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**TITLE**

**Beyond difference: A textual and interactional analysis of  
Afrikaner's language use and identity in Cape Town**

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## ABSTRACT

In a post-national South Africa, spaces are transforming to accommodate multilingualism and address structures of sociolinguistic isolationism and exclusion. In such a transformative society embracing multilingualism is an integral component of challenging the hierarchization of languages and redressing the vulnerabilities of historically marginalized speakers to contribute to social transformation. However, there has been an increase in social enclaves in certain South African communities, concomitantly less open to embracing linguistic diversity over the years. This thesis investigated one instance of linguistic isolation, namely an Afrikaner enclave that has organized itself around the affirmation of linguistic human rights. However, ostensibly as a strategy to protect what they consider a precarious and vulnerable lifestyle in ‘modern’ and transformed South Africa. This thesis was designed as a single-site ethnography that focussed on the interactions of Afrikaner youth between the ages of 14 and 18 years that formed part of an Afrikaner youth group in Cape Town. The analysis details themes that emerge within interactional data with those youth and findings from document analysis to demonstrate how language ideologies of difference frame and promote discourses of empowerment of a ‘modern’ Afrikaner. I demonstrate through an analysis of *iconization*, *erasure* and *fractal recursivity* how the Afrikaner youth group is productive in dismissing other sociolinguistic groups by reducing their sociolinguistic domain and erasing individuals and creating an exclusionary monolingual heterotopia in which, from a place of Afrikaner fragility and vulnerability, they can explore what it means to be a ‘modern’ Afrikaner in a transforming South Africa. This research study contributes to the conceptualization of how Afrikaner youth are redefining what it means to be an Afrikaner in a post-national South Africa, with a particular emphasis on the use of the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner language ideologies of difference. The purpose of this thesis, then, is to examine how Afrikaners in selected Afrikaans communities use Afrikaans and language ideologies of difference in order to document the interactional processes and practices that contribute to the promotion and empowerment of a ‘modern’ Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language.

## DECLARATION

I declare that, *Beyond difference: A textual and interactional analysis of Afrikaner's language use and identity in Cape Town*, is my own original work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Carla Trudie Roets

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**PART ONE**



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# CHAPTER 1:

## 1.0 Introduction

The study was an investigation of Afrikaans, language ideologies of difference and the iconization of a ‘modern’ Afrikaner identity in interactions and textualization that form part of Afrikaners living in a post-apartheid South Africa. In this thesis report, I use the term ‘modern’ Afrikaner, not to describe all Afrikaners in South Africa, but instead in reference to those Afrikaners that form part of the Afrikaner youth group that became the key focus in the research study. According to this Afrikaner youth group, a modern Afrikaner can be defined as an Afrikaner who wants to remain an Afrikaner despite the mistakes of Afrikaners in the past. This Afrikaner youth group argue for their existence in South Africa by asking the question, “If all people who made mistakes in the past were to disappear, who would remain?”. According to this youth group, a modern Afrikaner believes in being a positive citizen of South Africa and that being an Afrikaner and speaking Afrikaans is not a racial issue for the group, but rather it is a cultural issue that concerns cultural pride. Lastly, this group also believes that a modern Afrikaner describes an Afrikaner who *proudly* promotes their language, culture, and heritage.

Using audio data and documents collected during ethnographic fieldwork from this Afrikaner youth group in Cape Town, I use Irvine and Gal’s (2000) language ideology model to explore the use of Afrikaans and the formation of the modern Afrikaner identity that is formed within this youth group. I will argue here that Afrikaners, due to a sense of perceived vulnerability and fragility in post-apartheid South Africa, continue with the processes of preservation and privilege that were imminent throughout the Afrikaner’s<sup>1</sup> history during colonisation and apartheid. Throughout this thesis, I argue that Afrikaners migrate inwards into social enclaves to preserve their way of life and form a post-national heterotopia. I suggest that Afrikaners need to attempt to dismantle many of their problematic (language) ideologies as Afrikaners and the Afrikaans

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<sup>1</sup> The reason that I use the indefinite article ‘the’ in front of this instance of Afrikaner, is due to the fact that the ‘the’ implies a specific sub-set of Afrikaners. Van der Westhuizen (2017) argues that in a new South Africa, there appears to be a differentiation between groups of Afrikaners. Firstly, we have the Afrikaans African Nationalists, secondly – the neo-Afrikaner or Afrikaner enclave nationalists, and lastly, we have the Afrikaans South Africans. The second group, the Afrikaner enclave nationalists, lead the discourse on the preservation of Afrikaans and Afrikaners – and are often referred to as “the” Afrikaners. I have therefore applied the same notion within this thesis.

language, to move away from the ideology of linguistic difference to transform into multilingual South African citizens who can live amongst our greater democratic society, rather than withdraw from it.

Following on from this thread, in this chapter, I begin by briefly discussing the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language today, and I explain how Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language became the focus of this research study. Furthermore, I will discuss the research problem that this thesis aims to address and provide a brief summary of the literature review and theoretical framework that form the foundation of the research study. I will then continue to outline the primary research questions, as well as the aims and the objectives of this thesis, followed by a discussion of the methodology followed in the completion of this study. The next chapter establishes the context for this research study by offering a brief historical overview of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language, as well as its current status in South Africa today.

## **1.1 Afrikaners and Afrikaans today**

As far as we know, historically, the term Afrikaner was used on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1707 by Hendrick Bibault, who said: 'Ik ben een Africaander' (*I am an Afrikaner*) (Oliver, 2019:2). However, in this case, the term Afrikaner had nothing to do with his identity but instead with the mere fact that he was born in Africa and regarded himself as an African.

Hendrick Bibault's father was French, and his mother was a Khoer woman, which led to the theorization that the earliest form of the term Afrikaner was used to indicate somebody of European descent, with African blood, born in Africa. However, since the initial use of the term Afrikaner, it has undergone quite a semantic shift, primarily attributed to the actions of the white apartheid government during the apartheid era. During apartheid, the Afrikaner, and the Afrikaans language - at least the standard variety of the language - became synonymous with whiteness and Afrikaner nationalism (Verwy and Quayle, 2012: 553)<sup>2</sup>. During this era of oppression, the

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<sup>2</sup> Standard Afrikaans is a dialect of Afrikaans that is often regarded as "proper, high, and of good quality" (Cooper, 2018:37). Standard Afrikaans is often viewed as a formal and legal language within social, economic, and political spheres with its own set of grammar which gives the language a superior status compared to other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps.

Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language spoken by Afrikaners was dependent on various tightly interwoven discourses. These discourses focused on religion, race, cultural purity and supremacy, as well as the battle for independence against oppression, which included the campaign for an autonomous language, namely Afrikaans. When the National Party (NP) came to power in May 1948, they advocated a vision of a 'new' South Africa, with its aim centred on a new and powerful racial hierarchy, with Afrikaner identity and the promotion of the Afrikaans language at its heart. The apartheid-era created a network of Afrikaners that were both politically, legally, and socially protected in positions of power and Afrikaners were confined inside a network of schools, social clubs, churches, and cultural and economic organizations, which enabled them to establish a self-referential Afrikaner intellectual worldview (Verwy and Quayle, 2012: 553). However, this 'new' South Africa promoted by the NP during the apartheid has led to an identity and language ideological crisis amongst white Afrikaners. Afrikaans speakers living in a post-apartheid South Africa wanting to disassociate themselves from the prescriptive Afrikaner ideologies made infamous by the apartheid government, did so, yet wanting to retain their ability to be an Afrikaner and speak Afrikaans without prejudice as part of a post-national South Africa (Kriel, 2010; van der Westhuizen, 2016, 2017).

In 1994, during South Africa's first democratic election since the rise of apartheid, the National Party lost their power over the country (van der Westhuizen, 2018). However, for many white South Africans who greatly benefitted from this form of institutional racial segregation, the fall of the apartheid did not only mean the loss of political power; it created a new, democratic South Africa in which they found themselves needing to re-evaluate where they fit in as Afrikaans speaking citizens in South Africa today. This re-evaluation period is a continuous process that stimulates the ongoing debates on the construction of whiteness in South Africa. Many of these debates focus on the emergence of the *two whiteness* (Steyn, 2004) in South Africa, the white English and the white Afrikaners and the constant rivalry between white Afrikaans speakers and white English speakers as to who "owns" the right to define real whiteness, with the white Afrikaners leading the discourse surrounding whiteness. Living in a post-apartheid South Africa, the *(re)construction* of whiteness plays a critical part in transforming South African society from a *de jure segregation* of the past to a unified South Africa that was idealized by the post-national government (Dodge, 2017: 1). The construction of (re)whiteness is needed in South Africa to:

“provide vision, guidelines, strategies, plans of action that will help those not wanting to be stuck with the heritage of whiteness to access more democratic and self-respecting subject positions.”

(Steyn, 2004:146)

Intrigued by these two *intra groups* of white English and white Afrikaans, I decided to focus my research on a social group predominantly leading the discourse in whiteness in our country, namely the white Afrikaners. Keeping in theme with other sociolinguists and whiteness studies, this thesis focused on the white Afrikaner youth of South Africa (Bucholtz, 2011(b)). Theories on whiteness, pertaining to white Afrikaners, initially framed my focus on white Afrikaner youth for this thesis, with a more focussed view on the youth of the *born-free* generation that has been burdened with (re)constructing what it means to be white and Afrikaans in South Africa. In a post-national South Africa, the *born free* generation is in a position where they have to adapt and shape their identities in the post national ‘rainbow nation’. With their parents having been raised during the apartheid era, the *born-free* generation is left "selecting, editing and borrowing from the cultural resources available to them, to reinterpret old selves in the light of new knowledge and possibilities, while retaining a sense of personal congruence" (Steyn, 2001: xxii). One may argue that the *born-free generation* - a generation born after apartheid's end, who are no longer bound by the *de jure segregation* of the past - is in the greatest position to establish a reformed understanding of who modern Afrikaners are in a post-national South Africa, as well as the role that the Afrikaans language has in the life of a modern Afrikaner. They can be expected to most likely go beyond ideologies of difference.

With the mention and reference to apartheid and race within this thesis, and with the focus of the thesis being on a predominantly white Afrikaner youth group, it should be noted that the focus of this thesis is not on whiteness in South Africa, and I will not focus on the construction of whiteness in South Africa. I will, however, be referring to race and whiteness as a contributing factor to the language ideologies of difference that are presented in my argument of this thesis. Therefore, this research study contributes to the examination of how Afrikaner youth are confronting the difficulty of redefining what it means to be an Afrikaner in a post-national South Africa, with a focus on the

use of the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner language ideologies of difference. This thesis aims to study the use of Afrikaans and language ideologies of difference amongst Afrikaners in selected Afrikaans communities to better understand the interactional processes and practices that are involved in the promotion and empowerment of a modern Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. In the section that follows, I will provide more detail on the research problem that this thesis investigated.

