloured peers from her school setting, and she invites in both her parents to discursively enact identities (of Afrikaansness) of embracing close friendships with the racial Other. Moreover, it seems that young Afrikaners, because of being rooted in often contradictory social settings, have developed multi-voiced strategies in dealing with others and themselves in the post-apartheid context.

From the perspective of the multi-voiced and dialogical self theory it can be argued that these voices of renewal can be interpreted as the emergence of a third position (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The third position is a conciliatory and integrative position in relation to two conflicting positions. These new voices emerging among Afrikaner adolescents can be interpreted as mitigating positions between traditional voices of their parents and conventional culture on the one hand, and the voices of black and coloured peers at school (as part of the extended self) that challenge Afrikaner young people to relate in novel ways in the democratic South

Africa. These developments can be interpreted as a process of re-organization and hybridization of selves in globalizing and transforming societies (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Sorgan & Abbey, 2012).

Youthful Afrikaner voices can often speak with authority and conviction based on their first hand experiences with black and coloured peers in the integrated setting at school and outside. This places the young Afrikaners in a position of authority. The young Afrikaner voices, cultivated in integrated contexts of the new South Africa, potentially have transformative power and significance in contexts where discredited collective Afrikaner voices of the past are dominating and where fellow Afrikaners are grappling with self-definition, and struggling to find new voices and identities of citizenship in the democratic South African society.

CHAPTER 7

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this final chapter of the thesis is to draw the overall conclusions of the study. The intention is to interpret and discuss the empirical findings (presented in Chapters 5 and 6) of the investigation in the light of the theoretical framework (Chapter 2), as well as the literature review (Chapter 3). Furthermore, the limitations of the investigation will be highlighted, and some recommendations for future research will be made.

The main aim of the study was to investigate how Afrikaner school-going adolescents and their parents make sense of being Afrikaans in conversation in rural Eastern Cape settings in post-apartheid society. How do Afrikaner young people and their parents (collectively) talk about their experience of being Afrikaans during family conversations in contemporary society? A qualitative study was designed that allows the study of a phenomenon like the construction of identities of Afrikaansness during family conversations in depth, openness and rich detail as the researcher attempts to understand the categories of information that emerge from the textual data. It was decided to utilize a discursive analytic approach to analyze the data. This methodology is rooted in post-structuralist and social constructionist meta-theoretical perspectives. A social constructionist and discursive approach maintain that identities (for example, of Afrikaansness) are constructed in discourse by speakers (Afrikaner adolescents and their parents) in conversation (for example, within the practice of a particular family conversation) and within a particular social, cultural and historical context of post-apartheid South Africa.

It has become evident from studying the transcribed texts of the family conversations that talking about being Afrikaans was pervaded by senses of threat, loss, protest and stigmatisation. It seems that when Afrikaners talk about identities of Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid context their discourse involves talk about being threatened.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the question of how Afrikaner families construct threatened identities of Afrikaansness during the family conversations. How is the *threat* produced discursively, and what do they want to achieve with these identity constructions?

7.2. CONSTRUCTION OF THREATENED AFRIKAANSNESS

7.2.1. Historical perspective

In Chapter 3 the argument was developed that we should view the experience of threat among Afrikaner people in South Africa from a historical perspective. The point was made that the experience of threat among Afrikaner communities can be traced back to the beginning years at the Cape in the mid-17th century, and that a sense of threat runs like a golden thread through the history of Afrikaners up to the contemporary post-apartheid society (Du Bruyn & Wessels, 2007). This argument is in line with the work of MacCrone (1937), who embarked on a pioneering study of the historical development of the social attitudes, particularly racial attitudes among 'European' South Africans. The findings of the present study can equally be interpreted from a historical perspective. In the post-apartheid era Afrikaners are for the first time in 360 years finding themselves in a situation of living under a black majority government. What has happened in 1994 with the first democratic elections in South Africa is what generations of Afrikaners have feared and dreaded. For many their worst nightmare has become a reality. The present study was an

attempt to investigate how Afrikaner families are constructing identities of Afrikaansness in the new historical era where the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, that many Afrikaners believed in so fervently, has imploded. The findings of the present study highlight the identity struggles of Afrikaners, young and old, and how they are managing senses of threat in the post-apartheid South Africa, from a historical perspective.

7.2.2. Extent of the crisis for Afrikaners in contemporary society

The discussion of the findings in this section focuses on the construction of threat among 'white' Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Chapter 5). The significance of the present study is that it investigated 'white' Afrikaans-speakers' experience of threat qualitatively, in other words, in depth and rich detail. How is threat and Afrikaansness discursively produced and managed in conversation between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in rural Eastern Cape circumstances in post-apartheid South Africa? As far as can be ascertained, only a limited number of studies dealing specifically with threat among Afrikaners, have been undertaken in recent years in South Africa. In this sense the present study makes a contribution to the literature. However, the number of studies on Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid society has increased dramatically in recent years, and some studies have touched on the theme of threat indirectly, or on questions related to threat. All these authors are in agreement in their conclusion that in present-day South African society Afrikaners are experiencing a profound existential crisis (Alberts, 2008; De Klerk, 2000; Fourie, 2008; Hendriks, 2000; Slabbert, 1999; Steyn, 2004a; Van der Waal & Robins, 2011; Verwey, 2009; Vestergaard, 2001).

The findings of the present study support this result. It was found that the 'white' Afrikaans-speakers during the family conversations constructed profound senses of threat and anxiety on different occasions and contexts. For example, participants often utilized the rhetorical strategy of reversal in dealing with racism and threat. Van Dijk (1992) has emphasized that mitigation strategies are widely used in social settings where norms against the practice of racism are clear and strong. The more stringent the norms against discrimination and racism, like in the post-apartheid society, the more people will tend to have recourse to denials and mitigations. The strongest form of denial of racism that has been identified in western studies is the strategy of reversal (Van Dijk, 1992). Reversals are no longer a form of social defence, but it is a strategy of (counter-) attack. It was established by analyzing the talk and text of forms of elite discourse, as well as everyday talk, that the rhetorical strategy of reversal has been widely used by right-wing groups in different parts of Western Europe and the USA. The strategy of reversal has been widely used by 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in the family conversations of the present study. I want to argue that the abundant mobilization of the discursive and rhetorical strategy of reversal in the present study is an indication of the extent to which Afrikaners experience their position as threatened and stigmatized in the contemporary South African situation. This can be regarded as a contribution of the present study: not only is the enactment of an (Afrikaner) identity of counter attack (reversal of racism and threat) an indication of how profound the sense of threat is, but also how it is expressed and managed in present day circumstances. It seems that what is regarded as an extreme reaction in western cultural contexts is a relatively 'normal' reaction among 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary society. It appears that Afrikaners, in the new

society, have to constantly deal with the suspicion (and being sensitive in terms of racial issues), imagined or real, that is linked to Afrikaners' stigmatized (and threatened) position of being racists and oppressors under apartheid.

7.2.3. Experience of threat in different forms

The present study highlights how senses of threat are discursively produced in conversation between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in contemporary society. It revealed, among other findings, how discourses from the past are recited in the construction of Afrikaner threat narratives. The most pervasive discourse that is recited is the construction of a powerful enemy (the 'Swart Gevaar') that wants to hurt and harm Afrikaner interests. A number of findings of the present study in terms of experiencing and managing threat among Afrikaners are consistent with results established by other researchers in recent years. Participants in the present study constructed senses of threat in terms of their culture, as well as the survival and the purity of the Afrikaans language. Similar results were found by Delport and Olivier (2003), Schlemmer (1999), Steyn (2004a), and Visser (2007).

The analysis of the texts in the present study revealed a sense of threat in terms of Afrikaners continuing as a separate and distinctive group in South Africa, who are called to stand together to strengthen their weak and vulnerable position. Similar results were obtained by Fourie (2008), Korf and Malan (2002), Steyn (2004a), and Verwey (2009). Korf and Malan (2002) established that the participants in their study experienced high levels of threat in relation to distinctive continuity, the concern among urban Afrikaners that their ethnic group would not continue as a distinctive group in the future in the South African society. The present study showed that Afrikaners often recite the discourse of the

'laager' in the construction of threat narratives. Verwey (2009) also found that the participants in his study tended to recycle discourses of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. A contribution of the present study is the finding that particular discourses and ideologies of the past are being recited in the construction of Afrikaner threat narratives. From the analysis it became evident that a number of these discourses relate to Afrikaners' vulnerable position in terms of traditional identities of Afrikaansness (for example, unity of Afrikaners, purity of the Afrikaans language, established Afrikaner moral principles). Furthermore, a widely used discourse concerns the recitation of a Threatening and Dangerous Other who wants to harm Afrikaners' interests, opportunities and futures.

A related finding was reported by Steyn (2004a). Steyn explains that given the pervasive sense of being a group under threat, it is not surprising that the signifier of *Afrikaner unity* was prominent in the letters she analysed in her study. There was an expectation and anxiety that Afrikaners as a group should stick together. A similar result was obtained in the present study. Participants constructed a sense of threat in terms of the disintegration of the unity among Afrikaners in their social and religious life, and appeals were made for Afrikaners to stand together and promote themselves. An analysis of the transcribed texts of the present study made it clear that the construction of threat narratives was often associated with a *sense of loss* of traditional ways of making sense. This sense of loss was often constructed as a catastrophic loss where 'Afrikaners are gone' or 'lost human beings'. In this regard Steyn (2004a) argues that a precipitating factor for this sense of loss among Afrikaners is the situation where they had been socialized into an ideological system under apartheid that inculcated beliefs of Afrikaner exceptionalism, a community with special needs and

entitlements in South Africa. Therefore, it seems evident that many Afrikaners would experience the new society as a loss on numerous levels. Steyn (2004a) explains that there was wide consensus among the letter writers that Afrikaners were "grappling with a problem" (p. 154). The "problem" for Afrikaners can be summarized in the sense that they were displaced from the position in the centre, as the most important and powerful group in South Africa. Korf and Malan (2002) reported high levels of threat on the evaluative dimension of ethnic identity: in other words, the concern that group membership of Afrikanerness would no longer contribute to positive self-esteem. Participants reported high levels of negative experiences of themselves as 'white' Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary society. This result can also be interpreted as a sense of loss of self-worth as Afrikaners in the present.

The issue of crime has become an extremely emotional topic among Afrikaners in contemporary society. A pervasive sense of threat in relation to personal safety, in terms of crime, has been reported by a number of researchers (Fourie, 2008; Senekal & Van den Berg, 2010; Steyn, 2004a; Visser, 2007). Steyn (2004a) writes that the threat of crime featured prominently in the letters to *Rapport* in her study. While crime is a reality for South Africans, the representation by the letter writers that 'whites' and Afrikaners are primarily targeted and singled out by criminals is a deliberate rhetorical strategy. Steyn (2004a) reports a familiar historical strategy, that there was a pervasive tendency in the letters to (re)cast the Afrikaner as a victim. The construction of a sense of personal threat in relation to crime was also established in the present study. Furthermore, the construction of the racial Other as a powerful and dangerous enemy, and "us" as the victim, appeared frequently in the discourse of Afrikaner family members in the study. As

was mentioned above, the discourse of the 'Swart Gevaar' (Black Danger) was often recited in the construction of Afrikaner threat narratives.

7.2.4. Strategies for dealing with Afrikaansness and threat

A number of authors have discussed strategies or resolutions which Afrikaners are utilizing in dealing with threat, insecurity, stigmatization, racial identity (whiteness) and Afrikaansness in contemporary society (Ballard, 2004; Steyn 2004b; Van Niekerk, 2000). The present study can be interpreted as an investigation into the ways in which Afrikaner young people and their parents are managing threat and Afrikaansness in the post-apartheid society. A contribution of the present investigation is that it shows qualitatively how threat is produced and managed within the context of a particular social practice, where Afrikaner adolescents and their parents are in conversation about what it means to be Afrikaans in a post-apartheid historical context. As far as can be ascertained, no other study so far has focused directly on how senses of threat are discursively produced. A number of studies have revealed that Afrikaners are experiencing threat in relation to particular areas of life, for example, crime, affirmative action, the decline of the Afrikaans language, but have not focused directly on the quality of threat experiences and identities in relation to these and other areas.

A main contribution of the present study is the focus on how a social, cultural and historical context of threat, such as the present-day post-apartheid South African society for Afrikaners, is shaping the identity formation of young people, particularly young Afrikaners, who are growing up in a context of rapid social transformation and perceived threat and insecurity. How can we better understand the identity

formation processes of Afrikaner young people (in conversation with their parents) living in a social context of perceived threat and insecurity, saturated with all kinds of tensions, contradictions and conflicts? It became clear from analyzing the transcribed texts that Afrikaner young people are engaged in complex identity struggles in the post-apartheid society. Afrikaner young people are enacting a multiplicity of identities of being Afrikaans in conversation with their parents.

Afrikaner young people are often drawn into performing threatened and apartheid (or settler) identities of Afrikaansness in collaboration with their parents within the family conversations. The kind of 'identity talk' that emerges within these discursive contexts can be characterized as 'foreclosure talk' or ventriloquation of parental and collective cultural voices. It can possibly be expected that citizens, and particularly young people, who perceive themselves as threatened by fundamental social change in a society where the Other has come into power, will resort to 'foreclosure talk' and the recitation of familiar discourses, ideologies and ways of sense making. This retreating back to the past becomes even more intelligible when the ideological, discursive and rhetorical resources of the past have been historically utilized to ensure safety and security within a threatening context. One could argue that discourses of separation and apartheid, as well as discourses of domination, oppression and 'baasskap' that speakers in the study, young and old, have been drawing on, have been utilized historically by Afrikaners to address senses of threat and insecurity. In this kind of social context of perceived threat and insecurity, it seems inevitable that family members in conversation, such as the Afrikaner families in the study, will be drawn into participating in discourses of safety and security that are *familiar* to them, even if these ideologies

and discursive resources are in conflict with the norms and values of the new society.

A form of 'identity talk' that also emerged from the family conversations in the study can be characterized, according to my view, as 'moratorium talk' or 'independence talk'. In this kind of 'identity talk' there is a movement away from ventriloquation or 'collusion talk'. It emerged from the family conversations that Afrikaner adolescents, on certain occasions, resisted being cast into particular identities by their parents or the interviewer. From a discursive and rhetorical point of view, these forms of 'identity talk' can be understood as (flexible) rhetorical and discursive competencies or strengths in managing dialogue, similarities and differences in terms of constructing identities of Afrikaansness in conversation. This view is in contrast to the conceptualization of identity in the neo-Eriksonian ego identity status model of Marcia as objective and universal structures of personality. From analyzing the data, it became evident that Afrikaner adolescents utilized two forms of 'identity talk', ventriloquation and 'moratorium talk', *in combination*, to good effect in terms of interacting constructively with their parents around the question of being Afrikaans in the democratic society. The question can be asked whether these two forms of 'identity talk' can be regarded as prototypical forms of 'identity talk' (see discussion in section 7.3.5.). The question can also be asked whether similar or different forms of 'identity talk' will emerge in other discursive and social contexts where young Afrikaners (for example, in conversation with peers), or other groups of South African young people, are involved. For example, will different forms of 'identity talk' emerge in conversations among groups of adolescents (in terms of their ethnic identities) who do not experience social transformation

as threatening? These questions need to be investigated in future research.

What emerged from the analysis of the data is a multi-voicedness in terms of constructing identities of Afrikaansness in conversation. In a cultural context of perceived threat and insecurity, saturated with contradictions and tensions, it seems that there are not only social forces that draw young people into collaborating discourses (of safety and security) of the past, but also forces that give rise to contestation of identities (of Afrikaansness), as well as a multiplicity and diversity of voices and identities, including voices that transcend the restrictions and boundaries of the past (see section 7.3.4.). The theory of the multi-voiced and dialogical self, developed by Hermans and colleagues, as well as perspectives from discursive psychology, allow for this multiplicity and dynamic complexity of identities to be studied more fruitfully. The neo-Eriksonian identity status model of Marcia was considered to be too limiting for this purpose.

The complexity of identities of Afrikaansness that emerged from the family conversations can be seen in the contradictory voices or identities that are expressed and negotiated. For example, Afrikaner adolescents (and their parents) often enacted threatened and apartheid (or settler) identities of Afrikaansness in one discursive context, but in a different context expressed and realized identities of renewal, hope, optimism and embracing the racial Other.

7.3. DISCOURSES THAT FRAMED THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN AFRIKANER ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR PARENTS ABOUT BEING AFRIKAANS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

7.3.1. Introduction

The purpose of the study was to investigate how Afrikaner school-going adolescents are negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in conversation with their parents. This happened during family conversations under the guidance of the researcher as moderator. The researcher was interested in analyzing the discourse that emerged during the family conversation, jointly constructed between the young Afrikaners and their parents. In other words, the discourse on Afrikaansness was produced *between* the speakers, in the practice of the interaction.

7.3.2. Collusion of voices of Afrikaansness

The first part of the analysis in Chapter 6 revealed that a collusion or collaboration of voices of Afrikaansness occurred during the family conversations. These colluding voices of Afrikaansness emerging during the conversations drew on discourses of threat, as well as discourses that were part of the discursive and ideological resources from the era of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. These apartheid discourses which were collectively produced between the young people and their parents included 'white' domination or superiority, racial purity, separateness or apartheid, and racism. The family setting, in these instances, became a social space where threatened identities, as well as apartheid (or Afrikaner nationalist) identities of Afrikaansness were collaboratively reproduced. In the process of negotiating identities of Afrikaansness in conversation the adolescents often utilized the discursive and rhetorical strategy of ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' in managing the

agreement or collaboration between them and their parents. Bakhtin (1986), the Russian literary scholar, introduced the notion of ventriloquation and how individual speakers are influenced by what he called 'collective voices'. The identity status of *foreclosure* within the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm, formulated by Marcia, can be interpreted as allowing the collective voices of the parents and culture to be extremely dominant in the voice of a particular individual. I want to argue that the form of rhetoric that emerged in the interaction between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in collaborating identities of threat and settlerhood can be characterized as ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk'. As was argued above, this form of 'identity talk' seems to emerge frequently in a discursive context where young people and their parents are talking about the meaning of their ethnic identities in a social context which they perceive as threatening. From a discursive and rhetorical point of view, 'foreclosure talk' can be understood, in particular contexts, as a skilful and competent way of dealing with people in conversation. For example, it emerged from the data that a young Afrikaner voice ventriloquated another voice of authority (a teacher at school) skilfully to counter the voice of her father. This more positive view stands in contrast to the general understanding of the foreclosure identity status within the neo-Eriksonian paradigm. The foreclosure status, particularly for male adolescents, is often viewed by researchers working in western settings as a deficit status and less favourable psychologically, in comparison to the identity achievement status. In a social context which is perceived as threatening the rhetorical strategy of 'foreclosure talk' can in particular discursive contexts be seen as a skilful way for adolescents of managing dialogue with their parents about sensitive ethnic matters. However, 'foreclosure talk' can

also be understood in a less favourable light in contexts of fundamental social change, which are perceived as threatening, where young people and their parents collectively recite discourses and ideologies of the past which have been discredited and do not fit the values of the new society. The recitation of discourses of the past in these contexts may prevent family members, young and old, from learning a new language and move forward in terms of rediscovering themselves and participating in constructive projects of the new society.

7.3.3. Non-collusion of voices of Afrikaansness

The analysis of the interaction between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents on the question of being Afrikaans in the post-apartheid context, perceived as threatening, also showed a non-collusion of voices emerging during the dialogue. During the dialogue forms of contradiction, contestations, differences and discursive struggle emerged. These contradictions and differences relating to identities of Afrikaansness were often unpredictable. It was not the case that the parents were conservative and the young Afrikaners necessarily more liberal in their thinking about Afrikaners' place in the democratic South Africa. There were instances where the young people were more outspoken in terms of being racist and rooted in apartheid or settler discourses than their parents. The question that is in focus is what kind of 'identity talk' emerged during the dialogue with their parents on being Afrikaans in democratic South Africa. How did the adolescents discursively and rhetorically manage the contradictions and differences with their parents? A number of discursive and rhetorical strategies, in other words, ways of **doing identity in discourse and in dialogue**, emerged during the negotiations with their parents relating to being Afrikaans. In managing the identity struggles the rhetorical strategy of

'independence talk' or 'moratorium talk' ('own voice' or 'non-collusion' talk) was utilized by the youthful voices in conversation. The discursive contexts where these forms of 'identity talk' emerged were dialogical settings where Afrikaner adolescents resisted being cast into particular identities by their parents (e.g., that they should be more interested in government affairs) or the interviewer (e.g., that they are being coerced into having relationships with 'white' girls only). There were also instances where Afrikaner adolescents expressed an independent view without being in a dialogical situation of *resisting* their parents. Most often these forms of 'moratorium' talk or 'non-collusion' talk were positively accommodated by the parents within the friendly and accepting context of the family conversation. There were instances where the rhetorical display of independence was accompanied by strong emotions, where the argumentative nature of displaying strong feelings posed the danger of causing conflict, and being interactionally less 'successful' in talking about sensitive topics like being Afrikaans in a perceived hostile and unfriendly society. 'Foreclosure talk', in other words, identifying with an authoritative adult voice, was mobilised by young Afrikaners to contest the voice of a parent in a number of instances. A skilful way of managing difference in conversation with their parents emerged where the adolescents utilized a combination of ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' and 'moratorium talk' (or 'independence talk'), in other words, a multivoiced strategy. What is significant is that 'identity talk' be understood as discursive and rhetorical strategies that are enacted in particular practices and social contexts, such as Afrikaner families talking about the meaning of their ethnic identities in a cultural context of fundamental social change, perceived threat and uncertainty. In a context of social transformation it seems that a multiplicity and complexity of

voices and ethnic identities, rooted in the past and present, are at work. The neo-Eriksonian identity status model, with its four outcomes or identity statuses (in other words, static and reified positions arrived at after a period of development), was regarded as too limiting in understanding this dynamic complexity. Within this model the identity statuses are represented as ways of 'performing' identities that are universal and timeless, irrespective of the social and historical conditions within which identity takes place. The identity statuses are not understood as time and place bound representations, in other words, as historical constructions (or enactments) that are changeable and relative to socio-historical circumstances. The discursive and dialogical self theory perspectives allow the researcher to understand this multiplicity and complexity of identities in a particular socio-historical context.

7.3.4. Afrikaner adolescents transcending voices of threat and apartheid in conversation with their parents

What emerged from analysing the transcribed texts (and the *interaction* between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents) were ways of talking about being Afrikaans that can be characterized as 'liberation talk' or transcending voices of threat and apartheid. It became evident that there were occasions where the adolescents utilized discursive and rhetorical resources from being embedded in de-segregated settings of the democratic society, mostly at school. For example, in Extract 11 in Chapter 6 the youthful Bernice is drawing on her experience and discursive resources in a de-segregated setting at school, and has opened the way for her parents to take part in her narrative of being close friends with black and coloured peers. The youthful Afrikaner voice can speak with authority and conviction based on her first hand experience with black and coloured peers in the

integrated setting at school. This places the young Afrikaner in a position of authority and her voice can have an impact on those of the older generation through transcending identities of the past. Through closer analysis it becomes clear that these ways of talking can be characterized as 'non-threat talk' and 'non-separation talk'. Very often the parents do not have, because of historical reasons, the same quality of experience (and the same levels of intimacy, openness and intensity), as well as the discursive and ideological resources to deal with their experiences in the same liberated ways.

The kind of 'identity talk' emerging within these discursive contexts can also be termed 'moratorium talk' or 'independence talk' and these ways of talking are often expressed during dialogical encounters which are non-confrontational. Furthermore, it seems that young Afrikaners, because of being rooted in varying and often contradictory social settings, have developed multi-voiced (discursive and rhetorical) strategies in dealing with others and themselves. The analysis often revealed the multi-voiced nature of identity construction among Afrikaner adolescents in dialogue with their parents. In his struggle to produce a definition of Afrikaansness the youthful Frikkie (Extract 12 in Chapter 6) is torn between conventional ways of speaking, influenced by collective voices of the past, and new voices structured by experience and discourses in de-segregated settings.

7.3.5. Critical engagement with neo-Eriksonian identity status model

It has been argued in Chapter 2, based on the work of Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989), that the identity statuses in the Marcia model be re-conceptualised as identity performance in relationship and historical context. In other words, identities are discursively enacted in dialogue in a

particular socio-historical situation. I want to advance the same idea in this thesis. From a social constructionist, discursive and dialogical self theory perspective, 'identity talk', in contrast to the identity statuses taken up as objective, timeless and reified ego positions or structures of personality, can be conceptualised as discursive and rhetorical strategies or manoeuvres which emerge in dialogue, and which are performed to manage agreements and contradictions when talking about the construction of identities in a particular historical context.

In terms of the Marcia model the identity achievement status was conceptualised by Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989) in discursive terms as a powerful and convincing evaluator or decision-maker in western cultural contexts. One could possibly describe the identity diffusion status as enacting "a go with the flow" identity. These two discursive and rhetorical enactments of identity were not forthcoming in the body of text that was analysed. It could happen that these rhetorical strategies (and others) be identified in discourse in other social and discursive contexts, for example, where young Afrikaners are talking among themselves about ethnic identities. For example, it may happen that Afrikaner adolescents might more readily feel a greater sense of freedom among peers and voice confusion in relation to being Afrikaans and enact 'diffusion identities'. Furthermore, it may not be easy for school-going Afrikaner young people in conversation with their parents to articulate identities of a powerful decision-maker in terms of being Afrikaans in times of cultural upheaval, threat and uncertainty. In terms of the findings of the present study it does appear as if Afrikaner young people are often being drawn into the rhetorical strategy of 'foreclosure talk' when constructing threat and apartheid narratives in conversation with their parents in the post-apartheid context. The sense of solidarity and community

that 'white' Afrikaans-speakers experience with this kind of talk can possibly lead to a sense of security.

More research on the talk of young people in different social and discursive settings, and relating to different topics, will possibly shed more light on meaningful ways in which the Marcia identity statuses can be re-interpreted in discursive terms. It is also anticipated that the discursive analysis of the talk of adolescents in different social, discursive and historical contexts will reveal the enactment of different kinds of 'identity talk'.

Within a socio-historical context of perceived threat it was found that Afrikaner adolescents were often dominated by collective cultural voices (utilizing 'foreclosure talk') and performed threatened and hegemonic identities of Afrikaansness in collaboration with their parents. Furthermore, Afrikaner adolescents performed what can be called 'independence talk' or 'moratorium talk' in engaging in forms of contestation and discursive struggle with their parents on the question of what it means to be Afrikaansness in the new South Africa. These two discursive strategies or enactments of identities were the most prominent in the body of text analysed in the present study.