## **1.2 Research Problems**

The problem that this study investigated is the phenomenon of enclave nationalism where Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity are revised and (re)negotiated in post-apartheid South Africa. I investigated a selected Afrikaner youth group space, a group that I will call Group X, to understand the textual and interactional processes of difference that are enacted by the members of this group in the formation of an iconized Afrikaner which the group promotes. I argue that the iconic Afrikaner is being formed from a place of Afrikaner fragility, where Afrikaners are attempting to protect the authority and power of Afrikaners by associating the Afrikaner *sui generis* with iconic social characteristics that are in contradiction to the democratic ideals of a transforming, multilingual South Africa. Thus, by promoting an iconic Afrikaner, Group X is re-framing debates regarding the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner identity in a restricted sense that goes against the grain of transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa, safely tucked away in Afrikaner created enclaves in which the iconized Afrikaner can be enacted. This thesis problem required an important need to understand the textual and interactional dynamics of the many problematic iconic ideologies that exist within Group X and why and how an ideology of linguistic difference takes hold in such a group in the framing of a modern Afrikaner that this group strives to produce.

## **1.3 Studies on Afrikaans and Afrikaners**

A first attempt at the study of enclave nationalism was to engage in a literature review of the sometimes acerbic, sometimes liberal and sometimes conservative debates and body scholarship on the history and future of Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity. From such a body of research, there are three central themes that emerge that assisted me in shaping the establishment of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language, starting with the inception of the Afrikaner within colonial times, with



the most popular narrative on the formation of Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language beginning with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. In the literature review chapters, the reader will soon come to read; I contest this popular narrative by discussing the history of South Africa before the arrival of the Dutch, by drawing on literature that describes the European influence of the Cape prior to 1652 (see the powerful intervention by Mellet, 2020). The second theme that emerges in the literature review is the formation of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language leading up to the apartheid years; a history that discusses the rise of the Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism that stemmed from the white Afrikaner population wanting to break free from the rule of the British in the late 1800s, to the inception of the standard Afrikaans, and the erasure of alternative Afrikaans varieties such as Kaaps (and of course others), by the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA) at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The last theme that emerges in the literature review is the status of Afrikaans, and the Afrikaner identity in the post-apartheid South Africa, and how Afrikaners are attempting to (re)negotiate their Afrikaner identity being part of a transforming South Africa.

The existing scholarly narratives on the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language that are attempting to bring a critical reading to Afrikaner identity and Afrikaans include the more radical views of Kriel (2010), van der Westhuizen (2016, 2017, 2019) and Mellet (2020), who critically critique the standard narratives of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language, and who are always found on the margins; while the more conservative views of authors that have argued to preserve Afrikaner identity such as Gilomee (2003, 2007, 2019) and lastly, the scholars that have attempted to provide a mediated view of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language (Carstens, 2017) often get more scholarly airtime. This study steps into conversation with these authors on the formation of the Afrikaner and Afrikaans and contributes with the argument for a greater focus on not so much the colonial history of South Africa, which should date back to the arrival of the first European colonists in the Cape in the early 1500s, but rather on an alternative and rounded narrative of the history that has shaped the Afrikaner and Afrikaans power dynamics that were prominent in society during the rise of apartheid, and that still form the basis of language ideological discourses surrounding Afrikaners today. I take a periodic account of the history of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language that I hope will provide a thorough view into the phenomenon of enclave nationalism, a phenomenon which includes the formation of heterotopic societies that are formed,



as I will show, as the result of the inward migration of Afrikaners to form social enclaves of preservation within a post-apartheid South Africa.

## 1.4 Theoretical framework

The theoretical concept of the language ideology of difference provides the primary framework for understanding the textual and the interactional formation and representation of the modern Afrikaner and Afrikaans in a transforming South Africa. I demonstrate how the modern Afrikaner enacts a language ideology of difference through the lens of Irvine and Gal's (2000) language ideology framework, which includes the concepts of *iconicity*, *erasure*, and *fractal recursivity*. This enactment is part of a pattern of Afrikaner inward migration in the formation of post-national heterotopias in South Africa. Irvine and Gal (2000) use the notion of *iconicity* to describe a fixed iconic relationship that exists between a linguistic term and the social phenomena attached to it. This thesis will use the notion of *iconicity* to discuss how the Afrikaner youth group that forms the focus of this study links a particular set of iconic characteristics in the formation of a modern, and iconic, Afrikaner that the youth group empowers and promotes. Irvine and Gal (2000) define erasure as the process by which ideology simplifies the sociolinguistic field to the point where some individuals or actions (or sociolinguistic phenomena) become invisible.

This research study applies the notion of erasure to illustrate how Group X simplify their sociolinguistic field to the extent where other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps, are discounted in the multilingual South Africa. I also apply the notion of erasure to argue that both textually and interactionally, Group X uses erasure to enforce an ideological reality of the modern Afrikaner and that it is used as a tool to drive institutionalised group ideology, such as the ideology that Afrikaners are Afrikaans. *Fractal recursivity* is defined as the process in which the “projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38). Fractal recursivity refers to a conceptual schema that is reactivated at a smaller scale - a reactivated opposition that allows old ideologies to be reactivated in modern ideology. Using the notion of fractal recursivity, I argue in this thesis that Group X, in order to “preserve” their Afrikaner identity, reprocess the fractally recursive ideologies of Afrikaner vulnerability and fragility. The language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000) is used as the primary theoretical

concept within this research study in order to understand how the modern Afrikaners textually and interactionally organise themselves in social enclaves due to their perceived sense of vulnerability and fragility in a transforming South Africa. Furthermore, I use the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000) to discuss how the notions of language ideology align with the notions of Afrikaner fragility, colour-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2019) and habitus and the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1997) in order to accurately investigate the identity of the modern Afrikaner in a post-apartheid South Africa and to comment on the enclave nationalism that I argue exists within the Afrikaner youth group that forms the focus of this thesis.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What are the textual and interactional processes and practices that involve the formation and representation of the modern Afrikaner and Afrikaans?
2. How do Afrikaans language ideologies frame discourses of difference, diversity, and fragility in the promotion of the modern Afrikaner identity?

## **1.6 Aims and Objectives**

The overarching aim of this research was to investigate the formation of the modern Afrikaner by focusing on the interactions of young Afrikaners in a particular youth group space. The objectives were:

- To examine the textual and interactional formations and (re)negotiations of Afrikaner language and identity.
- To determine how language ideologies frame and promote discourses of diversity and fragility of the modern Afrikaner.
- To investigate how the modern Afrikaner enacts a language ideology of difference that forms part of a pattern of inward migration in the formation of post-national heterotopias in South Africa.

## 1.7 Methodology

In order to investigate the textual and the interactional processes involved in the formation of the modern Afrikaner in a post-apartheid South Africa, I chose to do a single-site ethnographic field study for a year and a half on a middle-class white Afrikaner youth group in a suburb of Cape Town. My ethnographic fieldwork, paired with document analysis, allowed me to gain a deeper insight into the group, which allowed me to more accurately comment on how the youth in this group are using language in order to (re)construct their Afrikaner identity. The main source of data for this research project were participant-observations, where I collected audio recorded interactional data based on selected participants between the ages of 14 – 18 years of age at the weekly meetings of Group X. Initially, I had planned on conducting a year-long ethnography which would be followed up by focus-group interviews. However, my methodology had to be adapted due to the limitations and inconsistency of Group X meetings, which led to my ethnographic fieldwork being extended from a planned yearlong study to the adjusted timeline of just over a year and a half. Another limitation encountered in this study, was my inability to conduct focus group interviews with group members after the completion of the ethnographic fieldwork period. At this stage, conducting focus group interviews with group members proved to be a logistical challenge, as many of the group members had graduated from Group X or were not available for these interviews. To overcome this challenge, I decided to shift my methodological focus away from focus-group interviews towards document analysis paired with participant observations within my ethnographic fieldwork. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the context, ideologies, and formation of the group, I argue that document collection was able to provide me with the necessary context to frame the interactional data in order to accurately comment on the textual processes and practices that involve the formation and representation of the modern Afrikaner and Afrikaans. I also argue that this methodological process allowed me to gain access into the social enclave of this Afrikaner youth group, which allowed me to observe how Group X migrate inwards to enact the iconic and modern Afrikaner in a post-national heterotopia. I unpack the methodology and challenges further in chapter 5.

## 1.8 Chapter Outline

In the chapter that follows, I discuss the history of Afrikaners by referencing the history of South Africa and how Afrikaners were shaped by colonial rule. The history of South Africa, predating the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, plays an important role in understanding the history and the formation of the Afrikaner, apartheid, the ideological power of the Afrikaans language, which later led to the formation of heterotopic societies and the inward migration of Afrikaners to form social enclaves within a transformed South Africa. Chapter 2 investigates the history of South Africa, starting between 1700 to 2000 years ago, as well the rise of the Afrikaner in order to serve as a foundation for a better understanding into the history of the Afrikaans language and how it became a language both of power and of oppression during the apartheid era.

In Chapter 3, I depart from the historical point of Chapter 2, where the Afrikaners had gained power and control over South Africa. I discuss the history of Afrikaans and Afrikaners in order to understand the rise of the Afrikaner and the standard decreolised variety of the Afrikaans language. This chapter will also explore the era of Afrikaner nationalism, which stemmed from the white Afrikaner population wanting to break free from the rule of the British in the 1800s, an era that was designed around the idea of white supremacy created by the colonisation by the Europeans. I explore the reasons why Afrikaners and Afrikaans became so deeply intertwined with whiteness and racialised discourses by discussing the actions of the Afrikaner during the apartheid era, focussing on the events that took place during apartheid, and how these events still shape the discourse and ideology surrounding whiteness in the Afrikaner community today.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical framework used as the basis of analysis in this thesis. I discuss the notion of language ideology as put forth by Irvine and Gal (2000) and demonstrate how their language ideology's core analytical notions align with the notions of fragility, colour-blind racism, habitus, and the linguistic marketplace, in an attempt to better understand the interactional formation of the modern Afrikaner identity and Afrikaans in the broader, democratic context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 5 introduces a discussion of my methodology, where I expand on the notion of racialised discourse and how this led me to choose my participants that form the focus of my research project. I discuss the notions that gave shape to the methodology of this research and introduce my argument that the group that participated in this study formed a social enclave out of their own volition in which they explore what it means to be a modern Afrikaner in a post-national heterotopia. Lastly, I discuss my reasoning for selecting ethnographic fieldwork as a methodology so as to gain access to my participants while reflecting on my experience as a sociolinguist in the field and as a self-identified Afrikaans South African.

Chapter 6 argues that through linguistic differentiation and iconization, the iconic Afrikaner, that is, the modern Afrikaner, is being promoted within the selected Afrikaner youth group that forms the focus of this thesis. I argue in this chapter that the iconic Afrikaner promoted by Group X goes against the grain of transformation in a new South Africa, and I aim to demonstrate this argument using both textual and interactional data analysis.