The study highlights, in contrast to the Erikson-Marcia paradigm, a *social* approach to the study of adolescent identity formation. It focuses on how identities are *collectively* produced between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents in a present day South African context. It is about how identities are discursively constructed in dialogue and not as a process that plays itself out in an intra-psychical (individualistic) world. From a discursive and dialogical self theory perspective the individual is fundamentally embedded in social contexts. Applied to the present study the individual adolescent voice is rooted in the discursive, symbolic and ideological world of the family, as well as the

Afrikaner culture. This viewpoint is incongruent with the neo-Eriksonian identity status model which is founded on individualist and positivist assumptions.

When taking a fundamentally *social* point of view as the point of departure of the study, the significance of the 'shared word' or ventriloquation (or 'foreclosure talk') is vastly different in comparison to the individualist assumptions dominating the neo-Eriksonian identity status model. Wertsch (2001) writes as follows:

The notion of ventriloquation presupposes that a voice is never solely responsible for creating an utterance or its meaning. It begins with the fact that 'the word in language is half someone else's'. (Bakhtin, 1981: 293-4). In a view grounded in ventriloquation, then, the very act of speaking precludes any claims about the individual's being 'metaphysically independent of society' (p. 224).

These insights shed new light on the issue of 'foreclosure talk'. It means that the individual speaker is embedded in a community of speakers and to 'share a word' is the most natural and basic thing to do along with fellow human beings. It implies that there is always a form of ventriloquation when an individual speaker utters a word, even when talking about identity. One could argue that ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' seems to be the prototypical form of 'identity talk'. The opposite would be in a sense moving away ('non-collusion talk' or 'independence talk' or 'moratorium talk') from the 'shared word'. The speaker is never truly a voice in isolation from the community of speakers. I want to argue that in an individualist, highly industrialized western society wherein the Erikson-Marcia identity paradigm came to fruition, ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk' was not prioritised. What is prioritised is a form of discourse that is the opposite or removed from

ventriloquation or 'foreclosure talk'. It seems that the Erikson-Marcia paradigm can be depicted as based on 'individualism talk', a form of talk that prioritises moving away from the 'shared word'. I want to argue that the criteria of *exploration* and *commitment* in the Marcia model prioritise a form of individualism. From this point of view the adolescent searching for identity is encouraged to explore and make commitments on his or her own, independent of the voices of the group. One could argue that the identity achievement status implies finding your voice in separation and detached from the voices of significant others. A significant research undertaking could be to conduct a discursive analysis of 'exploration talk', as well as 'commitment talk' produced within the parameters of the neo-Eriksonian identity status paradigm. In summary, I want to argue that the neo-Eriksonian identity status model seems to be founded on individualist assumptions and would therefore be useful mainly in western cultural contexts. The uncritical application of the Erikson-Marcia in non-western cultural contexts would be unwise. Furthermore, empirical research, from discursive and dialogical self theory perspectives, on the identity formation processes of adolescents in different social, cultural and historical contexts could contribute towards meaningfully re-interpreting the Marcia ego identity status model for use in wider contexts.

From a constructionist, discursive and dialogical self theory perspective it would be worthwhile to study 'identity talk' in dialogue, in relation to ethnicity and other identity-related domains relevant to young people (for example, career, religion, politics) and in different social, cultural and historical contexts. In a South African context, it would be worthwhile to investigate how Afrikaner adolescents construct ethnic identities in conversation with Afrikaner peers as a group, or in focus group discussions

where black adolescents and/or English speaking adolescents are part of the conversation.

As was argued above, the dialogical self theory is regarded as a useful theoretical alternative to the neo-Eriksonian identity status model of Marcia. The Marcia model can be understood and interpreted from a multi-voiced and dialogical self perspective in the following way. Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) emphasize that both multiplicity and unity are central concepts in this theoretical approach. Starting with the *foreclosure status* it is clear that a monological and dominant voice, strongly hierarchically organized, restrict the plurality and heterogeneity of voices. This leads to a closedness or restrictiveness where the person is not free to venture into new I-positions. With the *identity achievement* status there appears to be a better balance between dominant voices and room for multiplicity. The dominant voices are also hierarchically organized and direct the person in terms of decision-making and finding meaning in life, yet allows for flexibility. In terms of the *identity diffusion* status one can argue that there is a lack of dominant voices or identities. The adolescent is lost in the heterogeneity and multiplicity of voices and the hierarchy is under-developed and lacking. The *moratorium* status can be interpreted as the status where dominant voices are emerging, but the hierarchy has not been fully developed. The element of elasticity is strongly present and moving between I-positions is easily achieved.

From another angle, the dialogical self theory conceptualizes a *society of mind* (Hermans, 2002) which enables researchers to postulate a multiplicity of voices in terms of a society of individual voices in dialogue, rooted in a particular social context, and structured in a hierarchical fashion with some voices more dominant and powerful than others. In this society of mind individual voices or

identities emerge and become prominent within particular relationships and social contexts. One would argue that, in contemporary South African society, the voice of threat is a dominating voice (within the society of voices) among many Afrikaners. For Afrikaners to grow towards becoming participating and fulfilled citizens of the democratic South African society it would seem important and necessary for constructive and moral voices (for example, openness towards the Other, constructive criticism, humility) within this society of mind to become more influential and dominant.

7.4. LIMITATIONS

With the present study an in-depth investigation of the identity negotiations between Afrikaner adolescents and their parents about being Afrikaans in a particular context, was conducted. A qualitative methodology was utilized. Future researchers can use some of the main findings of the present study in terms of ethnic identity and threat, particularly among Afrikaner adolescents, and devise and undertake survey studies where the findings can be generalized to broader populations.

The number of male and female adolescents in the sample was too small to allow for a meaningful gender analysis of the data. Furthermore, the families in the sample can be regarded as relatively homogeneous in terms of their outlook on Afrikaansness and life in South Africa. It was not possible to access in the rural setting where the study was conducted a greater variety (from conservative to progressive or alternative) of Afrikaner families, expressing different forms (identities) of Afrikaansness. It would have been interesting to compare the findings of the rural sample in the present study with results from Afrikaner families living in possibly less traditional, consumer-oriented and fast-paced urban settings in the Eastern Cape or other parts of South Africa.

7.5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The question of threat and ethnic identities among Afrikaner populations can be investigated by making use of alternative methodologies, for example, survey studies.

Qualitative investigations on the question of threat and Afrikaansness, similar to the present study, can be undertaken with a variety of Afrikaner samples. For example, focus group discussions can be conducted with Afrikaner peer group samples of similar ages (for example, secondary school adolescents between 16 and 18 years of age), and in same sex or mixed gender groups. It would also be interesting to conduct investigations on threat and Afrikaansness with samples of older generation Afrikaners (for example, between 30 and 40 years of age and older), working class young Afrikaners or young people studying at tertiary institutions. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate the 'identity talk' of Afrikaner adolescents in terms of ethnicity in conversation with adolescents from other ethnic and racial groups. It would also be significant to investigate the 'identity talk' of groups of adolescents, for example, black adolescents, who are less likely to experience the transformation process as threatening.

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APPENDIX 1

CONSENT FORM

Good day, my name is Charl Alberts. I am doing a PhD study with the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The University is asking people from your community to participate in our research project, which we hope will benefit your community, and possibly other communities in the future.

The UKZN is one of the dynamic universities in South Africa that promotes quality research in the social sciences. We are conducting this research project with the aim of finding out more about Afrikaans-speakers' well being in a rapidly changing South African society. We hope to make a contribution towards advancing the mental health of Afrikaans-speakers in contemporary South Africa.

The results of the study will be reported in a manuscript called a dissertation, and as academic presentations at scientific conferences, as well as publications in scientific journals. No personally identifiable details will under any circumstances be released in these reports. Please understand that **your participation is voluntary** and you are not being forced to take part in the study. The choice of whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, we would really appreciate it if you do share your ideas and experiences with us. If you agree to participate, you may stop at any time and discontinue your participation. If you refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage, you will not be prejudiced in any way.

Only the researchers will have access to personal information and it will be kept confidential at all times. The group conversation will last about 1 hour 15 minutes. We are encouraging everyone to participate as openly and fully as

possible. If issues do arise during the course of the family discussion that make you feel sad or upset, we can stop and talk about it. I would be willing and available to assist you with those questions if you need assistance later.

If possible, I would like to come back to this area once we have completed our study to inform you and other participants of what the results are and discuss our findings and what this means for the people in this area.

If you have any other questions about this study, you may contact Prof Kevin Durrheim at the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg at (033) 2605853.

CONSENT

I hereby agree to take part in the research study regarding the adjustment of Afrikaans-speakers in present day South African circumstances. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop taking part in this family conversation at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

The purpose of the study has been explained to me, and I understand what is expected of my participation. I understand that this is a research project whose purpose will not necessarily benefit me directly personally.

I have received the telephone number of Charl Alberts should I need to speak about any issues that may arise in this interview.

I understand that confidentiality will be guaranteed in the way that the researchers will be dealing with personal information.

I understand that, if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Additional consent to audio recording:

In addition to the above, I hereby agree to the audio recording of this family conversation for the purposes of data capture. I understand that no personally identifying information or recording concerning me will be released in any form. I understand that these recordings will be kept securely in a locked environment and will be destroyed or erased once data capture and analysis are complete.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Focus 1: What is an Afrikaner?

Introduction:

Daar is 'n felle debat aan die gang op die oomblik oor die kwessie van Afrikaans-wees in ons huidige situasie: dinge het drasties verander sedert 1994. Julle het seker al self hieroor met mekaar gesels? Afrikaanse mense verwys byvoorbeeld na hulself as Afrikaner, Boer, Afrikaan, Afrikaanses, ens. /An intense debate is being waged among Afrikaans people on the topic of being Afrikaans in contemporary South Africa: things have changed drastically since 1994. I assume you have talked about this matter among yourselves? Afrikaans people refer to themselves, for example, as Afrikaner, Boer, African, "Afrikaanses", etc.

Wat of wie is 'n Afrikaner? Hoe sien julle juisself? /Who is an Afrikaner? How do you view yourselves?

Possible probes:

Hoe het Afrikaanse mense (of Afrikaners) na julle mening verander oor die afgelope 10-15 jaar? In watter opsigte? Sluit julle juisself hierby in? /Have Afrikaans people changed over the past 10 years and more, according to your viewpoint? In what way? Yourselves included?

Met watter rolmodelle/leiersfigure/helde/musiekante voel julle juis kan mee identifiseer as Afrikaanssprekende wit persone in Suid-Afrika vandag? Hoekom? Verduidelik hoekom; Wat trek jou aan? /Is there any role model/leader/hero/musician in the Afrikaans culture that you feel you can identify with and express how you feel as Afrikaans-speaking white person in present day South Africa? Why? What draws you to him/her?

Sou julle 'n persoon soos, byvoorbeeld, Allan Boesak of Brian Habana, of Anthea Warner, Bruin Afrikaanssprekendes, sien/insluit as 'n Afrikaner? /Do you see so-called coloured Afrikaans-speaking people like Allan Boesak or Brian Habana or Anthea Warner as Afrikaners?

Hoe voel julle oor die benaming "Boer"? /How do you feel about the term "Boer"? En Afrikaner (iemand wat sterk identifiseer met Afrika)? /And what about the term African? Sou jy na jouself op hierdie manier verwys? /Would you use these terms in relation to yourself?

Focus 2: Being Afrikaans and white in post-apartheid South Africa

Introduction: Ons samelewing is besig om deur drastiese sosiale verandering te gaan en Afrikaanse mense reageer verskillend op die uitdagings van ons tyd. /Drastic social transformation is taking place in our society and Afrikaans people are reacting in different ways to the challenges of our times.

Question: Wat is julle ervaring as Afrikaanssprekende wit persone van die lewe in die nuwe Suid-Afrika waar witmense nie meer in die dominante posisie is nie? /What is your experience as Afrikaans-speaking white people of life in the new South Africa where whites are not in the dominant position any more? (I thought it would be a good idea to start off with a general question before moving to the question on apartheid)

Possible probes:

Wat is julle gevoel oor die id e dat die Springbok-rugbyspelers na die wereldbeker se paspoorte ingetrek sal word indien die span nie genoeg Swart spelers bevat nie? /What is your feeling about the idea that Springbok rugby players'

passports will be withdrawn if there are not enough Black players in the team chosen for the world cup?

(Directed towards youth) Hoe ervaar jy/julle dit as Afrikaanssprekende wit persoon in 'n multi-kulturele skoolopset? /How do you experience the multicultural school setting as an Afrikaans speaking white pupil?

Question: Wat dink julle van apartheid? /What do you think about apartheid?

Possible probes:

Adriaan Vlok het verlede jaar byvoorbeeld Frank Chikane se voete gewas en om verskoning gevra vir die onreg van die verlede/apartheid, terwyl P.W. Botha end uit volgehou het hy het niks om te bely nie: julle kommentaar? / A year ago Adriaan Vlok washed the feet of Frank Chikane and asked for forgiveness for injustices of the past/apartheid, while P.W. Botha insisted that he had nothing to confess and ask forgiveness for. Your comments?

Die afbreek van apartheid het meegebring dat swart en wit se lewens nou verweef geraak het: met watter soort swartmense sal jy nie omgee om te meng en na jou huis te nooi nie, of met wie jou kinders vriende kan wees nie? Wat van 'n vriendskap met 'n Bruin of Swart seun/meisie van teenoorgestelde geslag?