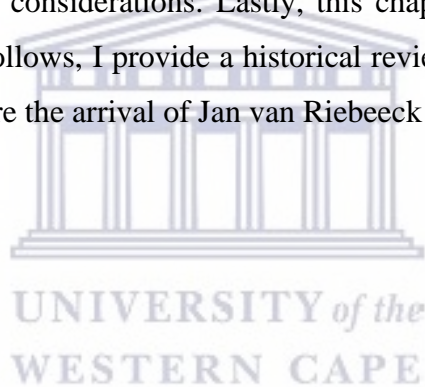
In Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, I continue to analyse the notion of the iconic Afrikaner by focussing on the iconic link that the Afrikaner youth group promotes between the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. I apply the concepts of the linguistic marketplace, and linguistic capital in the commercial promotion of Afrikaans as the chapter focuses on how my participants promote the discourse of how Afrikaans has lost its power in society. I argue that through various forms of commodification, that Group X is attempting to restate their claim in a broader, multilingual-linguistic market. Moreover, I argue that through the erasure of other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps, and the promotion of the iconic Afrikaner, that my participants attempt to further their goal to give power back to the Afrikaans language and the white Afrikaans speakers of that language.

Chapter 9 will focus on how my participants shape and maintain their modern Afrikaner identity from a place of Afrikaner fragility and perceived vulnerability in the new South Africa. I will argue that this is one of the primary causes of the formation of social enclaves, in which they have migrated inwards to preserve their perceived sense of Afrikaner fragility.

Lastly, Chapter 10 will reinforce the arguments made in earlier chapters by analysing a document that attempts to justify my participants' constitutional right to form freely as an Afrikaner group. I will illustrate how Afrikaner fragility is enacted in the form of sociolinguistic colour-blindness, as defined by Bonilla-Silva (2002), that reinforces a discourse of difference between the Afrikaner and the greater South African population and further creates a situation where the Afrikaner migrates inwards to preserve their way of life, away from the transforming South African space.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the research problem and provided a brief look into the two areas of focus for this research study, the Afrikaner, and the Afrikaans language. In addition, the chapter also outlined the study's research questions and objectives, as well as provide a discussion of the research studies methodological considerations. Lastly, this chapter provides an outline of the thesis. In the next chapter that follows, I provide a historical review that discusses the history of the Afrikaner, starting long before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652.





## CHAPTER 2: Out of Europe: The making of Afrikaners and Afrikaans

### 2.0 Introduction

South Africa can truly be defined as an ever-changing society, with many believing that the most significant societal change came after the fall of apartheid. However, before this shift in power relations came about, South Africa went through many political and social power dynamic shifts at the hand of our European colonisers. This chapter will briefly discuss the history of South Africa, discussing the migration of farmer and metal worker groups from North Africa to South Africa that started about 1700 to 2000 years ago (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). This history will offer insight into the African clans that lived and developed South Africa before the arrival of the European colonisers. This history will further be expanded on in Chapter 3 when discussing the creolisation of the Afrikaans language. Following the discussion of South Africa's earlier history, this chapter will move on to discuss the history of whiteness in South Africa that stemmed from colonial rule and will examine the history of European settlement and impact in South Africa, which predates Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in 1652. A new perspective on the story of the founding of Cape Town enables us to comprehend and appreciate the role of the Cape Peninsula's indigenous peoples - the Khoe and San<sup>3</sup> - in its establishment, as well as highlight the African tribal, Khoe and San history predating the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

In the public sphere, the common perception of early Cape history in South Africa is largely shaped by an interpretation of the 1652 Dutch landing at Table Bay (Mellet, 2020). This incident is often reported as the first meeting between the indigenous Khoe and San community and Europeans. However, prior to 1652, there had been 180 years of engagement between the Khoe and San people and European descendants. Yet, the former falsehood of 1652 is pervasive and perverts many accounts and viewpoints on South African history. In this chapter, I write against this false

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<sup>3</sup> The terms 'Khoe' and 'San' were used to describe the early inhabitants of South Africa. They:

“...lived in small, loosely knit, family-based, foraging bands of usually between ten and thirty people. These groups were sometimes as small as five or six but hardly ever exceeded fifty. At the start of the European colonization in 1652, their numbers in what was to become the Cape Colony was in all probability in the region of 30,000.”

(Adhikari, 2010:21).

historical truth, in the second half of this chapter, by discussing how the full extent of South Africa's colonist history paved the way for the formation of the Afrikaner people. This chapter will provide a more historical account for the formation of the Afrikaner people, where Chapter 3 will focus more on the formation of Afrikaans language, apartheid, and later the formation of heterotopic societies that motivated the inward migration of Afrikaners to form social enclaves within a transformed South Africa.

## **2.1 The earliest settlers of South Africa**

The retelling of the history of South Africa often starts with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and tells the story of the colonist's impact and development of South Africa. As this thesis, and the chapters that follow will show, is that this account of South African history is severely misrepresented and unaccounted for. A reason for this could greatly be attributed to the fact that the history is often conflated with the document-based evidence and historical accounts that the European colonisers recorded. As for South Africa's earliest history, this is often based on a verbal retelling of history that was passed down from generation to generation; or based on evidence such as artefacts, tools and weapons that have been found throughout the nation and connected to historical periods (Oliver and Oliver 2017:3). This could possibly be the reason why the migrations of North African farmer and metalworkers from North Africa to the South of Africa mostly passed by unreported when telling the story of South Africa. These histories can be traced back to the first centuries of the second millennium, where two new pottery styles were discovered south of the Limpopo River. It is stated that these earlier pottery styles can be attributed to the migrations of North African farmers and metalworkers, and that they represent the ancestors of the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana speakers that today constitute the majority of South Africa's population (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 29). In this section, I will discuss a brief history of these earliest settlers in South Africa in order to provide a more accurate discussion of the formation of the Afrikaans language in Chapter 3.

As previously indicated, groups of North African framers and metalworkers left North Africa in order to move to the south of Africa, with some of these groups finally settling in the northern and north-eastern regions of present-day South Africa. Evidence of these earlier settlers can be found



in Mapungubwe, an area that is located near the Limpopo River – with the discovery of markedly different pottery forms being found. These potteries are said to be the earliest pottery styles of Nguni speakers, and therefore these archaeological discoveries connect these earlier settlers with the settlement of Nguni speakers in South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007:29). Ethnological and linguistic evidence, as well as archaeological evidence, shows us that the Nguni's ancestors and some of the earliest African clans originated in the Great Lakes region of Eastern Africa and that they moved south between 900 and 1290. From this point in history and onwards, processes of segmentation and differentiation occurred that dispersed that various African clans around South Africa. Giliomee and Mbenga (2007:33) claim that the terms segmentation and differentiation can be used to describe internal migrations inside South Africa. Differentiation refers to a "process through which certain individuals came to achieve political, social, and economic power over others," whereas segmentation refers to groupings that split into two or more groups (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007:33).

An example of these processes can be seen with the Nguni clan. The Nguni clans belonged to one linguistic group, but they were later separated into smaller groupings, each with their own cultural characteristics and dialects (Olivier, 2017:2; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:29). The first Nguni tribes inhabited KwaZulu-Natal on South Africa's east coast. They subsequently split off to become the modern-day Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Mpondo, and Thembu kingdoms (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007:37). The Nguni clans further relocated from the current KwaZulu-Natal inland during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and evidence shows that they were already present in 19<sup>th</sup> century in Swaziland, to the north and east of Pretoria, in KwaZulu-Natal, and the Eastern Cape (Olivier, 2007:2). In smaller clans, the Nguni clans dispersed east of Swaziland by 1800, and the region along the Umzinvubu River between the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal was already inhabited by the Southern Nguni clans. The Mpondo, Mponomise, Thembu, and Xhosa groups were the most well-known clans in these areas (Olivier, 2007:3).

Another example of the processes of segmentation and differentiation can be seen with the formation of the south-eastern Bantu people. The south-eastern Bantu, a term used to describe the Bantu speaking people groupings in South Africa, are descended from North African farmer and metalworker populations that moved to settle further south between 1500 and 1800 CE (Olivier,

2017: 2). These populations made their homes in South Africa's northern, eastern, and central regions, where they established clans with distinct identities and hierarchical socio-political rank systems, with these groups consisting of;

“...the Nguni and the Sotho or Tswana clans living also in Botswana, the Tsonga clans in Mozambique and north-eastern South Africa, the Shona clans in Zimbabwe and their close relatives, the Venda, who arrived in the northern parts of South Africa during the 18th century, as well as the Lemba, living in small groups with other clans like the Venda and the Sotho in the northern parts of South Africa.”

(Olivier, 2017:2)

Furthermore, history shows that other African clans, such as the Ndebele clans inhabited what is currently known Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo in the northern regions of South Africa between the 17th and 19th centuries, with Sotho clans having lived in South Africa's and Botswana's interior – with evidence of their presence in certain regions of the nation pointing to a period between 700 and 1300 CE. Through the processes of segmentation and differentiation, groups of African clans also entered the Khoekhoe occupied Highveld in the centre and the north of South Africa. The connection between the African newcomers and the Khoekhoe natives resulted in the Fokeng people, which already had a Nguni culture, and the exchanges between these two groups in the area resulted in the Sotho and Tswana ‘chiefdoms’ (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:36), with these groups ultimately settling in the Northern Cape.

This brief and condensed history on the earliest African settlers in South Africa, tells the story of the less often known history of the Nguni and Sotho- Tswana’s speakers’ ancestors in South Africa, as well as the origin of the various African clans that make up the majority of South Africa today. This history illustrates that before the arrival of the European colonisers from the 1500’s, that along with certain Khoekhoe groups that occupied the that occupied land in South Africa, specifically those areas lose to water, that the Nguni and Sotho clans had also occupied parts of South Africa. Although these occupations did not have the markings of a “formal political structure or demarcation of land” (Olivier, 2007:30), these earliest African settlers had created kingdoms, and each of these kingdoms claimed a specific territory as belonging exclusively to the chief and

his clan or followers. A confrontation would occur, usually in the form of a fight, should another tribe attempt to cross the boundaries of that delineated region. The battles between the original African tribes in occupied land throughout South Africa, the European settlers and later the Afrikaners in reference to *Die Groot Trek*, will be further expanded on in the remainder of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this thesis.

In the section that follows, I will further discuss the often less documented history of South Africa, with a continuation of the discussion of South Africa's history before the arrival of the Dutch colonisers in 1652.

## **2.2 The European influence in the Cape prior to 1652**

In Hermann Giliomee's opening lines of his book titled *The Afrikaner: Biography of the People* (2003), he states that his book is, "a biography of the Afrikaner people of South Africa, whose roots in the continent of Africa go back to the seventeenth century", and that "this book attempts to tell the Afrikaners' story from the beginning with empathy but without partisanship" (xii). In this section, I argue, that in his account of the Afrikaner history, Giliomee's (2003) choice to begin his historical analysis of the Afrikaner from the arrival of the Dutch is highly problematic, and I argue, that in order to comprehensively understand the formation of the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language, it is historically more accurate to start with the history from the late 1500s. It is necessary to account for the fact that the land that the Dutch came to occupy in 1652 was not empty, but rather that it was occupied by many other ethnic groups such as the indigenous Khoesan, and later the enslaved populations from Madagascar, Indonesia, India and other parts of Africa.

In order to provide an alternative narrative that challenges the historical hegemony of the Afrikaner identity, the important work of Patric Tariq Mellet, and his book *The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land*, provides important insight. Mellet documents an untold tale of loss of land and belonging of the Khoe and San people, making sure to discuss the European influence on South Africa before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. This account of history tests the limits of truth that some of the historians of Afrikaans and Afrikaners lay claim to and provides the reader

with a comprehensive account of the history of the Cape which influenced the Afrikaner identity, and more crucially, the formation of the Afrikaans language. Below, I will briefly discuss the history of the European arrival in the Cape to ensure that the true history of the Cape and that of the Khoe and San people is represented.

Khoe and San people lived on the Cape Peninsula and along the southwest coast of South Africa years before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, with these histories not easily fitting into the conventional identities ascribed to them by anthropologists, ethnographers, and mainstream colonial social historians throughout the colonial period. According to maritime records, at least 1070 ships stopped over at the Cape on their way outward-bound voyages alone before the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, providing a wealth of knowledge that is not readily available on mainstream media. Among the Khoe and the San that lived on the Cape Peninsula were self-sufficient Khoe farmers with big families, the *//Ammaqua* (Watermens), a relatively small group of Khoe merchants, the *Sonqua* line fishers, a San branch formed by deserters and misfits from Khoe groups, and another San herder-hunting clan known as the *Ubiqua*. (Mellet, 2020). Hunting and fishing were the key economic pursuits in each of these latter settlements, with all the groupings mentioned above seen as “other” by those Khoe who remained in the larger formal social groups, and they were collectively derisively referred to as “our relatives who left us” – *Goringhaiqua* – by those who remained in the larger formal social groups (Mellet, 2020). The European influence in the Cape started long before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, with one of the most significant incidents involving Europeans being the loss of one of Europe’s most renowned warriors, the Portuguese viceroy of India Francisco de Almeida, and his whole senior officer corps by the Peninsula Khoe in 1510 in the battle of Salt River on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1510.

The battle of Salt River began on the day that Almeida’s fleet landed in Table Bay. On this day, the Khoe not only confronted Almeida’s crew, but they were also able to thwart an effort by Almeida’s crew to steal from them and kidnap individuals of the Khoe tribes. In retaliation, the next day, Almeida gathered many of his commanders and a sizable number of troops on the Salt River beach while his flagship master sent the rowing boats to obtain water at the Camissa River. Almeida then sent two captains to plunder the *Goringhaiqua* cow herd near the Liesbeeck and Black rivers’ confluence (Johnson, 2012: 24; Mellet, 2020). The *Goringhaiqua* routed the invaders

and drove them back to the waiting Almeida, using the stampeding cattle as a barrier and weapon. Almeida and his men were besieged and driven onto the sandy beaches, their armour weighing them down and with no available escape boats. This event in the Khoe history illustrates the power and resilience of the Khoe people, and Almeida's attempt to teach the *Goringhaiqua* a lesson that severely backfired, when despite the Portuguese force's better armament, the Portuguese forces themselves were taught a lesson. The *Goringhaiqua*, fiercely protecting their land, attacked quickly, and the Portuguese invaders lost 64 men, including 15 senior commanders, in the subsequent combat – with Almeida also assassinated in this conflict between the *Goringhaiqua* and his forces (Johnson, 2012:24-29).

The fall of the strong Almeida, widely regarded as the world's greatest military force, sent shockwaves through Europe:

“A small Khoe community had achieved victory in a self-defence battle to protect their community, homes and livelihood. This event ensured that, while the Portuguese had a strong presence in Angola and Mozambique for 150 years, they largely bypassed the Cape without stopping. Other European nations did likewise until 1590.”

(Mellet, 2020)

Following this triumphant battle of the Khoe, from 1601 onwards, voyage records indicate that the period of discovery and Portuguese dominance of Indian Ocean trade had passed, making way for commuter travel and the passage of large goods and warriors, with the new driving factors for stopping over in the Table Bay region being commerce and colonial conquest in the East, as well as the slave trade (Mellet, 2020).

Complete lists of marine traffic during each decade of the seventeenth century, broken down by nationality, products moved, and shipping attrition rates, all throw doubt on the conventional account of the port of Cape Town's beginnings. The maritime records alone warrant a full analysis of Table Bay's early history considering the scope of services given by indigenous peoples prior to 1652. While the Dutch kept the preponderance of ships in Table Harbour throughout the first decade of the seventeenth century, England followed with a sizable contingent, followed by

warships from France, Portugal, and Denmark, all of which dropped anchor and stayed for extended periods in the harbour. Between the years 1610 and 1620, the number of English ships more than doubled.

In this case, it demonstrates why the English contemplated colonisation during this specific period. Despite their best efforts, their attempt to carry out Governor Sir Thomas Smythe of the English East India Company's plan to create the first Cape Colony under the British flag was a colossal failure. The Company had wanted to use the services of a Khoe Chief named *Xhore* (Coree/Goree), who was kidnapped and imprisoned in London for a year by the British government. In that year, it is documented that a homesick *Xhore* endured a long year in London, where he was dressed up in an armoured costume and treated like a showcase. *Xhore* was returned to the Cape of Good Hope a year after his capture, and Governor's Smythe desired that *Xhore* would aid the leaders of a group of 10 Newgate Prison convicts who had been pardoned to pioneer the formation of an English colony on the Cape's African border, a condition that had been placed on them by the British government. When representing British interests in the Cape, *Xhore* was the first official representative, acting as a commercial middleman for European ships. *Xhore* used his position further to establish himself as a rich and charismatic leader until his unfortunate demise in 1626. In 1626, the Dutch were reported to have assassinated *Xhore* because he refused to cooperate with them. He took a moral attitude against dealing with the Dutch, citing their treatment of his people as justification (Mellet, 2020).

Following *Xhore*'s death, economic ties began to erode immediately. Ships started to have difficulties in meeting their supply purchase requirements consistently. Even though *Xhore* serviced a range of European ethnic groups, the English were the ones who grieved his death the most since they had the most direct contact with him and his people. This is just one of many stories that show the economic and social impact that the Khoe and the San people had on the socio-economic development of the Cape prior to the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 (Mellet, 2020). By comparing maritime records, one may have a fair understanding of the European nations' competitiveness, the Dutch supremacy, the size and form of their boats, and the evolution of ship technology through time as cargoes changed. Additionally, one must consider the vessel's



attrition rate and the desperate necessity for sailors and passengers, particularly the ill, to take shore vacations.

European ships also employed a sizable number of African, Arab, and Asian personnel. The significant developments at the Cape and the fundamental role of the Khoe as people seeking out a place for themselves in the social and economic upheaval at the Cape are sometimes reduced to portraying the Khoe as uninvolved onlookers and a hindrance to European colonial progress (Mellet, 2020). No credit is given to what may be described as a contemporary African social organisation. Thus, the coastline of Table Bay might be referred to as the ‘first border’ or ‘shoreline frontier’ – land rightfully owned, inhabited, and developed with the help of the original inhabitants, the Khoe and the San people.

What this account of history shows is that prior to van Riebeeck’s arrival, Europe had a semi-permanent presence, with outward-bound ships arriving every month and lingering for long layovers. What changed in 1652 was the establishment of a permanent European colony and the beginning of the process of violent evictions of indigenous people from the Cape Peninsula and Table Bay. I argue that these early interactions with the Portuguese, Dutch and English, that will be expanded on at a later point in this chapter, brought shape to the linguistic landscape of the Cape through language contact and change (den Besten 2006, Deumert, 2017). Noting the European presence in the Cape before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, we continue with South Africa’s turbulent history with its European colonisers in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck arrived on the shores of what we would later come to be known as Cape Town.

### **2.3 The discovery of the Cape and the destruction of the Khoe and San**

Jan van Riebeeck was part of a company known as the Dutch East India Company (often referred to as VOC), and his arrival marked the beginning of the first formal European settlers in South Africa. The intentions of the VOC were straightforward in the beginning; they would form a small outpost on the southernmost tip of South Africa to provide for the ships that were sailing from the Netherlands to India and Indonesia, where they would be able to stock up on the essentials that they would need for their long voyage ahead. The Dutch had no intention of establishing a

plantation colony there, “but only a victualing station for ships in the Far East trade” (Allen 2012, 207). Initially, it was hoped that the Dutch could take part in simple trade with the resident Khoen and San people who had long inhabited this area of South Africa.

The economic take-over of the Cape begun what was intended to be a simple pit stop and trade point, now turned into something more permanent. The VOC agreed that some of its employees were allowed to leave the VOC service to better establish themselves as farmers in the area to provide for the needs of the European travellers. Soon, this small developing town at the foot of Table Mountain, which would later be referred to as Cape Town, became the home to “merchants, artisans, and lodging-house keepers, profiting not just from the VOC’s establishment but also from the increasing number of ships of other European countries” (Ross, 2016:188), who also began to make use of this pit-stop.

The farmers that stayed behind and began to establish their footing in Cape Town were known as the *Boers*, a group of colonial settlers that mainly consisted of Protestant Dutch-speaking farmers from the Netherlands, with some also from France, Asia and some African groups. The *Boers*, who later moved inland, were not always happy with regulations enforced by the VOC, and this led to much turbulence and tension that arose between the *Boers* and the VOC - these tensions mostly erupted from their dislike of the tax policies and the fact that the *Boers* wanted to expand their farms inland but were constantly denied by the VOC who wanted them to stay closer to the Table Bay region (Adhikari, 2010: 21).

This pattern of immigration, which soon became the norm of colonial influence and settling, also marked the introduction of the slave trade into the Cape, which imprinted the idea of whiteness into South African history. The European settlers brought their ideologies surrounding whiteness, largely influenced Western racist thinking, and centred around white supremacy. These ideologies were driven by the dehumanisation of the indigenous people of the colonised lands, which led to the hunter-gatherer lifestyle being compared to that of animals. The settlers would paint an entirely different picture of the indigenous people, describing that as animals do - they merely inhabit the land that they have; rather than work to develop and enrich the land which in their eyes proved their racial inferiority and proved as justification for the destruction and disposition of these



people. The settlers believed that these ‘savages’ were beyond the point of civilizing and that their way of life did not align with the needs of the settlers (Adhikari 2010:21). This generalised view of European settlers worldwide was evident in South Africa with the near-total disposition and destruction of the San people from South Africa.

## 2.4 The Great trek

The VOC now had firm control in the Cape Town region, and other than forcing locals to assimilate to the Dutch way of living, there were many regulations and rules that were put in place to maintain a level of control over the areas. To increase their power and resources in Cape Town, the VOC became aware that they would need far more land to support their farming enterprises, and this very quickly led the VOC to view the resident Khoen and San people as a significant threat to their enterprises and the colonists realised that they needed more land for their farming needs. The Khoen and San noticed this threat to their livelihood, and in the late 1600s, they attempted to fight off the colonial powers that had intruded and dispossessed them - they recognized that the VOC and the *Boers* were a deadly threat to their way of life (Adhikari, 2011: 39).

These Khoen and San attacking parties were not a natural occurrence for them, as they were a traditionally egalitarian and consisted of a small group of people who did not have formal leaders to take control during these times. The Khoen and San were forced to break free from their traditional ways of living to match the militant tactics of the colonists in order to coordinate their joint resistance against the Dutch. Sadly, these tactics did not prove to be enough for the Khoen and San, as the Dutch were far more prepared for this type of conflict - and in retaliation to the attacks implemented by the Khoen and San, the colonists “responded to San aggression with individual acts of slaughter and the massacre of bands” (Adhikari, 2011: 39) by forming what the Dutch referred to as *commandos* which would become the central institution of military force in the Cape under the rule of the Dutch.