("Boyfriend" of "girlfriend")? /The disintegration of apartheid resulted in the lives of Whites and Blacks becoming closely intertwined: what kinds of Black people do you not mind to mix socially with and invite to your house? What about having a close relationship with a Coloured or Black boy/girl of the opposite sex (as a boyfriend or girlfriend)?

Hoe sien julle jul toekoms as Afrikaanssprekende wit persone in Suid-Afrika? /How do you view your future as Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans?

APPENDIX 3

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

<u>Convention</u>	<u>Description</u>
(.)	Brief pause: no more than one-tenth of a second
(..)	Slightly longer pause
(...)	Long pause
{	Overlapping another speaker
<u>Arrogant ones</u>	Underscoring: indicates some form of emphasis via pitch and/or amplitude
<u>Racism building</u>	Very emotional tone of voice; talking loudly
:	Prolongation of the immediate prior sound
UITHEEMSE MENSE	Capital letters: indicating loud sound relative to the surrounding talk
Hmm	gesture indicating acknowledgement and empathy: encouragement to continue talking
(inaudible)	inability to hear what was said

APPENDIX 4

ORIGINAL AFRIKAANS EXTRACTS

CHAPTER 5

Extract 1: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv een laaste vraag heel laaste vraag: twee maniere om dit
2 apartheid te hanteer is die ding van hmm (.) Adriaan Vlok
3 het nou Frank Chikane se voete gewas (.) om nou om
4 verskoning te vra (.) oor die verlede (.) terwyl PW Botha
5 het ent uit volgehou hy het niks om jy weet om verskoning
6 te vra nie so twee teenstellende maniere om die verlede
7 te hanteer (.) wat is julle kommentaar daar daarop?
8 Erika ja: en kyk wat dit (half sarkasties) Vlok wat het dit
9 vir Vlok gebring nou gaan hy in elk geval gedagvaar word
10 so voete was of nie voete was nie met ander woorde daar
11 is nie (..) bely en vergewe en dis (..) dis klaar en
12 verby nie so dis so ja: (...) hmm ek raak geïrriteerd
13 daarmee dat ons aanmekaar (.) moet sê jammer jammer
14 jammer nou gee ons maar weet nie nog hmm wat ek het (...)
15 en ja: toe ek gaan studeer het ek sou heel moontlik nie
16 kon gaan studeer het as ek nie 'n onderwysbeurs gehad het
17 nie want my ouers sou nie kon betaal het nie dit het my
18 in 'n bevoorregte posisie geplaas (..) maar as ek nou kyk
19 na hoeveel studente vandag beurse kry (.) en nie een of
20 twee party van hulle sit met twee drie beurse
21 (emosioneel) (..) waar (..) dan dan dink ek net iewers op
22 'n stadium (.) is dit rêrig (emosioneel) moet ons nou sê
23 ons het nou klaar eskuus gesê en ons het dit nou klaar
24 (..) hmm dit was verkeerd (..) hulle is nou al besig om
25 van wanneer af (.) reg te maak moet ons dan nou vir ewig
26 reg maak? Hmm en dit vang my
27 Interv hmm hmm
28 Erika dit vang my want (..) hmm (..) hierdie kinders (.) wat
29 (.) wat wat wat nou grootword (.) hulle (.) ek kan vir
30 jou sê hulle weet nie eers waarvan jy praat rêrig as jy
31 van apartheid praat nie
32 Interv hmm
33 Erika tien kinders gaan tien verskillende menings gee (.) en
34 (..) hmm (.) dit (.) hierdie hele storie moet nou stop
35 (.) want (.) ons is in 'n nuwe land ons is in 'n nuwe
36 bedeling ons is nie meer in beheer nie hmm (...) heelwat
37 van ons het vrede gemaak daarmee (.) maar (.) daar
38 behoort nou gelyke kanse vir almal te wees (.) en nie
39 meer (...) hierdie gevoel van die heel tyd van (..) ons is
40 onregverdig behandel (..) en (..) en en nou moet ons nog
41 steeds (..) ons ons moet drie keer die voordeel daarvan
42 kry nie (...) tot die tot die jong jong swart kinders (...)
43 ek het interessant (.) hmm ek ek praat nou partykeer mens
44 gooi partykeer maar so 'n klip in die bos dan kyk jy wat
45 daar uitspring

Extract 2: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv van jou 'n laaste woord (.) hieroor miskien?
2 Zanette hmm dis 'n hele saak tussen vergifnis en agtervolging ek
3 dink ek wil eerder nie (.) alles wat in die verlede
4 gebeur het moet net vergewe want (..) hulle kan daai
5 mense wat daai tyd iets gedoen het hulle kan nie meer
6 iets doen nie hulle regte is so te sê afgevat (..) wat
7 hulle nou doen hulle werk teen 'n toekoms vir Suid-Afrika
8 waar hulle eintlik moet saamwerk (.) want hulle breek nou
9 af (.) wat hulle toe al moes begin bou het aan (..) en om
10 nou op die (..) 20 jaar terug se goed (.) terug te gaan
11 is onnodig (.) waar jy nou nou goeters gebeur wat baie
12 meer mense se lewens vat as (..) wat daai mense ooit
13 gedoen het

Extract 3: Original Afrikaans

1 Jakkie ja ek het nou al vergeet wat jou vraag is
2 Interv (laggende) Frank Chikane ag Adriaan Vlok en PW Botha haha
3 Jakkie vir daai daai tyd was dit 'n konfliktsituasie (...) die
4 Suid-Afrikaanse regering het probeer om kommunisme (.)
5 uit Suid-Afrika te hou (.) dis dis tog (..) sover ek (.)
6 kan onthou (.) is dit die groot storie gewees (..) dit
7 was om kommunisme uit Suid-Afrika uit te hou (...) maar nou
8 (...) het die mense nou maar (.) gedoen gedoen en gedoen
9 (.) maar dis vir my verkeerd lat (...) daai (.) wit mense
10 van daai tyd so erg vervolgt word (...) hierdie bomplanters
11 (.) of nie bomplanters nie hulle het nie bomme hulle het
12 net geskiet (...)
13 Interv dis reg
14 Jakkie daar in Pretoria daai bom wat (.) daar geplant is wat
15 hoeveel mense geskend is waar is daai bomplanters?
16 Interv hmm
17 Jakkie hoekom hoekom word hulle nie meer verhoor (...) en vervolgt
18 (.) soos wat (.) hulle nou met met Vlok en hierdie mense
19 wil maak nie (..) maar op daai stadium (..) op daai
20 stadium het hulle (...) hulle werk gedoen
21 Interv hmm hmm
22 Jakkie nou nou is hulle verkeerd (..) maar die (.) mense wat ons
23 gesien het as terroriste (...) wat bomme geplant het (.)
24 Interv hmm hmm
25 Erika dit was die struggle onthou vir vryheid geveg
26 Jakkie dit was die struggle (..) maar so het ons (...) daarteen
27 geveg (.) dis ag dis dis nie maklik om (...) ek dink nie
28 mens kan werlik 'n oplossing hê daarvoor nie (.) maar dis
29 net vir my verkeerd lat (...) net 'n sekere groep mense
30 word uitgesonder (...) oor daai hele storie van (..) apartheid en die struggle (..)

Extract 4: Original Afrikaans

1 Erika en nou nou praat ek met die kinders oor studentegelde en
2 goed (.) dan vra hulle nou vir my ja maar weet het Nolene
3 nou 'n beurs gekry? (..) en wat kos dit nou om te studeer
4 en het sy 'n beurs? Toe sê ek nee (...) en toe vertel ek
5 vir hulle onder andere van so (..) toe Nolene in graad 11
6 was het hulle mos (...) vreeslik vir die landbousektor het
7 hulle mos nou kandidate gesoek om in Landbou, Wiskunde,

8 Ekonomie en goed te studeer toe nooi hulle (..) alle alle
9 sw.. alle kinders van kleur (.) maar net wit meisies (.)
10 geen wit seuns nie (.) hoewel ons op daai stadium
11 twee ten minste twee wit seuns in die skool gehad het jy
12 moes Wiskunde en Skeinat moes jy gedoen het (.) en jou
13 punte moes (.) op 'n sekere standaard wees (.) maar toe
14 word daai wit seuns uitgesluit (.) en toe sê die kinders
15 "nou maar hoekom?" (emosioneel) (..) toe sê hulle maar
16 dis mos nou (.) dis mos nou onregverdig toe sê ek we:l
17 maar (..) daar word gereken daar is nou klaar soveel (..)
18 blankes in in daai sektor en dit moet nou meer
19 verteenwoordigend raak
20 Interv hmm hmm
21 Erika en die kinders (emosioneel) (.) die swart kinders se
22 reaksie is vir my eintlik (.) baie dikwels verstommend
23 Interv hmm baie interessant
24 Erika dat hulle eenvoudig sê **maar dis onregverdig**
25 Interv hmm hmm baie interessant
26 Erika want hulle sê (..) en ek het seker so drie jaar terug het
27 ons 'n meisie in matriek gehad (..) en sy het gesê op
28 geen manier moet iemand vir haar sê (.) sy is
29 agtergeblewe nie (.) sy het in in 'n huis grootgeword met
30 'n pa en ma as prokureurs (.) sy sê daar is niks wat sy
31 wou gehad het wat sy nie gekry het nie
32 Interv baie interessant
33 Erika hulle het met die (..) grandste voertuie gery en in 'n
34 pragtige huis gebly sy was in Winterberg (.) op skool
35 omdat dit haar keuse was (.) sy het net gesê niemand mag
36 vir my sê ek is agtergeblewe nie (.) sy wil nie daai
37 etiket hê nie
38 Interv baie interessant
39 Erika en daar's heelwat meer van hierdie kinders wat net
40 eenvoudig sê hulle wil nie daai etiket van (.) van
41 voorheen benadeelde agtergeblewene (.) hulle soek dit nie
42 Interv hmm hmm
43 Erika en ek ek ek hoop regtig dat dit (.) iets is wat (.) wat
44 ons nie nog drie geslagte mee gaan saamsleep nie

Extract 5: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv ... laaste vragie hoe sien julle die toekoms van ons
2 toekoms as Afrikaansprekendes, Afrikaners? Hoe sien julle
3 die toekoms?
4 Alan nee ons toekoms is is is lyk goed ek bedoel ons (.) ons
5 sal ons sal hopelik oorleef ons is (...) getallegewys staan
6 ons sterk genoeg ons sal nie (.) sommer in 'n Zimbabwe
7 (.) kan verander nie want ons kan (...) hmm as blankes
8 hopelik (.) nie dat ons kan saamstaan nie maar ons kan
9 hopelik weerstand bied sou ons in 'n Zimbabwe situasie
10 probeer ingedwing word (...) hmm die toekoms van die
11 Afrikaanse taal solank hy gepraat word sal hy lewe (.)
12 solank hy gepraat word en geskryf word en gesing word (.)
13 sal hy groei (.) hmm ek het nie 'n illusie of 'n vrees
14 dat dat Afrikaans sal doodgaan nie (.) hmm die regering
15 het (.) nie naastenby genoeg (.) mag om hom dood te druk
16 nie absoluut nie hmm sel selfs met die Afrikaanse kultuur
17 of ek bedoel wat Afrikaners met hul kultuur maak (.) is

18 sal wees wat wat wat of die kultuur gaan voortleef of hy
19 gaan uitsterf ek bedoel dit hang nou maar van die
20 Afrikaner self af (.) en dan glo ek jy sal altyd 'n
21 Afrikaner hê wat jou daaraan herhinner (.) veg vir jou
22 taal (.) veg vir jou kultuur ensovoorts ensovoorts (...)

Extract 6: Original Afrikaans

1 Annette maar Charlie my (.) dinges (hoë stemtoon) is ek het ek
2 het nie 'n pyn of iets (.) met (..) dat hulle (.) hulle
3 opgebring het of nie (.) maar die een moet nie die ander
4 een onderdruk nie (.) ons moet almal gelyke regte hê as
5 jy vir 'n pos aansoek doen of jy Engelssprekend
6 Afrikaanssprekend Xhosa of (.) Zoeloe of wat ook al
7 Johan (onhoorbaar)
8 Annette as jou kwalifikasies daar is die een wat die beste die
9 werk doen moet hom kry (...)