These commandos created by the Dutch VOC authorities were primarily made from *Boers* and their dependants, who were mandated to serve within the commandos for a few weeks of the year. They not only needed to serve in the fight against the indigenous people, but they were also

required to use their resources to do so. The commandos became notorious as an instrument of war against indigenous people in South Africa, with the first of these battles starting as early as 1676. These commandos were also joined by unofficial commandos who were:

“...mobilised rapidly, and which in effect allowed farmers to take the law into their own hands ...usually for the purpose of hot pursuit, but also for land grabs, pre-emptive attacks against San considered a threat, or for razzias to round up forced labour.”

(Adhikari, 2011: 40)

Sadly, it has been noted that these often-deadly attacks that were coordinated by the unofficial commandos were very often not reported to *veldwachmeesters* (field-sergeants) upon their return. As a result of this it is highly possible that these unofficial commandos and individual slayings accounted for far more deaths of the San people than the official commandos. Not only did the commando conflicts result in the significant death toll of the San people, but it also led to the forced servitude of captured Khoe people to work on the farms of the *Boers*, and more commonly for the *trekboers* (mobile farmers) who were a subgroup of the *Boers* that are largely attributed with the near and total disposition and destruction of the San people.

In the coming years, the *trekboers* became more powerful and violent as they started to expand to the interior of South Africa to gain more land for farming. As they had the advantage of firearms versus the bow and arrows of the San, they were very successful in their deadly obliteration of the San people. During several of these commando assaults, the San males were often shot and killed on the spot, while the women and children were captured and held as hostages. The men were slaughtered because they were considered a danger and of little economic worth by the *Boers*, who claimed that these indigenous people were "irredeemable savages who could not be taught in any useful industry" and hence could not be redeemed (Adhikari, 2011:45).

As reported by some sources, the most brutal *trekboers* murdered the children of the San tribes by slamming their skulls against rocks, and even went so far as to skin the breasts of women they had slain in order to use the skin as a pouch to hold their tobacco leaves (Adhikari, 2011:46). When

the raids were over, the children who survived were of great value to the *trekboers* because they were young enough to assimilate to the trekboer way of life - and they were then able to become meaningful staff members on their farms - a form of child slavery that was justified and institutionalised by the VOC by calling this system the *inboekstelsel* (apprenticeship system), whereby the *inboeselings* (apprentices) were forced to stay with. The children that survived the raids were of high value to the *trekboers* as they were young enough to be able to assimilate to the ways of the *trekboer* and they were then able to become meaningful staff members on their farms, a form of child slavery that was justified and institutionalised by the VOC by calling this system the *inboekstelsel* (apprenticeship system) whereby the *inboeselings* (apprentices), were forced to stay with their masters until the age of 25, yet often this system was overruled by the *trekboer*. They remained under the servitude of their masters for life (Adhikari, 2011:47).

Through the actions, laws and regulations that were put in place by the VOC and enforced by the *trekboers*, the San identities began to shift as account to the brutal genocidal process of their colonizers:

“Those assimilated to *trekboer* society as forced labourers were usually referred to as ‘Hottentots’ (Khoi Khoi), and in time, many came to see themselves as such. This would particularly have been the case with child captives, from whom experience as hunter-gathers would not have been all that formative and who would have acquired elements of colonial culture more easily than adults...in trekboer society, ‘Bosjesman’ referred to independent hunter-gathers living in the ‘wild’, whereas ‘Hottentot’ included ‘tame Bushman’ in colonial service.”

(Adhikari, 2011:51)

One can trace the early beginnings of racism and white supremacy to the actions of the *trekboers*, as the *trekboers* saw themselves as the superior ‘master’, and the San people as the lesser servant: the simple bushpeople that could in their view only be trained to work on their farms in servitude to them. From the very start, the *trekboers* saw themselves as superior and different to the San, a differentiation that was further cemented in their ideologies by attaching religion to their identities

of superiority; by using the term 'Christian' to refer to themselves in opposed to the indigenous San people (for an alternative account on the impact of the Great Trek, see Giliomee, 2003).

The colonial racial attitudes could be no better described than by the *landdrost* Alberti from Uitenhage in 1805:

“According to the unfortunate notion prevalent here, a heathen is not actually human, but at the same time he cannot be classed among the animals. He is, therefore, a sort of creature not known elsewhere. His word can in no way be believed, and only by violent measures can he be brought to do good and shun evil.”

(Du Toit and Giliomee, 1983:84)

These very early discourses that used religion, mostly protestant Christian beliefs, formed part of the early Afrikaner discourse leading to the implementation of the apartheid era. The idea that racism could be justified under the guise of religion and justify extreme measures to others and distance themselves from other races and people became a norm in later years (Adhikari, 2011:52). These beliefs and ideologies would carry through the centuries to the 20th century, where white South Africans still viewed themselves as a privileged group, and as Steyn (2001) states, “whites have tended to take their identity as the standard to which everyone else is measured” (xxvi). Many white South Africans held firmly onto the historically cemented “European assumptions of racial and cultural superiority” (Steyn, 2001: xxii) that was enforced by the colonisers, which made the change in power at the fall of apartheid even more difficult for white South Africans to overcome their perceived right to have political and economic power in South Africa. But more on this later.

The San people were seen as the lowest form of human on the *trekboers* hierarchy - being viewed as feral creatures who, according to them, lacked the essential elements that helped build human society, which included God, government, law, commerce and the owning of private property. The colonisers saw all that the San did and what they stood for as irrelevant. They believed that they had a non-sensical language and had no idea of art, industry, philosophy, or even mechanical ingenuity that the Europeans so highly regarded (Adhikari, 2011:52).

The ideology of white supremacy harboured over hundreds of years by the Europeans was so deeply entrenched in the *trekboers* identity that they did not see the existing rich ingenuity, culture, tradition and unique language that the San people possessed. What was different was seen as other, and what was other was seen as a threat and the threat either needed to be eliminated or assimilated to their idea of normalcy and success. A slight irony is present in this state because for the *trekboer* to be successful in their undertakings, they forcibly rid the San people of their land and forced them to assimilate to their way of life. If they refused, they viewed them as other or killed them, and would later hold what they stole from the San against them in the justification for their racist actions.

The destruction and partial extinction of the San communities was unfortunately not an isolated incident because the “destruction of the Cape San societies can be viewed as part of a series of overlapping, essentially concentric, global movements of violent subjugation that were often genocidal in nature” (Adhikari, 2010:20). The brutality shown towards the San people formed part of a 12 000-year-old history, in which European colonists took part in the destruction and the displacement of similar hunter-gatherer type communities.

The above history shows how the European influence in South Africa forever left behind damaging ideologies of whiteness that are still prevalent today (van der Westhuizen, 2017). In this thesis, I argue that these damaging ideologies of whiteness have a recursive impact on the processes and practices involved in the formation and the representation of the iconic Afrikaner identity. In the concluding chapter of this thesis, I will argue that it is vital in a post-national South Africa to expose whiteness, as white Afrikaners, and other white South Africans, are in most cases living with a white identity that is invisible: these individuals are not consciously aware of the effect that being white has on their lives. As a result, white South Africans seem to be unaware of the privileges still afforded to them by their white skin. I argue that due to the historic Western ideologies of racism carried through the history of South Africa and the fact that these ideologies are deeply entrenched in South African society, one can understand how today the stereotype still exists that all white people are racist.

This stereotype, built into the rhetoric of South Africans by the European colonizers and cemented into place by the laws and policies implemented in the colonial and apartheid era are seemingly inescapable, as it is a label that transcends age, class or even religion. Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) state that this has led to a situation where the belief is that "...if you are white there is always impending suspicion of your potential racisms" (45). Society at large, given the historical formation of whiteness in South Africa hold the stigmatised view that they cannot speak about race due to the constant threat of potentially being labelled as racist, as such, white people are left in a situation where they feel that they are not entitled to speak freely on matters of race, racial identities and whiteness; as it may be thought that the utterances of white people come from a place of privilege and impending racism, which in turn causes their thought and opinions to be "disqualified". This "indirectly and implicitly disqualifies them from being full citizens of the new non-racial South Africa" (45), which makes exploring the issues surrounding whiteness challenging in our country.

Winkie Direko, the former black premier of the Free State province, makes a speech that exemplifies the identity dilemma that white South Africans had after the end of apartheid. In an interview with the Mail and Guardian, she states the following:

"I have sympathy with the whites. Yesterday you were the *baas*, and I was the *kombuismeid*. Now, I stand here as the premier of the province. It must be a bitter pill to swallow, but it has to be done."

(Ballentine, 2004:107)

In later chapters, I demonstrate through my findings and analysis that this fear and crisis experienced by some white (Afrikaner) South Africans has led to the emergence of social enclaves, where white people form in small and controlled 'safe' spaces where they are free to share and live in a way that they feel is safe from judgement in the broader, transformed South Africa. The Afrikaner youth group that I am studied is but one small example of such an enclave. I will expand on the theory behind enclaves in Chapter 5.



In the remainder of the chapter, I discuss the concept of internal colonisation by expanding on the story of how the *Boers*, resisting the European colonial powers, embarked on an entirely new form of colonisation - namely, internal colonisation.

## 2.5 ‘Internal colonisation’ - nationalism born from resistance

Afrikaner nationalism is often used in the discourse surrounding whiteness and race in South Africa. But where did this ideology originate? To start, we first need to look at the term nationalism. According to Allen (2003), nationalism is an ideology or a pattern of thought;

“...at the centre of which lies a certain principle, idea or phenomenon. This principle, idea or phenomenon...provides a man with a sense of worth, of significance, security, safety, happiness, tranquillity, peace, freedom and hope for the future.”

(Allen, 2003: 37)

One can equate this ideology to the more physical realisation of the Afrikaner nationalism in the form of social enclaves which have emerged in a post-national South Africa, but more on that topic in Chapter 5.

Many believe that Afrikaner nationalism was born from the needs described above, the need to feel safe and secure when Afrikaners were fighting against the British forces for self-determination and constitutional reform. The troubling and tension-filled relations between the two dominant white races at the time, the British and the Afrikaner, drove the events that would shape the identities and ideologies of the Afrikaner people. The Afrikaner saw the British as the biggest threat to their existence, as opposed to other races native to Africa, and because they realised that the British brought with them a culture that they viewed as superior to theirs.

But how does this nationalism connect to why the British came to rule and colonise South Africa? The VOC rule did not last forever in the Cape, and in the year 1795, the VOC were bankrupt - and it is at this point that Britain, who had formed an opposing company named the British East India Company, took control of the Cape. After the victorious Battle of Muizenberg, the British had

wrested control of the Cape from the once-dominant VOC. However, the Dutch did shortly regain control of the Cape in 1803, when the British and the French formed the Treaty of Amiens - however, in 1806, the British took control of the Cape once again due to the Napoleonic Wars. The British finally won the 9-year battle of ownership of the Cape and resulted in the 155-year domination of South Africa, ending in 1961 when South Africa finally became a republic (Oliver and Oliver, 2017: 5). Oliver and Oliver (2017) note that after these official colonisations by Europeans, South Africa, too, underwent 'internal' colonisation prior to achieving independence in 1994. They state that:

“The Republic of South Africa from 1961 onwards was just a continuation of the rule of the National Party, which had already started in 1948. The white Afrikaner rule without black or mixed-race representation - this time independent of the supervision of Britain - was nothing else but a next phase of colonisation of this country, and this was maybe the harshest of them all.”