Extract 7: Original Afrikaans

1 Eloize hmm ek het tog 'n bietjie 'n beklemming maar ek dink ek
2 ek dink ons gaan bietjie moet veg vir ons taal en ons
3 kultuur in die toekoms (.) ek ek voel ek ek dink so hmm
4 veral dalk met klein kinders sal defnitief bietjie
5 swaarder kry (.) om hulle kultuur en Afrikaans aan die
6 gang te hou en sterk te hou (.) en dan het ek nogal groot
7 bekommernis oor die misdaad (.) ek ek kan nie ek ek weet
8 nie hoe gaan ons (.) die ding kan oplos nie maar ek dink
9 dit is 'n 'n groot bekommernis of iets wat (...) ja as ons
10 oor die toekoms praat misdaad en armoede

Extract 8: Original Afrikaans

1 Rhoda huh ek het nie 'n vreeslike probleem gehad met Mbeki nie
2 (.) het ons ons het eintlik niks met hom te doen (...) weet
3 jy (.) na die (.) almal het so verskriklik aangegaan en
4 (.) gedink na: die verkiesing gaan die hele wer (.) ons
5 ons lewe het nie vreeslik verander nie (..) ons lewe maar
6 nog net soos ons gelewe het (.)
7 Simon hmm (instemmend)
8 Rhoda daar's 'n bietjie spanning rondom Simon se werk (.) so
9 nou en dan bietjie spanning (.) rondom my werk (...) maar
10 (.) en jy sien ons is in die platteland (.) jy het nog
11 steeds jou Afrikaanse vriende (.)
12 Intervv hmm (..)
13 Rhoda jy's ek meen ons (.) miskien is die plattelanders se (...)
14 se siening oor dit anderster as in die (.) stede ek weet
15 nie
16 Intervv hmm hmm hmm
17 Rhoda jy sien ek is nie 'n boer wat hulle my plaas kom afvat
18 nie (.)
19 Intervv hmm hmm
20 Rhoda jy sien ons het nie 'n krisis regtig omtrent dit nie né
21 (.)
22 Simon hmm (instemmend)
23 Rhoda dis net (.) as gevolg van jou werk maar hy het nou weer
24 'n vaste aanstelling (.) gekry so nou is ons weer fine
25 (.) haha
26 Intervv hmm hmm

Extract 9: Original Afrikaans

1 Eloize maar hmm kan nie presies meer onthou wat die vraag
2 aan die begin was nie maar (.) oor rassisme ek wil
3 net 'n ietsie wat ek nou onlangs ondervind het in
4 my klas (.)
5 Interv yes
6 Eloize hmm ek is baie eerlik as ek sê hmm ek ek raak
7 kwaad partykeer oor dinge maar ek is nie 'n rassis
8 nie ek beskou myself regtig nie hmm ons skool is
9 90% of 99% swart hmm ek gee vir swart kinders (.)
10 omtrent die heel dag klas maar ek dink (...) ek weet
11 nie wanneer gaan rassisme uit ons skole uit kan
12 kom selfs by ons kinders OF DIT OOIT gaan reg kom
13 nie
14 Interv baie interessante punt
15 Eloize want ek ek skryf byvoorbeeld (.) op
16 die bord ek gee klas ek het nie 'n idée van
17 rassisme in my kop of iets nie ek doen adjectives
18 Interv hmm hmm
19 Eloize dan skryf ek op die bord die 'the black cat'
20 onmiddellik hoor ek maar ek staan met my rug se 'n
21 paar iets van 'black', 'black' ek lat dit
22 verbygaan
23 Interv hmm hmm
24 Eloize dis graad sewes
25 Interv ek sien
26 Eloize die volgende sin (glimlag) is die hmm "Die seun
27 het 'n wit hemp aan" 'white' en (onhoorbaar) en
28 net daar ja het hulle iets agter my rug ... weet
29 hoor jy dit (.) daar was eers iets oor 'black' dis
30 graad sewe laerskoolkinders
31 Interv so hulle is bewus ...
32 Eloize en ek het onmiddelik daar (.) miskien moes ek nie ...het ek
33 'gesnap' en ek het omgedraai en vir hulle net daar die
34 hele klas (.) begin toe praat ons oor ... toe sê ek vir
35 hulle julle het die probleem ek sê ek het nie nou hmm
36 rassisme of iets nie (.) weet julle julle is nou besig om
37 rassisme hier op (.) julle praat van 'black' en 'white'
38 het dit enige iets met adjectives te doen? Dit dit het my
39 verskriklik (.) maar dit wys nie daai kinders (.) en dis
40 in graad sewe
41 Interv so bewustheid daarvan
42 Eloize wanneer wanneer gaan dit (.) dit is nie meer by my nie ek
43 kan eerlik sê né ek het nie probleem met 'n blanke kind
44 ek gaan nie die een voortrek of die ander ek gee
45 dieselfde onderwys vir almal (.)
46 Interv baie interessant baie interessant
47 Eloize en hulle was hulle was toe ons daarvoor begin praat
48 (stemtoon het opgegaan) hulle was skaam hulle was
49 onmiddellik skaam en hulle het geweet waaroor dit gaan en
50 waarvan ek praat
51 Interv dit is baie interessant
52 Eloize en hulle het tjoepstil tjoepstil geraak
53 Interv so so wat jy eintlik sê is dat ons die samelewing is nog
54 (.) né ras is 'n issue wat (.) alive and well

55 Alan nee maar die die hierdie kinders se ouers (.) het nog 'n
56 issue (...) ons regering het nog 'n issue (.) en sodra jy
57 begin sê (.) luister daar moet vyf gekleurde spelers in
58 'n span wees
59 Interv dit is my volgende vraag (.) ja hmm
60 Alan jy weet (.) nou hamer jy op ras (...) in plaas van om te sê
61 kies die beste span en as die beste span pikswart is of
62 leliewit is dan aanvaar ons hom almal so (.) maar kies
63 die beste span (.) die kenners nie die politici nie
64 Interv hmm hmm hmm

Extract 10: Original Afrikaans

1 Joyce al wat ek kan sê ons is 'n klein groepie (...) 'n klein (...)
2 jy weet 'n klein groepie Afrikaners want dis Engels en
3 dis (.) Xhosa en dis wat als is dit nie?
4 Johansr ja: (..) en dis nog te meer (.) te meer rede dat (.) die
5 Afrikaner moet meer bymekaar
6 Joyce moet saamstaan ja (...)
7 Johansr soos byvoorbeeld Steve Hofmeyr met sy (..) optogte wat hy
8 hou (.) vir Afrikaans
9 Interv ja

Extract 11: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv presies presies (.) hmm is daar dink julle daar (.)
2 Afrikaanse mense het (.) drasties verander?
3 Johan ja
4 Interv of 'n mens kan dit seker ook wyer maak (.) witmense (.)
5 oor die algemeen maar Afrikaners spesifiek
6 Annette hulle moreel het baie verslap
7 Johan hulle hulle (onduidelik) staan nie bymekaar meer soos in
8 die ou dae nie (.) hulle is weg (.) in die ou ou tyd ja
9 (..) jy weet jou buurman (.) was jou buurman gewees (.)
10 hy was jou vriend (..)
11 Interv ja
12 Johan (...) jy het hom opgepas hy het jou opgepas (...) julle het
13 by mekaar gekom (.) alles (.) nou deesdae loop almal
14 verby mekaar (.) 'n man kan 'n ander man sien lê in die
15 straat (.) hy sal net sê hoekom lê daai man daar is hy
16 dronk? Jy weet (.) hy sal nie kyk (.) of hy iets seer
17 gekry het (onduidelik) hmm (.) dis off (.) die
18 Afrikaanssprekende mens en die mensdom in in die algeheel
19 (...) niks vir sy medemens oor het nie (...) dit kan wees
20 die lewe so woens aan te gaan jy weet die lewe is nou te
21 vinnig né (..) almal is haastig almal wil daar wees (.)
22 as gevolg het jy nie tyd vir ander mense nie (..) jy het
23 skaars tyd vir jouself (...) as jy vat jou godsdiens (...)
24 gaan Sondag na 'n NG Kerk toe na 'n Afrikaanssprekende
25 kerk toe sien hoeveel mense is in daai kerk (...) soveel
26 mense het gereeld kerk toe gekom (.) ons was by 'n
27 Nagmaal gewees (.) onlangs (.) as daar sestig mense by
28 die Nagmaal gewees het van die gemeente was dit baie (...)
29 sien nou kom ons weer by die (onduidelik) morele sake (.)
30 die moraliteit is nou weer weg (.) die godsdiens begin al
31 klaar (.) kwyn (...) en as die mense die godsdiens (.)
32 verloor (.) en jou belange in jou medemens verloor (.)
33 dan is jy (onduidelik) 'n verlore mens

Extract 12: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv hmm sou sou julle byvoorbeeld (.) ons het hier (.) Brian
2 Habana waar's hy? Daarso is die outjie (..) 'n Bruin
3 outjie né of (.) Soli Philander (..) hmm hier is Alan
4 Boesak ensovoorts sou jy (.) sulke mense insluit by jou
5 definisie van (.) Afrikaans? Op hierdie stadium?
6 Johan hmm op die huidige oomblik nie (..) want daar is nie een
7 van hulle suiwer Afrikaans praat nie (..) as jy jou TV
8 aansit en hierdie aanbieders kom (.) dit is 'n show en
9 dis 'n gig en dis 'n film daai tipe ding (.) daar is nie
10 meer Afrikaans (onduidelik) hulle praat nie Afrikaans nie
11 Annette suiwer Afrikaans nie
12 Johan hulle praat 'n mengelmoes
13 Annette Soli is 'n baie goeie aanbieder
14 Johan ja
15 Annette baie goeie aanbieder
16 Johan maar hulle (.) hulle praat hulle is nie suiwer Afrikaans
17 nie
18 Annette maar dis nie suiwer hulle praat nie meer suiwer Afrikaans
19 nie
20 Interv dit het ook verander né
21 Annette ja
22 Interv daai daai ding soos jy sê van suiwer Afrikaans
23 Johan (onduidelik)
24 Interv dis dis baie beslis so dat dit
25 Annette maar luister na jou Afrikaanse kunstenaars daars Robbie
26 Wessels ook (..) luister na sy liedjies (.) daars nn hy's
27 ook nie suiwer Afrikaans nie (...)
28 Interv dis reg (.) so daai (.) beeld van (.) die suiwer
29 Johan die Afrikaner is verby (.) d d daar is dit (..) as jy nie
30 Afrikaans sy taal kan praat nie (.) hy kan nie sy eie
31 taal praat nie hoe kan hy Afrikaner wees?
32 Interv hmm hmm

Extract 13: Original Afrikaans

1 Annette maar Charlie kyk net na jou beginsels né (.) ek praat van
2 morele beginsels (.) kyk toe ons opgegroeï het (.)
3 Interv yes
4 Annette hoe streng was (.) morele beginsels nie net onder blank
5 (.) nie net onder Afrikaners nie maar ook onder jou swart
6 bevolking (..)
7 Interv hmm hmm hmm dis baie waar (...)
8 Annette waar is daai morele beginsels vandag? (...)
9 Interv die goed is in flux né (.) dit dit is baie waar van die
10 goed het gedisintergreer (.) en dis hoekom ons juis die
11 gesprek het want (.) weet die hele ding (.) soeke na
12 identiteit né (.) van 'n nuwe (.) wel 'n ek sê amper nuwe
13 vastigheid (.)
14 Annette ja
15 Interv hoe kry (.) 'n mens dit? Né wat julle sê (.) dit dit is
16 Annette maar jy kan nie bestaan sonder vaste morele beginsels nie
17 (hoë stemtoon) (.) jy gaan ondergaan in die wêreld (.)
18 Johan geen land kan (.)
19 Annette geen land kan (emosioneel: hoë stemtoon) (.) sonder daai
20 morele beginsels bestaan nie (.) maak nie saak wie jy is
21 nie (kwaai emosioneel steeds: hoë stemtoon)

22 Interv hmm hmm
 23 Noel om 'n goeie voorbeeld te maak Engeland was 'n sterk land
 24 gewees (.) op sy tyd (.) mense dink nog steeds hy is 'n
 25 sterk land maar as 'n mens rerig kyk na sy struktuur en
 26 goeters (.) omdat hy soveel immigrante goeters in hom het
 27 (.) het hy nie eintlik meer (.) daai fisiese trotsheid
 28 wat hy (.) voorheen gehad het (..) toe hy nog (.) hoe kan
 29 ek toe hy nog as 'n empire bekend gestaan het

Extract 14: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv en voel jy dieselfde Johan jr? Dat hh (.) dis reg dat hh
 2 (.) dat dit eintlik nie veel saak maak nie en sommige
 3 mense (.) jy weet gebruik ook die (.) benaming Afrikaans
 4 né om dit bietjie verwys na die kontinent en so aan (.)
 5 hoe sal julle daarvoor oor voel? Of Suid-Afrikaner?
 6 Johan sr ek sal (.) 'n Suid-Afrikaner bly kom wat wil weghol kan
 7 ek nie (.) en gaan ek ook nie (...)
 8 Interv baie interessant
 9 Johan jr ek is hier gebore en hier grootgemaak
 10 Joyce ja (.) nee (.) en jy is Afrikaans
 11 Johanjr ja
 12 Interv ek hou van daai (.) uitspraak (.) met ander woorde (.) hh
 13 dit is ons (.) ons is gewortel hierso né
 14 Johansr dis reg
 15 Interv daai klas van ding
 16 Johansr my pa het 'n gesegde gehad "jy plant nie 'n ou boom uit
 17 nie" (...) en dis vir my ook die geval
 18 Joyce (onhoorbaar)
 19 Johansr ek het grootgeword hier en hier sal ek doodgaan (...) dis
 20 dis my land

Extract 15: Original Afrikaans

1 Bernice behalwe ek hou nie van die idée dat hulle jou
 2 steeds met apartheid in ons skole probeer bombardee:r
 3 deur boeke oor daai tyd (..) dis geskiedenis los dit daar
 4 (beslis gestel) (.) moenie ons nog steeds (..)
 5 Rhoda nee maar
 6 Bernice moenie nog steeds die idée probeer omkrap met sulke goed
 7 wat verby is nie (lang stilte)
 8 Rhoda nee o.k. daar stem mamma nie met jou saam nie (.) hulle
 9 moet die geskiedenis (.) daar het ek nou weer anders
 10 hulle het al ons geskiedenis weggevat (.) jy kan nie die
 11 geskiedenis van enige iets wegvat nie dis jou (.) dis jou
 12 (.) hmm (...)
 13 Interv dis jou roots
 14 Rhoda dis jou anker dis jou roots
 15 Interv ja jou
 16 Rhoda jou wortels
 17 Interv (onhoorbaar)
 18 Rhoda en dit is vandag was dit op die hoofnuus gewees
 19 Bernice maar dan moet hulle nie
 20 Rhoda vandat dit (.) wat nou hierdie ding afgebreek het (...)
 21 hierdie hmm (..) standbeeld (..) ek meen hoekom gaan
 22 breek jy 'n standbeeld af van mense (.) wat jy nie eers
 23 geken het nie? (.) net omdat jy nou (.) omdat dit nou
 24 wittes is wat hom opgesit het (.)

25 Bernice maar dan moet hulle nie kies watse (.) watse
 26 geskiedenis hulle wil (.) insit sit alles in of moenie
 27 insit nie of (.) sit 'n verskeidenheid in moet ons nie
 28 (.) **ek hoor niks meer van die Voortrekkers nie**
 29 (emosioneel: stem word verhef) (.) ek ek het laas in
 30 standerd drie iets gehoor oor Voortrekkers
 31 Rhoda maar dis wat mamma nou sê (.) want ons
 32 Bernice **ek hoor net oor apartheid en hoe die (.) swartes getoyi-**
 33 **toyi het** (steeds sterk emosioneel en cut ma uit wat wou
 34 inchip (..) ek (.) as ss sodra daai (...) hh onderwerp oor
 35 gaan dan luister ek nie meer nie (stemtoon steeds
 36 opstandig) (.) so hh (...) dit maak nie meer sin nie

Extract 16: Original Afrikaans

1 Johanna verlede kwartaal was daar 'n ou van die SA Navy by ons
 2 gewees (.)
 3 Pieter ahuh
 4 Johanna toe sê hy vir ons dit is 'n realiteit dat (..) hmm (.)
 5 vir 'n werk (.) as sê nou daar's (.) vier mense 'n wit
 6 vrou 'n wit man swart man swart vrou (.) en sê nou maar
 7 disabled mense né (.) toe sê hy vir ons dit is 'n
 8 realiteit die (.) swart vrou gaan eerste (..) wees om die
 9 (.) om die job te kry as sy (.) as sy reg is daarvoor (.)
 10 sy gaan eerste na gekyk word (.) dan die swart man (.)
 11 dan eers die disabled mense (.) dan eers die wit vrou en
 12 dan eers die wit man (.) toe sê hy dit werk rêrig so en
 13 hy het gesê in die Navy (.) en toe erken hy dit self dit
 14 is soos hulle daarna kyk (.) so ek voel nog steeds dis
 15 (.) dis (.) onregverdig (.) want almal (.) moet dieselfde
 16 kans kry jy kan nie een net voortrek (.) oor sy kleur nie
 17 Anneke ons het die heel eerste ondervinding juis in 1994 al
 18 gehad (.) hiermee (.) April het ons het ons hh hmm (...)
 19 Pieter hh
 20 Anneke wat is die woord? (...)
 21 Pieter (onduidelik) ons soek ...
 22 Anneke nee man nee nee April (..) 27ste April vv
 23 Interv toe die verkiesing was
 24 Anneke die verkiesing was (.) toe die apartheid nou (.) toe
 25 hulle nou aan bewind gekom het (..) en (..) Sarel het
 26 Sarel was in matriek gewees (.) in 1994 (.) ons het (..) vyf en twintig vyf en dertig?
 27
 28 Pieter **joe** (.) **meer**
 29 Anneke vyftig
 30 Pieter daar was oor die vyftig (.) aansoeke
 31 Interv aansoeke?
 32 Anneke aansoeke het Pieter gedoen
 33 Interv wragtie
 34 Anneke vir beursaansoeke
 35 Interv ek sien (.) ja
 36 Pieter maatskappy-aansoeke
 37 Anneke maatskappye (..)
 38 Pieter verskillende (onduidelik)
 39 Anneke want hy wou toe op daai stadium wou hy chemise
 40 ingenieurswese gaan swot het
 41 Interv ek sien
 42 Anneke ons het antwoorde terug gekry (.) hy was geroep gewees

43 vir drie onderhoude dink ek (.) hy het gegaan hmm hh De
 44 Beers (.) hmm hy was trouens gekies vir die: hmm (...) hmm
 45 (...) die die hmm NOK (..) rugbyspan (.) wat hy Julie-maand
 46 (.) daai vakansie moes hulle op 'n toer gaan
 47 Interv ja (.) ek sien
 48 Anneke wat hy nie gegaan het nie want ons was so opgewonde
 49 gewees oor hierdie twee onderhoude wat hy gehad het
 50 Interv ja joe
 51 Anneke dit was die begin van daai tyd gewees
 52 Interv ek sien
 53 Pieter ja
 54 Anneke (..) hy is net so (.) net so uitgegee (...) toe al het
 55 hulle gesê (...) julle kan maar vergeet julle gaan nie (..)
 56 hmm (.) ons gaan nie ons gaan nie vir die wittes die
 57 beurse toeken en so nie
 58 Interv hmm

Extract 17: Original Afrikaans

1 Dirk wat my partykeer hmm bang maak is hierdie mag element in
 2 Suid-Afrika (..) hh ek lees in die koerante (.) van 'n
 3 (onduidelik) die wagte (.) van die president (.)
 4 Mothlanthe (.)
 5 Interv hmm
 6 Dirk wat 'n ongeluk gemaak het (..) en iemand het het gesterf
 7 (.) hh mag is is is is 'n is 'n (..) altyd 'n droom vir
 8 Afrika (.)
 9 Interv hmm
 10 Dirk Afrika het baie (onduidelik) en Afrika is (onduidelik)
 11 oor mag (.) hmm (...) en ek voel soos die hele die hele
 12 Zuma beweging maak my baie benoud (..) hh hmm (.) geen
 13 respek vir die grondwet vir (.) vir hh (.) die wette van
 14 die land nie (.) hh die (.) die absolute diktatuur (...) hh
 15 hh (...) jy weet Nelson Mandela was 'n (..) hy het (.)
 16 rustig afgestap van die president se stoel af (.)
 17 Interv hmm
 18 Dirk en so het Mbeki sonder vrees of om om omhaal van woorde
 19 Interv hmm
 20 Dirk het hy het hy (.) het hy afgestap af afgestap van sy (.)
 21 stoel (.) en ek weet Lekhota sal ook as as hy sou
 22 president word (.) ek is net bang (..) Jacob Zuma (...) kan
 23 'n volgende (.) hh Mugabe word (.) want dit is die fout
 24 al die Afrika lande dis mag (...) hh (..) maar dan kry jy
 25 weer 'n man soos Obama (.) wat nou president van Amerika
 26 is (.) wat (.) amper die (.) ss die Amerikaanse dream (.)
 27 wat Martin Luther King "I have a dream" (.) dis 'n
 28 ongelooflike verhaal (.) van die swartman beheer het (.)
 29 oor die magtigste land in die wêreld (.) nog iets van die
 30 egtheid van die mense daai man het daar gekom nie op
 31 grond van (.) van 'n (.) van 'n voorttrekkery nie (.) dit
 32 was 'n harde verkiesingstryd (.) sy dinamiese
 33 persoonlikheid het hom daar gebring (.) hh (...) hh hh ek
 34 is baie bang (...) in hierdie land vir 'n (.) vir 'n (.)
 35 mag kan baie gevaarlik wees (.) hh hh (...) ek persoonlik
 36 (onduidelik) hierdie (.) COPE (.) wat nou ontstaan het
 37 kan miskien hierdie magsbasis kan hy breek (...) so ek voel

38 dit sal ons almal help mag (.) hoe sê hulle power
 39 corrupts absolute power corrupts absolutely
 40 Interv ja ja
 41 Dirk dis my enigste groot (.) vrees vir Suid-Afrika (...) hh hh
 42 (...) my gebed is dat ons net die regte leier kry (.) wat
 43 wat hh (..) wat met wysheid ons land sal regeer en nie
 44 met mag nie (...)

Extract 18: Original Afrikaans

1 Dina en weet jy wat maak hulle met daai kind (..) want daai
 2 kind raak toe (..)
 3 Basie verbouereerd
 4 Dina jy weet daai kinders voel mos aan as daar iets fout is
 5 (..)
 6 Interv ja
 7 Dina en daai kind begin toe kriewel en dit (.) gooi hulle net
 8 'n kussing oor die kind
 9 Interv hmm
 10 Dina so dit wys jou hulle het nie (.) 'n gevoel vir 'n mens
 11 nie (.)
 12 Interv absoluut
 13 Dina ons lewens (..) is (.) niks (.) werd nie
 14 Interv hmm
 15 Dina ek kan nou hier sit (.) en (.) geen verbintenis hê met
 16 apartheid of die politici of enige iets nie (.) maar (.)
 17 daai ou wat my hier gaan kom doodmaak (.) weet dit nie
 18 (.) hy gee nie om nie
 19 Interv hmm absoluut
 20 Dina by hom gaan dit oor (.) wat kan hy steel
 21 Interv ja ja
 22 Dina en ek voel (..) die doodstraf moet terug gebring word
 23 want die mense wat mense vermoor (.) en (.) swart wit
 24 geel pink ek gee nie om nie (.)
 25 Interv hmm
 26 Dina hulle moet gehang word
 27 Interv hmm hmm
 28 Dina want (.) al hulle mense (.) as daai ou man moet doodgaan
 29 nou (.) wie gaan vir daai familie sorg?
 30 Basie want hy hulle kry seker ouderdomspensioen (.) of hy is
 31 die broodwinner
 32 Dina want hy is obviously die die die die broodwinner
 33 Carl want dis soos hulle sê in Engels life is cheap and death
 34 comes easy
 35 Dina ja
 36 Basie ja maar daar is nie 'n (onhoorbaar) en dis hoekom dit
 37 gebeur (.) en hulle gooi hulle eie kultuur weg

CHAPTER 6

Extract 1: Original Afrikaans

1 Joyce al wat ek kan sê ons is 'n klein groepie (...) 'n klein (...)
2 jy weet 'n klein groepie Afrikaners want dis Engels en
3 dis (.) Xhosa en dis wat als is dit nie?
4 Johan sr ja: (..) en dis nog te meer (.) te meer rede dat (.) die
5 Afrikaner moet meer bymekaar
6 Joyce moet saamstaan ja (...)
7 Johan sr soos byvoorbeeld Steve Hofmeyr met sy (..) optogte wat hy
8 hou (.) vir Afrikaans
9 Interv ja
10 Johansr en dan (...) die reg van die Afrikaner?
11 Joyce ja is
12 Interv dis 'n goeie voorbeeld né
13 Joyce ja
14 Interv dis 'n goeie
15 Joyce ja is
16 Interv as iemand wat op die voorgrond tree wat (.) wat wat wat
17 weet dis (.)
18 Joyce (onhoorbaar)
19 Interv wat 'n stem het né wat sy stem ook laat hoor (.)
20 Johansr dis reg
21 Interv daai klas van ding (..) so (..) ek neem (.) julle hou van
22 wat hy doen né as ek
23 Joyce ja
24 Interv as ek so kan vra (.) Johan (jr) jyself? Hhh (...) hoe ss
25 (.) hou jy ook van Steve? Is daar ander figure miskien
26 ander (..) persone of (.) hh hh miskien musikante of (.)
27 leiersfigure?
28 Joyce (onhoorbaar)
29 Johanjr ek sê net so (.) die Afrikaners moet nie terugstaan vir
30 wat reg is vir hulle nie (.) hulle moet glo in hulle taal
31 en alles en hulle moet dit nie (.) wegsteek in 'n kas of
32 iewers nie (.) as jy Afrikaans is (.) go for it
33 Joyce is so jy moet trots wees daarop
34 Johanjr ja
35 Interv baie interessant (.) maak sin maak sin
36 Joyce ja dit is so

Extract 2: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv jy weet ons weet sommige mense het ge-emigreer (..) jong
2 outjies en sommige mense het Orania toe (.) verhuis ook
3 en so aan (.) hh wat is julle ervaring van die (.) nuwe
4 Suid-Afrika waar witmense nie meer in 'n (.) dominante
5 posisie is nie? (lang stilte)
6 Rhoda dink jy 'n witmens sal ooit nie in 'n dominante posisie
7 wees nie? (.)
8 Bernice nee ons is nog steeds (.)
9 Rhoda ek gaan jou nou 'n teenvraag stel ons bly dominant man
10 (.) hulle kan maak wat hulle wil (ferm gestel) (.)
11 Interv hahaha
12 Rhoda hahaha nee vra want ek meen (.) hoeveel is julle in die
13 Hoërskool? (.)
14 Bernice ek sê vir Ma ons is seker (.) dertig wit kinders uit 'n

15 hoërskool uit van 400
 16 Rhoda en daardie dertig wit kinders is (onhoorbaar)
 17 Bernice ons regeer daai hoërskool uit en uit
 18 Interv hmm
 19 Bernice ons (.) elke eerste span bestaan uit ons dertig wit
 20 kinders (.) basies (.) my vriendekring van sewe (.) of 8
 21 wit meisies (.) ons is al die eerste span in daai hele
 22 skool (.)
 23 Interv baie interessant (.)
 24 Bernice ons dink (.) as iets gereël word wie reël dit ons reel
 25 dit (.)
 26 Interv ahmm
 27 Bernice so ons besluit as daar iets gedoen word ons (.) domineer
 28 daai skool (.)
 29 Interv hmm hmm
 30 Rhoda so dis wat ek vir jou probeer sê (praat gelyk met dogter)
 31 Interv baie interessant ja