(Oliver and Oliver, 2017: 5)

This new British rule opened a new chapter in South African history, one in which, as I will argue in this section and the next chapter, gave rise to the Afrikaner we know today. The conflict that existed between the Afrikaners and the British is widely documented, and it is believed that the conflict stemmed from the fight of liberalism versus conservatism, with religion playing a significant role in the conflicts;

“On the one hand was the liberalism of the English, stemming as it did from the humanitarians’ and philanthropy of the evangelical revival which swept Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century; on the other was the conservatism of the essentially rural Afrikaner people whose religious traditions were based on Calvinism.”

(Allen, 2003:38)

When the British first landed on the shores of South Africa, there were already clear signs that the Afrikaners had no interest in the assimilation of the British religion and culture. In 1806, when the British took rule of the Cape, the Afrikaners, who primarily existed out of Dutch-speaking farmers,



resented “the English language, of British officialdom and particular of the concepts of bourgeois-democratic liberalism in relation to slavery” (Allen, 2003:38).

The *Boers* resisted this British imposition by embarking upon a mass migration, often referred to as the *Groot Trek* (Great Trek), further inland of South Africa between the years 1836 - 1854. The fundamental objective of this mass migration was to emancipate themselves from British domination and establish a free and independent state outside British and colonial control. However, this resistance towards European colonial powers caused an entirely new form of colonisation that came into existence, namely, internal colonisation. Not all the *Boers* took part in the *Groot Trek* - some *Boers* were happy living under British rule and conforming to their ideas and culture - the ones that did not subscribe to this way of living, however, took part in the *Groot Trek*, and came to be known as the *Voortrekkers* and would play a significant role in the formation of the Afrikaner.

As mentioned above, the point of the *Groot Trek* was to enable a few Afrikaners to create an independent state, one in which they did not have to live under British rule. This was done by forming two states, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal (or the South African Republic). The new states that the Afrikaners formed were not done on empty soil but rather, as discussed in section 2.1 and 2.2 of this chapter, on the occupied land of various African, Khoi and San tribes that had been living on this land prior to the Voortrekkers arrival, such as the Sotho, Tswana, Zulu and Nguni tribes. The Voortrekkers became notorious for their violent clashes with these African tribes. The violence that the Afrikaners had shown towards the African tribes created a situation in which the independence of the Afrikaners was short-lived. The British annexed both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in two wars known as the Boer Wars, taking place between (1877-81 and 1899 -1902). These wars were forged by the British under the pretence of the violent actions against the African tribes, but their reason for doing so was more material than this and could largely be attributed to the discovery of rich and untouched diamond and gold mines in these Boer states.

The Boer wars and the impact that they had on Afrikaners is vital when discussing Afrikaner identity, as the events that occurred in these wars would lay the rhetoric for the formation of Afrikaner nationalism. Paul Kruger, who at the time of the wars was the President of the Transvaal;

“...propounded a revisited history of Boer consciousness which consisted of a tabulation of grievances, ‘injustices and ‘oppression’, and stories of clashes between the Boer and the ‘despicable and cowardly’ English.”

(van der Westhuizen, 2017:29)

The humiliation that the Afrikaner suffered at the hands of the English in and between these Boer wars, van der Westhuizen (2017) argues, created a distinct difference between white Afrikaners and white English speakers. On the one hand, the identity of the Afrikaner became involved in the process of “rebuilding Afrikaans white distinctiveness for parity with or even domination of the English...Afrikaner nationalism was an assertion of ethicised whiteness against a hegemonic whiteness” (29). On the other hand, white English-speaking South Africans draw on an Anglo whiteness, which “builds itself into coded discourses of universalism in denial of its ethnic particularity” (van der Westhuizen, 2017:29). The white English-speaking residents of South Africa lived in contrast to the white Afrikaners, as their indifference towards the Afrikaners' political ambitions produced an environment in which they opposed and rejected the white Afrikaner's cause. The white Afrikaners resisted the hegemonisation of the white English speakers, which went against their beliefs of *volkstrots* (people's pride), noble suffering and Calvinist decency” (van der Westhuizen, 2017:29).

A history of exclusion formed the Afrikaner identity, but not only by the Afrikaners excluding themselves from the rest of South Africa but also by excluding and differentiating the Afrikaner from Afrikaans South Africans. The Afrikaner identity was forged as an opposition to British rule. However, the Afrikaner is also a product of its opposition to liberals, socialists, and African nationalists, and it “created the disciplinary mechanism of *volksvreemdheid* –translating to ‘strange to the people’ in which *andersdenkendheid* (thinking differently) was penalised” (van der Westhuizen, 2017). Those who were different or dared to resist the Afrikaner ideologies often paid

a high price, with names such as Bram Fischer and Breyten Breytenbach being examples of Afrikaans South Africans standing up against the Afrikaner apartheid government.

Bram Fischer, who came from a rather prominent Afrikaner family, was a South African lawyer well known for his anti-apartheid activism and his legal defence of anti-apartheid fighters, such as Nelson Mandela. His actions against the apartheid government led to him being placed on trial for acts of communism, with him eventually being sentenced to life in prison. Breyten Breytenbach, more commonly referred to as Jan Blom, is a South African and Afrikaans writer and poet, who was also a critic of the apartheid regime, was also imprisoned on terrorism charges and spent seven years in jail, after which he fled to France to live in a self-imposed exile. These men were just a few Afrikaners punished for standing against the apartheid regime. So why mention the plights of Breyten Breytenbach and Bram Fischer? I wish to argue that their stories highlight how the Afrikaner identity was formed based on differentiation, and this differentiation was not merely based on race, culture, and language – but also on ideologies that did not conform – were punished. The Afrikaner ideologies of *apartheid* (separateness) are deeply entrenched in the history of Afrikaners, and the Afrikaner identity did not emerge from a homogenous state. It emerged from a confluence of a variety of economic, political, and linguistic factors that were, on the one hand, pushed by the settler policies of the VOC and the British. However, on the other hand, the Afrikaner identity was formed from the idea of preservation and differentiation, threads that I will pick up on in the chapters to follow.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter offered an alternative narrative that challenges the hegemony of the formation of Afrikaner identity, and Afrikaans, by discussing the European influence in the Cape before 1652, as well as a snapshot into the segmentation and differentiation of African tribes and clans that occurred in the first centuries of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I argued that the inclusion of these histories is necessary, to ensure that the European influence on the formation of the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language is fully accounted for. After the discussion of the history of the Cape before 1652, I discussed the arrival of the Dutch and the official colonisation of the Cape by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and the subsequent destruction of the Khoe and San people during this period.

I argued that this account of history is necessary to understand the fractally recursive ideologies of erasure that I will argue at a later point in this thesis are still existent in the formation of the modern Afrikaner in a transforming South Africa. Lastly, this chapter covered the history of the Great Trek, and how this led to the inward migration of the Afrikaner nation from a place of fear and preservation of the Afrikaner culture, language, and identity. Later in this thesis I will argue that Afrikaners today, enact a similar type of inward migration from the place of Afrikaner fragility, in order to preserve their own perceived sense of vulnerability in a transforming South Africa and instead move inwards through the formation of post-national heterotopias.



## **CHAPTER 3: Inventing Afrikaans: from creole to standard**

### **3.0 Introduction**

Where Chapter 2 focussed more on the historical formation of South Africa, and touched on the formation of the Afrikaner nation, Chapter 3 will be more focussed on the rise of Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language. This chapter will discuss the history of the standardisation of Afrikaans in order to understand the rise of the Afrikaner, as well as Afrikaner nationalism that stemmed from the white Afrikaner population's need to break free from the rule of the British. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism, an era, I have already alluded to, is an era that was designed around the idea of white supremacy created by the colonisation of the Europeans. I then move on to further discuss the move towards the decreolisation of Afrikaans by the Afrikaners towards a more standardised variety of the Afrikaans language, and how Afrikaans was weaponized as a tool of oppression during the rise and fall of apartheid.

### **3.1 The checkered history of Afrikaans**

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5), the end of the nineteenth century was marked by an era of unrest and violence between the British and the Afrikaners. During the Boer Wars, which took place between (1877-81 and 1899-1902), the Afrikaners had now been taken on by the British on South African settled land that they forged to escape the rule of the British. In the aftermath of these wars, a unity developed amongst the Afrikaners, one which “not only deepened the division between the British and the Afrikaner, but it was also a unity that would ultimately lead to the dominance of Afrikaner views on race, society and politics throughout South Africa” (Allen, 2003:40).

Towards the end of the war between the British and the Afrikaners, around about 1902, the Afrikaners had been defeated by the British, leaving the Afrikaner nation in a state of vulnerability. The British colonial government approved the use of concentration camps in which the women and children of the Afrikaner nation were forcibly taken and replaced there; it must also be noted here that the British had set up different concentration camps for black people at the time. One

could argue that this foreshadowed the apartheid era that would follow in South Africa, as even as early as 1902, even prisoners of war were separated by race. As a result of the poor living conditions within these concentration camps, thousands of Afrikaner women and children passed away, and some would argue that it seemed as if Afrikaner nationalism had been defeated once and for all. The British had managed to take control of the Boer republics that were formed; they now had control over the wealth produced in these areas, and after the loss of many of their nation in the concentration camps, the “former ruling race was impoverished and dispirited” (Allen, 2003:44).

However, in the aftermath of the Boer wars, another divide was now created amongst the Afrikaner nation, namely the *Bittereinders* (Bitter-enders) - those who had fought to the end alongside other Afrikaners, and the *Hensoppers* (Hans-uppers) who had succumbed to British rule and assisted the British forces. The *Bittereinders*, the builders of a new era of nationalists, believed that they needed to find the unifying feature that united the Afrikaner nation once again. Other than a shared sense of retribution after the violence faced by the British, the one powerful aspect that they had that joined them was what the Afrikaners viewed as *their* language – Afrikaans. Allen (2003) states:

“...during the post-war period, the language represented something which the Afrikaners could make their own. Its value came at a stage when the Afrikaner people desperately needed a vehicle on which they could attach their identity following the atrocities of war, and soon its significance became apparent to nationalists striving for a restoration of the Afrikaner nation.”

(Allen, 2003:44)

As discussed in earlier chapters, after their defeat in the Boer War, one way in which the Afrikaners felt that they could maintain power over the British was to turn to politics and strive for political power. Kriel (2010) states that the “story of Afrikaner nationalism is essentially one of the political (and sometimes economic) activists establishing so-called *taal- en kultuurorganisasies* (language and cultural organizations)”.