Extract 3: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv (laggende) ek sien haha ok net twee vrae nog oor (.) hmm
 2 Noel hmm so weet kom kry te doen met seuns en meisies by
 3 die skool (.) hhh sou jy dit oorweeg sê maar om met Bruin
 4 meisie of 'n swart meisie bietjie mee (.) weet vriende te
 5 wees of uit te gaan en (.) so aan
 6 Noel kyk
 7 Interv of hoe voel jy daaroor?
 8 Noel kyk daar is 'n vriendskap (.) maa:r (.) dit bly by
 9 vriende ek glo daaraan (.) jy klim nie oor die (.)
 10 rasselyn nie (...) om met so 'n persoon 'n verhouding (.)
 11 'n persoonlike verhouding (.) te gaan knoop nie (...) ek glo
 12 (.) sterk daaraan skape en bokke teel nie
 13 Interv ok ok haha
 14 Annette haha daar het hy 'n lewendige antwoord hahaha
 15 Interv (laggende) ek neem aan jy kan moeilikheid optel as jy
 16 miskien
 17 Annette nee uhuh (wys my stelling af)
 18 Noel nee ek sal nie moeilikheid optel nie
 19 Johan dis teenstrydig met die godsdiens ook (...) (lang pouse)
 20 Annette dis sy eie opinie daai
 21 Noel ontspan (.) nou ek vind dit nou na
 22 Interv ek waardeer dit
 23 Noel Tiger Woods ook (.) hy het vir hom 'n Sweedse vrou (...)
 24 aangeskaf hy het nou 'n kleintjie nou onlangs gekry (.)
 25 nou wat
 26 Johan nou wat se nasie is daai?
 27 Noel ja nou wat se nasionaliteit?
 28 Interv hmm hmm
 29 Johan (onhoorbaar)
 30 Noel want Tiger self is half Taiwanees (.) half (...)
 31 Annette Amerikaner
 32 Noel Amerikaans Swart Amerikaner (...)
 33 Interv hmm
 34 Noel nou hoe (.) hoe moet daai (.) kind nou voel? Want in
 35 skool word jy (.) selfs in Amerika jy word nog steeds (.)
 36 ge-onderdruk (...) en dinge
 37 Interv hmm

38 Noel hoe moet hy nou voel wat se ras is hy?
39 Interv hmm
40 Noel so ek voel ek persoonlik wil net nie my kinders in daai
41 situasie plaas dat hy (.) geen identiteit het nie

Extract 4: Original Afrikaans

1 Anneke nee nee dit is nie dit is nie hh (..) ja of jy mag nie
2 met hulle assosieer of enige iets nie (.) nee en (...)
3 Pieter ek ek glo want dit kom uit persoonlike verhoudings (..)
4 elkeen het sy plek maar
5 Anneke ja dit glo ons
6 Pieter maar om darem vriende (..) te wees
7 Interv hmm
8 Pieter om uit te vat vir ete of so dit nie 'n probleem mee nie
9 dit is vir my amper ook 'n besigheidswêreld deesdae
10 Interv hmm hmm
11 Anneke hmm hmm
12 Pieter jy moet met hulle in die besigheidswêreld meng en daarom
13 (...)
14 Interv hmm
15 Pieter is dit makliker daarom na ons toe kom Indiërs, Swartes
16 (.) wat wat reps is wat (..) ons (.) wat Sasol mense en
17 so aan
18 Interv ek sien baie interessant
19 Pieter (onhoorbaar)
20 Anneke ons weet nie as jy in 'n situasie gaan kom of so iets van
21 die aard hoe jy dit gaan hanteer nie maar (...) hmm hhh (...)
22 ja (.) nee ons is nog (..) hh geneig om ons (...) in 'n
23 aparte hokkie te plaas (.) as as (...) hmm jy weet (...) sê
24 maar die swartes en so
25 Pieter ja (.) nee beslis maar
26 Anneke ons doen dit
27 Interv 'n mens kan dit ook verstaan né
28 Anneke ja
29 Interv wat jy netnou genoem het Annemarie vanuit ons verlede né
30 Pieter ja: ...
31 Interv dit is dit is 'n proses (.) wat aan die gang is (.) en ek
32 wil juis vir Johanna vra hoe jy dit by die skool belewe
33 (.) hh die feit dat julle in 'n (.) jy weet
34 multikulturele opset skoolgaan teenoor wat ons al (.)
35 drie pa ma en eksel self het in ek was in 'n wit (.) skool
36 Anneke ja ja ja
37 Interv universiteit né en so aan hoe belewe jy dit op skool (.)
38 vlak Johanna?
39 Johanna oom by ons ook maar bly ons ook maar wittes eenkant
40 swartes eenkant en Kleurlinge bly gewoonlik eenkant (.)
41 ons meng nie eintlik by die skool nie (.) dis hoekom ek
42 hou ook nie baie daarvan nie (lag effens ongemaklik) ek
43 is nie vir dit dat ons so meng nie
44 Interv ek sien
45 Johanna dit is vir my baie (..) as ek soos die kinders in ons
46 skool is baie plat Afrikaans en dis (.) ook soos common
47 (.) dis hoekom (.) ek hou nie daarvan nie (.)

Extract 5: Original Afrikaans

1 Annette ja (.) want kyk in (.) Charlie my werksituasie (.) jy

2 weet self (...) daar (..) absoluut (.) jy het (...) jy werk
3 met als en almal (...) jy moet almal oor dieselfde kam
4 skeer (...) daar het ek (...) het ek al (.) baie my seining
5 en my goed verander (..) maar jy kry nog jou (...) jou (..)
6 beter een (.) beter swartmens (.) hy hanteer jou op
7 heeltemaal 'n ander vlak (...) as jou (.) en dan kry jy
8 natuurlik jou arrogante jonges (....)

9 Interv baie interessant

10 Annette absoluut (...) wat wat net met sy houding vir jou sê man
11 (.) ons is nou baas (.) wie julle is klaas (...)

12 Interv hmm

13 Noel (onduidelik)

14 Annette dit maak nie saak (.) watter taal jy praat nie (.) want
15 (.) ek praat twee derdes van my (.) van my dag Engels

16 Interv ek sien (...) baie interessant

17 Noel wanneer jy met daai arrogantes (.) te doen kry dan voel
18 jy half rassisme in jou opbou (emosioneel) (..) want dit
19 is (.) deel van jou kultuur (.) dit is jy word
20 grootgemaak (.) in 'n mate (.) is soos ek wat leer van
21 die goeters jy voel trots (.) oor jou verlede en goeters
22 (.) dan kry jy hom (.) wat arrogant is so dan kom daai
23 (.) half terug in jou (.) daai rassisme so (.) ons wil
24 jou weer onderdruk (...) en dinge

Extract 6: Original Afrikaans

1 Johanna kan ek iets sê dit is nie heeltemaal op hierdie (.)
2 "subject" nie maar

3 Pieter hmm

4 Johanna ons het vandag in ons L.O. klas het ons so hh open
5 discussion-ting gehad waar jy (.) gooi (.) hmm vrae wat
6 jy vir die juffrou het

7 Interv interessant

8 Johanna gooi jy in 'n box en dan (.) lees sy dit nou vir die klas
9 maar dit is anonymous (.)

10 Interv ek sien

11 Johanna dan gee sy nou 'n antwoord daarop maar sy is ook soos 'n
12 (..) wat is sy? Ook 'n?

13 Interv voorligtingspersoon of

14 Anneke ja voorligtings ja ja

15 Interv bietjie daai klas van ding

16 Johanna en toe hmm een van die (.) Afrikaanse kinders en ons is
17 die meerderheid is maar wit so ons weet dit was 'n wit
18 (.) wit kind (..) het gevra (.) hoekom is ons
19 onderhoofseun 'n Kleurling gewees? En toe was daar weer
20 (.) en (.) toe was daar weer 'n vraag gewees van een van
21 die swart kinders (.) hoekom is al tien prefekte is wit?
22 En daar's dat al nege is wit (.) en daar is een Kleurling
23 (.) maar die wit (.) persoon (.) sal gaan vra hoekom is
24 daar een Kleurling? So dis vir my snaaks dat hulle altwee
25 kante so sal (.) sien

26 Interv dis reg (.) interessant né dit dit weerspieël ook 'n
27 bietjie die (.) soos jy tereg sê die verskillende
28 invalshoeke né

29 Anneke ja (.) ja

30 Pieter hmm

31 Interv die (.) verskillende (.) wêreldes ook hh

32 Pieter maar ek het (.) weer vir Anneke gesê (.) ek dink dit sou:
 33 baie sin gemaak het om (.) twee swartes op daai bestuurs
 34 hhh leerlingraad te hê (..) want daar is 50% nie net om
 35 (..) hmm (...) dat (.) daar swartes opgebring moet word nie
 36 maar (.) daai hulle hulle is baie raserig daai klomp (.)
 37 kry vir die swart (hoë stemtoon) prefekte om hulle eie
 38 mense stil te maak
 39 Johanna nee maar (..) maar daar is in ons (.) graad elf klas wat
 40 volgende jaar se matrieks (...) daar is nie van die swartes
 41 wat die werk kan doen nie
 42 Anneke wat leiersskap
 43 Johanna en (.) hoe meer juffrou vir hulle verduidelik dat (.)
 44 hulle het nie daai leierskap-eienskappe nie (.) en dit is
 45 maar die kinders wat die beste is vir daai werk (..) wat
 46 gekies is (.) hoe meer baklei hulle en sê nee dis
 47 korrupsie en goeters en (..) dis die onderwysers wat die
 48 Anneke hm

Extract 7: Original Afrikaans

1 Rhoda ek moet vir jou bietjie meer geskiedenis vertel
 2 Interv hahaha
 3 Bernice ek is ernstig ek stel nie belang in wat (.) in die
 4 regering (.) kante aangaan nie want dit raak my nie (..)
 5 ek stel glad nie daarin belang nie (.)
 6 Rhoda dit raak jou eintlik jy besef dit nou maar net nie (.)
 7 Bernice nou maar op die oomblik praat ek so ek wil nog nie
 8 daarvan (.) ek sal eers as dit my begin raak dan sal ek
 9 begin navorsing doen daarvoor (geamuseerd) (.)

Extract 8: Original Afrikaans

1 Interv die toekoms hoe jy dit sien
 2 Johanna ek (.) ja ek het dit al vir my ma-hulle 'n jaar of so
 3 terug gesê (.) hmm (.) as ek nou eendag kinders het of so
 4 ek voel ek moet my kinders in Engels grootmaak (.) want
 5 ek kry die gevoel ons taal gaan uitsterf (.) en dan ek
 6 wil nie (.) sit waar almal jy praat die taal en niemand
 7 verstaan dit nie (.) ek wil tog hê waar almal in die
 8 wêreld jou kan verstaan as jy daai taal praat (.) en dis
 9 vir my die lelikste ding om te hoor hoe 'n Afrikaanse
 10 persoon Engels praat met daai (.) sterk Afrikaanse aksent
 11 (.) dis hoekom ek hou nie daarvan nie (.) ek sal my
 12 kinders in Afrikaans as 'n tweede taal leer (.) maar (.)
 13 ek wil hulle graag in Engels grootmaak en ek voel ook (.)
 14 ek sal eerder oorskakel na Engels as wat ek Afrikaans bly
 15 Interv interessant interessant
 16 Anneke (onhoorbaar) (lag ongemaklik)
 17 Pieter is dit uit 'n praktiese oogpunt omdat jy voel die wêreld
 18 is maar oorheersend (.) Engels?
 19 Johanna ja maar dis ook vir my dis net vir my (.) ek wil nie hê
 20 my Engels moet (.) ag my kinders moet Afrikaans praat nie
 21 (lag)
 22 Pieter hmm
 23 Johanna ek hou nie (.) ek hou net nie daarvan nie (.) ek weet nie
 24 hoekom dis net (.)
 25 Pieter is dit meer (.) rigtings wat (.) oopgaan vir hulle
 26 Johanna ja dis ja dit is

27 Pieter is jy skaam vir Afrikaans?
 28 Johanna nee ek is nie skaam vir Afrikaans nie dis net (.)
 29 Pieter dit is nie dit nie né?
 30 Johanna almal verstom my net dis 'n (.) wêreldwye taal
 31 Pieter (onhoorbaar) praktiese oorweging
 32 Johanna dis hoe ek voel daarvoor (.) Afrikaans is vir my (.) mooi
 33 omdat dit so uniek is (.) en so (.) net in Suid-Afrika
 34 van Afrika praat ons dit (.) maar nog steeds ek voel jy
 35 'n (.) wêreldwye taal eerder hê (.) want gaan jy oorsee
 36 die mense (.) gaan snaaks van jou dink as jy met 'n
 37 Afrikaanse aksent Engels praat (.) en dan gaan dit nie so
 38 lekker (.) klink nie (.) en dit is ek wil ook wegkom van
 39 (.) baiekeer met hierdie hmm (.) stories ook hmm (.) op
 40 TV (.) wat hulle so common-geid van die Afrikaners wat
 41 Engels praat (.) en ek wil nie geassosieer word daarmee
 42 nie
 43 Pieter hmm