This step into the political realm, caused the formation of Afrikaner organisations, such as the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA – *The society of True Afrikaners*) and *The Afrikaner-Broederbond* (The Afrikaner Brotherhood). These two ‘cultural organizations’ played a vital role in shaping the ideologies that formed part of the apartheid era as we came to know it in 1948. In the section that follows, I will discuss the process of the *Eerste Taalbeweging* (The First Language Movement), and the role that the GRA played in the standardised version of Afrikaans. Understanding this initial language movement is vital, as often when asked about the history of Afrikaans, the history described in section 3.1.1 that follows, is regarded as the beginning of the standardised and decreolised Afrikaans; a history, I will argue, that discounts the rich creole history of Afrikaans that began centuries before the formation of the GRA.

### **3.1.1 The creation of a standardised and ‘divine’ Afrikaans**

The *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (The society of True Afrikaners) was formed in 1875, when 8 Cape -Colony-based men who were teachers and clerics from wine farming areas in the region formed to create the GRA. The rise of the GRA can be attributed to the anglicization of the Cape Colony by the British that began in the early 1870s. Initially, the British government imposed the process of anglicization, but it eventually became voluntary and unforced. Before the 1870s, Afrikaners only infrequently opposed the English's persecution of the Afrikaans language. However, Scholtz (1965: 162) argues that at this point in history, the Afrikaners had not yet fully grasped the perceived notion that a nation content with its language occupying a subservient place inside its own country is condemned to perish with its language – a notion that would play a major role in the identity of preservation and perceived vulnerability amongst Afrikaners in later years, but more on that later. In the 1870s, Afrikaners began to challenge English hegemony (Steyn, 2014). This was particularly true for a tiny group dedicated to recognising Afrikaans as a written language that started in 1875, namely the GRA.

The organization gained momentum after the British offered to translate the Holy Bible into Afrikaans. The problem with this offer was that the Afrikaners who spoke Afrikaans at the time (as opposed to white Afrikaans speakers) did not regard the non-standardised Afrikaans language as ‘theirs,’ and they had far too much respect for the sanctity of their religion to accept a non-



standardised version of the Afrikaans language as being linked to the Holy Bible. The year after it was founded, the GRA stated in their manifesto: “Our beloved God placed us in Africa and gave us the Afrikaans language” (Devarenne, 2006: 106). This statement illustrated the religious motivation behind creating a version of Afrikaans which was ‘theirs’ – moving away from the creolised Afrikaans that has been formed over the centuries prior, towards a decreolised standardised Afrikaans; one ‘given’ to the Afrikaners by God.

The need to create a more standardised Afrikaans language, marked the beginning of the *Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging* (First Afrikaans Language Movement). Carstens and Raidt (2017) note that the First Language Movement was, “almost entirely devoted to the appreciation and the ‘glorification’ of Afrikaans” (203) – a process that laid the foundation for the purification of a creolised Afrikaans into a standard and decreolised Afrikaans.

The assertion made by the GRA that the Afrikaans language was given to them by God is a powerful statement, as this summarised the basic ideology reflected in the Afrikaner nationalist nation in the coming century. By making these claims in the first Afrikaner movement, the GRA took ownership of a language that they believed was divinely gifted to them, and it also gave them sole possession to “divine sanction of Afrikaner territorial ambitions” (Devarenne, 2006:106). This era started the promotion of a decreolised Afrikaans, an Afrikaans that was referred to as *Boer Afrikaans* (farmer’s Afrikaans), which made a point of distinguishing itself from *Here-Afrikaans* (master's Afrikaans), the variant of Afrikaans spoken mostly by urban upper classes, and *Hottentots-Afrikaans*, the variety of Afrikaans spoken by speakers of colour. As Deumert (2017) states:

“*Boere-Afrikaans* indexed not only a particular way of speaking but also a prototypical speaker persona, the colonial Afrikaner *boer*. Its discursive formation is an example of what Asif Agha (2007:55) has called enregisterment, a metapragmatic process that ideologically links linguistic form to the social world, thus fashioning new social indexicalities which are then open to iconic interpretations.” (111)

Often, when is asked about the history of the Afrikaans language, the story begins from the year 1875, when the GRA as described above, joined forces to standardize the Afrikaans language. However this story, one could argue, is the tale of ‘Mainstream Afrikaans’ or ‘Standard Afrikaans’, which tells the history of Afrikaans as a cultural and social language (du Plessis, 2003: 129. This tale led to the very clear and concise social isolationism of those who spoke the ‘non-standard version of Afrikaans’ – almost erasing the rich creole history of the Afrikaans language in the years between 1500’s to 1875. Before continuing the discussion of Afrikaans, it is important to understand the definition of creole language. A creole language, in the most classical sense is of Hall (1966), is described as;

“...a pidgin that has acquired native speakers, usually, the descendants of pidgin speakers who grow up using the pidgin as their first language. In keeping with their extended social role, creoles typically have a larger vocabulary and more complicated grammatical resources than pidgins.”

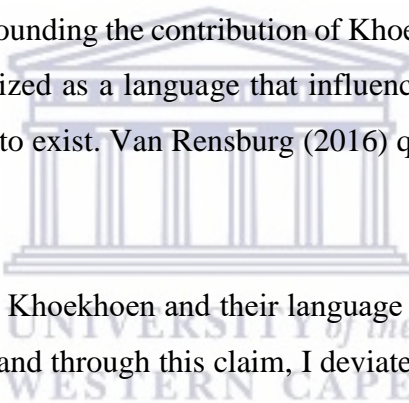
(Rickford & McWhorter, 1997: 238)

If one asks the question; where Afrikaans comes from, one is often met with the summarised and most common explanation that the Afrikaans language came into being due to ‘spontaneous evolution’ because the Asian and the African slaves, as well as the Khoi and the San, had to learn Dutch so that they could survive in the new world created by the colonists (du Plessis, 2003). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the history of the Afrikaners began much earlier, and as such, so did the history of the Afrikaans language (Mellet, 2020). As Neville Alexander (2012) states, this explanation of the origin of the Afrikaans language is "the simplest and most lucid general statement about the origins of Afrikaans" (Alexander, 2012: 7). However, the birth of the Afrikaans language began long before the meeting of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* – a point that will be further explored in the sections that follow.

Willemse (2012) states that the first traces of Afrikaans that were documented by travel journals, diaries and court reports was existent during the earliest times of the developing Cape society, with van Rensburg (2016) stating that the first Afrikaans originated long before the colonization of the Cape in 1652. He argues that between 1595 – 1652, is when the Afrikaans language history should

begin. During this period, the Khoe and San first started freely interacting and learning the language of the people who visited the Cape before forming the Dutch East India Trading Company in 1652. It has been recorded that between 1610 and 1650, that at least 363 Netherlands ships docked in the Cape. The language of these visitors became more and more familiar to the Khoe and San, and by learning the language of the visitors to the Cape, they could better trade with them. This can be viewed as the beginning of Afrikaans – Khoe-Afrikaans, a language that stands on its own – with its distinctive sound, sentence patterns, intonations, meanings, and histories idiosyncrasies (van Rensburg 2016:469). However, early historical linguists have minimalized "the existence of socially and economically inferior non-mother-tongue Dutch speakers, the so-called 'mixed-language speakers' and their contribution to Afrikaans" (Willemse, 2012:74).

Concerning the conversation surrounding the contribution of Khoe and San to Afrikaans, the Khoe and San often merely get recognized as a language that influenced Afrikaans, rather than being recognized as the first Afrikaans to exist. Van Rensburg (2016) quotes Den Besten (1994) where he states that:



“...I am claiming that the Khoekhoen and their language were of primary importance for the genesis of Afrikaans, and through this claim, I deviate from traditional wisdom which has it that the Khoekhoen may have had some influence upon the genesis of Afrikaans...”

(van Rensburg, 2016: 469)

With these histories of Afrikaans coming to light, the divide between linguists who believe Afrikaans is a creole language versus those who deny this assumption is becoming smaller. In this section, I will expand on this discussion by discussing the influence of the Khoesan language on the formation of Afrikaans and argue that Afrikaans was formed through the structural violence of South Africa’s colonist history.

### 3.1.2 The influence of the Khoesan language on the formation of Afrikaans

In D.B. Bosman's widely studied book, *Oor die Onstann van Afrikaans* (On the origin of Afrikaans), he forcefully argues that Afrikaans is not a "mixed language, certainly not a mixed language that originated with Dutch-speaking the Malay Portuguese of the slaves and that its structure and vocabulary was due to spontaneous evolution" (Willemse, 2015:6, Bosman, 1928). However, statements such as these are being refuted by the rising number of linguists who argue that Afrikaans is indeed a creole language, and not merely a language that formed by spontaneous contact throughout the years. The Dutch author, Hans den Besten (1948-2010) stated that the Portuguese Creole, Malay variants, and Khoesan all contributed significantly to the development of the Afrikaans language as it is known today (von der Wouden, 2012). He agrees with van Rensburg (2016) that if it were not for the agency of the indigenous Khoes and San people and the imported African and Asian slave labour, the Afrikaans language as we know it today would not exist (Willemse, 2015: 6, Bosman, 1928, von der Wouden, 2012).

Scholars generally agree that when the Khoes adopted Dutch terminology, the Afrikaans language as we know it today was born (van Rensburg, 2019; Den Besten, 2016; Sehume, 2019). When Afrikaans was initially used, it was a blend of some Dutch terminology and indigenous Khoesan phrases that enabled the most basic of communication between the two countries and their people – this language was dubbed Khoesan Afrikaans and dated back to at least 1595. In this situation, no inflections or articles were employed with the nouns (van Rensburg, 2019: 12). Den Besten (2006:32) explored the identification of languages in such circumstances of linguistic interaction in-depth, stating that any inflected verb forms were regarded to be Afrikaans in his view.

Khoesan Afrikaans had been in use for 50 years when the Dutch established a more permanent midway point at the Cape in 1652 after their venture into Eastern trading (van Rensburg, 2016; 2018; 2019). Afrikaans' history started prior to Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in 1652, and hence predates the language's formation. As early as 1626, when the ship he was sailing anchored in Table Bay for 19 days, Thomas Herbert, an English adventurer and historian, created a collection of 21 Khoesan expressions and their meanings (Nienaber 1963:21). However, Étienne de Flacourt was, in some ways, the most notable Afrikaans visitor. Saldanha Bay served as his first point of

call his route to Mauritius in 1648, where he served as Governor, and he returned a decade later, spending three weeks there on his return voyage (van Rensburg, 2019: 13). De Flacourt created a compilation of 221 Khoesan terms and phrases during that time period, along with their French counterparts. Several keywords from Khoesan Afrikaans were also included in his list, and the terms keep their Afrikaans identity even when the spelling is changed. Numerous early Khoesan Afrikaans expressions are still used in Cape Afrikaans today, while others have been absorbed into Standard Afrikaans. In essence, Afrikaans may be classified as a Khoesan contact language dating all the way back to 1595 (van Rensburg, 2019), which contradicts the traditional wisdom that current Afrikaans arose spontaneously from seventeenth-century Dutch (du Plessis and Grant, 2019: 21).

The narrative of Afrikaans emerging as a spontaneous development of the Dutch language is not the only origin theory for the language. As mentioned, van Rensburg (2018, 2019) discusses an auxiliary narrative that may be told in addition to the often-told myth that Afrikaans is purely derived from Dutch. van Rensburg (2018, 2019) maintained that Afrikaans was forming in South Africa even before the arrival of van Riebeeck in the country, but the Afrikaans language was also largely influenced by the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, as well as the emergence of the slave trade that followed the colonisers.