Extract 9: Original Afrikaans

1 Anle maar (.) ek sal hoe dinge nou is sal ek wil wens (.) dat
 2 goeters moet weer moet wees soos wat dit (.) vorige jare
 3 was (.) ek is nou want ek is nou so (..) oor die nuwe
 4 Suid-Afrika dat dit my e dit pla my al so baie wat nou
 5 aangaan dat en (.) soos wat (.) ons miskien neergekyk het
 6 ander daai tyd of die Boere (.) is hulle nou so oor ons
 7 en ek (.) ek weet nie (...) ek self en daai tyd was daar
 8 nog respek en al daai (onhoorbaar: klok lui) nou is daar
 9 niks sulke goed daar is nie (..) ja (.)
 10 Interv jy bedoel oor die algemeen in die land?
 11 Anle oor die algemeen EN (.) en veral in (...) Afrikaner huise
 12 is daar nie meer (.) want die nuwe Suid-Afrika het dit
 13 ook verander even in die Afrika:(.) ner huise nie net (.)
 14 en dat niemand meer respek het daar is nie meer (..) in
 15 'n gesin is daar nie meer respek nie (.) daar's nie meer
 16 (.)
 17 Interv soos jy
 18 Anle die Afrikanertradisies en sulke goed ek sal sulke goed
 19 (..) wil hê (.)
 20 Interv baie interessant baie interessant (.) ek het dit
 21 interessant gevind jou idêe dat Afrikaanse mense vir jou
 22 wel wat jy gesê het dat (.) hmm dinge het tog bietjie
 23 verander né Ton hh hh so dit is né jy ek ek verstaan goed
 24 wat jy sê rondom die ou (.) daai ou siening né die ou (.)
 25 definisie van Afrikaans-wees of Afrikanerskap (.)
 26 Ton tel jy op? (...)
 27 Bianca hahaha
 28 Ton snaaks genoeg (onhoorbaar) ons verskil
 29 Bianca hulle verskil
 30 Interv ja ja
 31 Ton sy wil teruggaan waarvan ek kom (.) ek wil wegkom daarvan
 32 Bianca hahaha
 33 Interv ja hahaha

Extract 10: Original Afrikaans

1 Noel ek stem ook met hom saam daarso maar (..) dit is ons het
 2 (.) 'n Kleurling in ons klas gehad (.) Myron hy's (.) ons

3 (.) sien hom nie eers meer as 'n Kleurling nie (.) hy is
4 vir ons net soos (.) ons hy kuier saam met ons (.) als
5 (.) hy is ongelukkig (.) het hulle nou Kareedouw toe
6 getrek (.) maar nou is daar 'n ander een ons noem hom (.)
7 die Coloured Boer
8 Interv interessant hahaha
9 Noel hy iss (.) ons sien nie eintlik half die kleurverskil
10 nie (.)
11 Interv hmm hmm
12 Noel ons hanteer hom presies soos wat onss (.) mekaar hanteer
13 (..)
14 Interv dis eintlik (.) beautiful né wat jy wat jy daar sê né
15 want (.) soos jy ook sê Johan (.) Annette dat 'n mens
16 eintlik want dit het ek by Fort Hare ook geleer oor die
17 jare jy weet dat 'n ou (.) se kollegas (.) jy (.) neem
18 besluite saam jy werk saam jy (.) weet by vergaderings
19 die dinge uitsorteer en jy leer om (.)
20 Annette ja
21 Interv by kleur verby
22 Annette jy behandel mekaar met respek Charlie
23 Interv presies
24 Annette jy boer nie in mekaar se sak nie (.) jy hanteer mekaar
25 met respek
26 Interv hmm hmm hmm
27 Annette jy kan met hom 'n gesprek voer (..) jy sit en kuier saam
28 as julle tee (.) teetyd julle sit en gesels
29 Interv hmm (..) hmm (...)

Extract 11: Original Afrikaans

1 Rhoda nee (.) weet jy (.) eintlik moes die Kleurlinge nooit
2 Kleurlinge gewees het of Bruinmense gewees het nie (.)
3 hulle moes hulle al (..) toe ek 'n kind was al (.) al wit
4 gemaak het dan (.) dan het ons nie al die probleme gehad
5 nie (.)
6 Interv ahmm ahmm (.) Bernice kan ek jou (.) mening ook daarso
7 vra? (.) wat dit aan betref (.) hh Bruin
8 Bernice wel soos ek gesê het ek het ek in my skool jy (.) ek is
9 eintlik my meerderheid van my vriende bestaan uit
10 anderkleuriges (..) want ons skool is so (.) ons is maar
11 'n beperkte wit groepie (.)
12 Interv hmm
13 Bernice die wit groepie wat daar is is vriende maar (.) in die
14 klassituasies (..) ek is baie goeie vriende met nie net
15 Kleurlinge nie maar (.) baie van my goeie vriende is
16 swartes (.)
17 Interv hmm
18 Bernice en (.)
19 Interv jy het geen (.) probleem daarmee nie
20 Rhoda sy het goeie Kleurlingvriende ook
21 Bernice ja baie (onhoorbaar) (praat gelyk)
22 Rhoda met haar verjaarsdag met jou verjaarsdag byvoorbeeld (.)
23 was hier 'n gemengde groep in die huis (.)
24 Bernice ja swartes wittes en (...) Kleurlinge
25 Rhoda ons het nie 'n probleem met dit nie
26 Simon nee

Extract 12: Original Afrikaans

1 Frikkie ek sal nou nie (...) so (...) groot (.) hmm (...)sal ek sê
2 (...) sal nie so 'n groot issue maak van die kleur nie
3 (...) bedoel as jy ...daar is 'n verskil tussen 'n Afrikaner
4 wat van Afrika af kom ...en swart is en (.) 'n Afrikaner
5 wat (...)of 'n Kleurling mens wat Afrikaans praat (.) ek
6 dink daar is daar is 'n verskil daartussen (.) dit is
7 nie dat almal Afrikaners is nie (.) daar is die woord jy
8 praat van 'n Afrikaner en Afrikane (.) daar is 'n
9 verskil
10 Interv dis reg
11 Frikkie 'n Afrikaner wat nou blank is sal ek sê is UITHEEMSE
12 MENSE (.) wat na Suid-Afrika toe gekom het en (.) eintlik
13 as hul praat van jou ANCESTORS ons ancestors kom nie van
14 Suid-Afrika af nie (.) ons ancestors kom van Europa af
15 (...) dit is wat ek dink
16 Interv baie interessant e e ja dit is baie interessant goed wat
17 daar uitkom (...) so sal jy sal jy sê dat jou en jou pa se
18 definisie bietjie verskil?
19 Frikkie ja
20 Interv goed (...) hahaha goed dit is (...) mens kan dit dink né
21 (...) in die (...)
22 Alan hy soek moeilikheid (jokingly)
23 Interv hahaha
24 Frikkie hahaha
25 Eloize hahaha
26 Alan ek wil net vir hom sê sy ancestors kom al van 1791 (...)
27 Frikkie ja ek weet hulle is (...) kom van Oostenryk af (...)
28 Interv (.) goed ek wil oor beweeg na nie volgende hmm paar
29 vragies hmm net gou dit ook vra so ons het netnou dit
30 bietjie aangeraak mense soos Brian Habana, hmm Soli
31 Philander, Elana Afrika so julle voel steeds dat dat dit
32 nie binne jul jy jy het gesê né Alan jou definisie van 'n
33 Afrikaner heeltemaal inpas nie
34 Alan ja (...) nee nie my definisie nie (.) dalk in my vrou s'n
35 of my kind s'n of joune maar nie in myne nie ek is eerlik
36 as ek dit vir jou sê
37 Interv ek hoor wat jy sê (...) dis 100% (.) Frikkie jy het dit
38 genoem dat jy die kleur issue
39 Frikkie ek veronderstel (.) ek skei dit jy het nie 'n Afrikaner
40 as 'n geheel nie jy het blanke Afrikaners en kleurling
41 Afrikaners want en selfs swart Afrikaners mense wat
42 Afrikaans praat is tog is tog Afrikaners maar ek sal nie
43 sê laat almal swart, kleurling en witmense Afrikaners is
44 nie hulle is kleurling Afrikaners, blanke Afrikaners en
45 hulle is swart Afrikaners
46 Interv baie interessant
47 Frikkie of Afrikaanssprekendes ek dink dis 'n beter woord

Extract 13: Original Afrikaans

1 Liezl en dit is nie dat 'n mens vir hulle enige iets misgun nie
2 (.) maar ek sal baie ontuis voel as ek as ek in 'n
3 kantoor moet sit (.) en dis net anderskleuriges en ek is
4 al een wat Afrikaans praat (.) ek sal ek sal geweldig uit
5 voel (.) en hh hmm (.) nie dat 'n mens hulle (.) posisies
6 mis misgun of enige (.) enige so iets nie (.) hoegenaamd

7 nie (.) apartheid voel ek **is** verkeerd (.) maar (.) hh
8 (..) dalk weereens (onduidelik) daar is ander mense wat
9 dalk mag voel wel ek kom goed oor die weg met hulle dit
10 (.) maak aan my niks saak nie (.) hmm (.) en 'n mens leer
11 ook (.) om hulle te aanvaar soos hulle is (.) en en dit
12 is 'n aanpassing wat (.) wat baie van ons maar moet maak
13 (.) en 'n sprong wat baie van ons moet maak (.) hmm (...)
14 hmm (...) maar per se hh apartheid gedwonge apartheid (.)
15 Aneen om net aan te sluit by my wat sy sê van
16 Interv yes
17 Aneen hmm (..) dat jy sal ontuis voel (.) ek het al agter gekom
18 dit hang af (..) oor watter onderwerp (...) daar bespreek
19 word wanneer jy tussen hulle is (.) as jy bespreek sê nou
20 maar suiwer (.) akademiese onderwerpe of wiskunde in die
21 klas of (.) so iets (.) dan (.) het dit (.) dan het (.)
22 dit (.) dan is dit in elk geval nie rassis nie (.) maar
23 kom nou by die braaivleisvuur of (.) jy (.) het 'n
24 partytjie of so (.) dan gaan jy uit voel (.) maar ek voel
25 nie uit in 'n klassituasie waar ek die enigste blanke
26 leerder is nie (.) ek voel nie uit nie (.) want (.) ons
27 kommunikeer op (.) dieselfde vlak oor dieselfde dinge en
28 (.) kultuur bring nie 'n skeiding nie wiskunde is
29 wiskunde in (.) Xhosa of in Afrikaans dieselfde (.) so
30 dit (.) dit die vlak waarop daar gekommunikeer word maak
31 'n baie groot verskil

Extract 14: Original Afrikaans

1 Dirk en so het Mbeki sonder vrees of om om omhaal van woorde
2 Interv hmm
3 Dirk het hy het hy (.) het hy afgestap af afgestap van sy (.)
4 stoel (.) en ek weet Lekhota sal ook as as hy sou
5 president word (.) ek is net bang (..) Jacob Zuma (...) kan
6 'n volgende (.) hh Mugabe word (.) want dit is die fout
7 al die Afrika lande dis mag (...) hh (..) maar dan kry jy
8 weer 'n man soos Obama (.) wat nou president van Amerika
9 is (.) wat (.) amper die (.) ss die Amerikaanse dream (.)
10 wat Martin Luther King "I have a dream" (.) dis 'n
11 ongelooflike verhaal (.) van die swartman beheer het (.)
12 oor die magtigste land in die wêreld (.) nog iets van die
13 egtheid van die mense daai man het daar gekom nie op
14 grond van (.) van 'n (.) van 'n voorttrekkery nie (.) dit
15 was 'n harde verkiesingstryd (.) sy dinamiese
16 persoonlikheid het hom daar gebring (.) hh (...) hh hh ek
17 is baie bang (...) in hierdie land vir 'n (.) vir 'n (.)
18 mag kan baie gevaarlik wees (.) hh hh (...) ek persoonlik
19 (onduidelik) hierdie (.) COPE (.) wat nou ontstaan het
20 kan miskien hierdie magsbasis kan hy breek (...) so ek voel
21 dit sal ons almal help mag (.) hoe sê hulle power
22 corrupts absolute power corrupts absolutely
23 Interv ja ja
24 Dirk dis my enigste groot (.) vrees vir Suid-Afrika (...) hh hh
25 (...) my gebed is dat ons net die regte leier kry (.) wat
26 wat hh (..) wat met wysheid ons land sal regeer en nie
27 met mag nie (...)
28 Interv maak baie sin jou eie (.) stem daar? (.)

29 Aneen ek het hmm (.) nogal baie hoop vir Suid-Afrika in die sin
30 (.) dat ek nou tussen kinders (..) beweeg wat hulle ouers
31 is ministers of (.) onderwys-beamptes en alles so dit (.)
32 hulle ouers is baie hoog in die politiek baie van hulle
33 ouers (.) en as ek na hulle kyk hmm (.) hoe hulle
34 redeneer (.) hulle gaan nie altyd (.) agter die ou aan
35 nie (.) of die (.) leier aan nie hulle redeneer oor dinge
36 hulle (.) hulle besef dat hulle (.) die vermoë het om te
37 redeneer (.) en hulle redeneer hulle stem saam oor sekere
38 dinge en hulle stem nie saam oor sekere dinge (.) so dit
39 gee my baie hoop (.) hmm (.) hmm (.) hulle (..) as ek kyk
40 na hoe hulle ook redeneer (.) hulle (..) dit gaan nie
41 meer vir hulle (.) soos hoe hulle ook leef tussen ons
42 hulle (.) hulle sien dit nie meer as (...) om (.) hh die
43 (.) witmense terug te kry of so iets nie (.) hulle sien
44 (.) hulle inteendeel hulle wil graag (.) blanke
45 onderwysers hê om goeie onderrig te kry (..) so (..) hmm
46 (...) dit is (.) ek dink hulle is (...) ek as ek na hulle kyk
47 as hulle die land regeer sal ek baie (onduidelik)
48 gelukkig wees