As discussed briefly, the earlier formations of Afrikaans began before the formation of the Dutch Cape Colony that was founded in 1652, but with the colonization of the Cape and the increase in the slave trade from the year 1658 came another movement in the formation of the Afrikaans. With the slave trade that started a few years after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, three main population groups emerged within the Cape Colony. According to den Besten (2012), these three population groups were;

“Europeans (Dutch, Germans and others, later also French Huguenots), who used Netherlands Dutch, indigenous Africans (Khoekhoe), who spoke Khoekhoe and Hottentot-Dutch, and slaves (Asians, Mozambiqueans and Malagasies, who spoke different languages, especially Creole Portuguese, (Pasar) Malay and Pidgin/Creole Dutch.”

(den Besten, 2012:292)

At this stage in the Cape Colony, the Khoekhoe as well as the slaves from other parts of the world, represented the non-white labour force. As the slaves were not inhabitants of the Cape prior to their forced arrival, they needed to establish some way in which to communicate when arriving in the Cape Colony. As such, the Khoekhoe formed a vital role in the basic communication within the Cape, as the slaves not only learnt their ‘Dutch’ from the Khoekhoe inhabitants, but the Dutch colonizers also used an alternative Hottentots ‘Dutch’ in their communication with the Khoekhoe (den Besten, 2012: 293).

du Plessis and Grant (2019) and den Besten (2012) further go on to explain that the first variants of Afrikaans were carried through the Hottentot-Holland Mountains and into the interior of Southern Africa during the movement of the Khoekhoe farmers and hunters. This occurred in the 1700’s, when the first colonists crossed over the ‘African Mountains’ and a portion of the Khoekhoe communities relocated away from the Cape Colony, and as such carried their Pidgin/Creole Dutch with them to the interior of South Africa causing the spread of the creolised ‘Dutch’ Afrikaans to spread beyond the borders of Cape (den Besten, 2012: 293).

By the time that the British colonisers arrived and conquered the Cape, the “ratio of Europeans, slaves and Khoekhoe was roughly 1:1:1” (den Besten, 2012:293). Although the distribution of communities was somewhat equal at the time of the arrival of the British, these communities were widely dispersed throughout South Africa and within the 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, only a few Khoekhoe communities remained in the Western Cape, with the Western Cape predominantly existing of slaves and Europeans. In the Eastern Cape, the Khoekhoe and Europeans were the majority with the slave community decreasing in size; and the Khoekhoe communities were of the majority in the Northern Cape, with very few Europeans and slaves (den Besten, 2012:293). The distribution of communities after the arrival of the British caused a shift in language use, with certain languages being used more predominantly in certain areas;

“In West Cape, Creole Portuguese and Pasar Malay were mainly spoken alongside Dutch and Pidgin/Creole Dutch, since most of the slaves lived there, while in the eastern regions the Khoekhoe of the Hottentots was predominantly used alongside the different varieties



of Dutch. In addition to that yet other languages were probably used by the slaves, such as Buginese and Sinhala.”

(den Besten, 2012:294)

It must be noted however, that even though most of the Khoekhoe moved out of the Cape Colony towards the Eastern Cape, this does not imply that their influence on the formation of Afrikaans is strongest in those areas.

The Khoekhoe were the original inhabitants of the Cape, and their version of the Hottentot-Dutch that originated from their original contact with the European colonisers was used and adapted by the slaves that remained in the Cape Colony after 1713. Through the distribution of Europeans, Khoekhoe and the slaves after the arrival of the British and the Dutch, it is acceptable to state that the origins of Afrikaans have two primary influences; the Netherlands Dutch that was used by the colonists, and the Creole Dutch that was used by the Khoekhoe and the slaves within the Cape and throughout their movement out of the Cape Colony. The creolised version of Dutch that helped build on the origin of Afrikaans is influenced by many languages, such as Khoekhoe, Pasar Malay and Creole Portuguese (den Besten, 2012:293)

Against this backdrop, several misconceptions concerning the origins of Afrikaans might be debunked, or it could be argued are up for re-examination. Alexander (2012) states that the only way that the Afrikaans sub-national identity could become accepted by all in South Africa is when the citizens who still refer to themselves as 'Afrikaners' realize the need to strip this label of "its anti-black historical baggage and to build on the essentialist theme of anti-imperialism in which it was constructed, as a conscious strategy" (Alexander, 2012: 12). It is also vital to acknowledge that the Afrikaans language is not a language formed by 'spontaneous evolution' but is viewed as a creole language with a history spanning over 400 years. However, unfortunately, the GRA paired with The First Language Movement had ulterior motives concerning the Afrikaans language and opted for a more decreolised version of Afrikaans. This version of Afrikaans, largely due to social pressures experienced by white Afrikaners at this point in history, distanced itself from the speakers of creole Afrikaans towards an Afrikaans that more closely resembled the language of their colonizers, Dutch, becoming the lexifier language of a more standard variety of Afrikaans.



Through their actions, the GRA were able to take a language that had a shared and rich history amongst many people, cultures, races and religions and transform it into a language that would forever be linked with Afrikaner nationalism, whiteness, and racism.

### **3.2 Standardisation of Afrikaans: Power and privilege**

The formation of a standardised version of a more symbolic Afrikaans over the last 130 years are largely due to the rise and fall of the Afrikaner, with their fight for political power and dominance causing a shift towards the decreolisation of Afrikaans in the process of linguistic ethno-nationalism (van der Waal, 2012:449). In the late 1800's, the need for the Afrikaners to create a more 'standard' variety of the Afrikaans language was enforced to fight against the "hegemonic English, but also as a racial and class boundary inside the larger category of Afrikaans speakers" (van der Waal, 2012: 449). The creolised version of Afrikaans which was spoken by the majority of Afrikaans speakers at the time (largely comprising of coloured speakers), was rejected by the Afrikaner community as an impure and it was viewed as a substandard variety of Afrikaans. Afrikaners at the time, wanting to gain more political and social power had a drive to appropriate Afrikaans from the creole Afrikaans that was spoken by the mixed population of the Cape. The first official movement towards a decreolised Afrikaans took place in 1985 after the GRA formed and decided that before the Afrikaans language could have a Bible, Afrikaans needed to be officially standardized in the form of a dictionary and a grammar book. The GRA's founding meeting determined the need for compiling an Afrikaans Dictionary, but while some members began the process of establishing glossaries, the topic did not get any farther. However, during the First Afrikaans Language Congress in 1896, an official Afrikaans dictionary was commissioned, with the Patriot-Woordeboek (Patriot Dictionary) being published in 1902 (Pienaar, 1943: 205). This decision was politically motivated rather than the simple interest of creating a standard language for all. For this select group of Afrikaners, it was not simply enough to create and define a new variety of the Afrikaans language, but the language needed to allow for social dominance. As van der Waal (2012) states;

“The creation of a standard Afrikaans language was a conscious construction of a racial collective identity, an ‘imagined community’, situating the language of ordinary white

Afrikaners between the working-class vernacular of the coloured population and the Dutch of the white elite.”

(van der Waal, 2012:450)

The process of decreolisation that took place with the standardization of Afrikaans by the GRA would soon reap many benefits for the Afrikaner, as the ‘standard’ variety of Afrikaans was in later years regarded as the national language (*volkstaal*) of South Africa (Kriel, 2010: 405). This effectively erased and disregarded other varieties of the Afrikaans language, which had a long-standing history with South Africa, and created an environment in which the speakers of the ‘standard’ variety of Afrikaans othered any other speakers of the ‘non-standard’ Afrikaans variety. The standardization of a language became the tool that the Afrikaners used to seek political power and enforce their power over the citizens of South Africa – forever creating a solid link between the Afrikaans language and apartheid discourse (Pienaar, 1943).

The GRA had further interests in distributing and promoting Afrikaans, the new ‘standard’ variety, along with grammar booklets and a dictionary. Another publication that the GRA focussed on was called "*Die Afrikaanse Patriot*" (The Afrikaans patriot), which was the first Afrikaans newspaper. The benefit of a newspaper was that the GRA were now using language as a tool to “disseminate linguistic norms as it was disseminating its patriotic message; an instrument of linguistic standardization would at the same time be an instrument of national awakening” (Kriel, 2010: 405).

The GRA was making great strides in the distribution and education of Afrikaans ‘standard’ variety. They may have inspired the Afrikaner *volk* but having a voice in the community held no benefit if they did not hold power within the government. The greatest obstacle that stood before them in gaining complete political control was the inclusion of Afrikaans as an official language within the government. English was to be used as the official government at this stage in history. This created a situation in which many Afrikaans leaders were forced to watch on the side-lines, as those who could speak English (mostly the Europeans) partook in government business. These initiated feelings of vulnerability and fragility amongst Afrikaans speakers and drove the fear that “their” language was at risk. In the GRA’s manifesto, they stated that the marginalisation of

Afrikaans was happening in the educational and religious sector but that the rights of Afrikaans speakers were being violated in parliament. The frustrations of the GRA are voiced in the excerpt below;

“Look at OUR parliament: the assembly of our country must be conducted in THEIR language...Look at OUR courts of law; there, too, they have imported THEIR language...And how are things going in OUR schools? Even worse. Their rules stipulate that the ENGLISH language...is the language of tuition.”

(Kriel, 2010: 406, original emphasis)

The emphasis was placed on the pronouns, distinctly highlighting the fury that the Afrikaners felt towards the English language and that this ‘foreign’ language still played such a significant role in what they perceived to be ‘their’ country. This excerpt also illustrates a clear discourse of differentiation by promoting the discourse of the ‘us’ and ‘them’, this discourse of differentiation and the fear that Afrikaans and the Afrikaner language is going ‘extinct’ are themes that will be discussed in later analysis chapters. However, it is essential to note the origin of this discourse.

Afrikaans was only being used in private spheres, which was not the GRA's status. One could argue that this demand for the official status of the Afrikaans language was the ‘Trojan horse’ for the GRA's real agenda. Having Afrikaans form part of the official language of government would elevate the status of the Afrikaans language and the status of its speakers. By elevating the status of Afrikaans, the Afrikaners would be able to fight back against the rule of the British. This was a fleeting fantasy, since the Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking elite opted to use Dutch as the official language of the church and its media. (Kriel, 2010:407).

Shortly after the Afrikaners were defeated by the British during the Anglo Boer War, there was a push for Afrikaans language activism, and Afrikaners began to get together on a more regular basis in *their* culture and *their* language. One could argue that after the Boer War, Afrikaner nationalism began to take shape. There was a great need for the Afrikaner nation to regain a sense of pride and power after they were defeated by the British. This was achieved by numerous events, such as

Afrikaans replacing Dutch as the medium of instruction in Primary Schools, by hiring D.F Malan as the editor of the newspaper and as the cabinet minister, who in turn was the driving force behind the official recognition of Afrikaans as the country's official language (Kriel, 2010:408).

One of the other prolific Afrikaner groups formed during the early 1900s was the *Afrikaner Broederbond*. Wilkins and Strydom (1978), at the time, described this group as “the most exclusive and influential underground movement in the Western World” (1). This group was formed out of the Afrikaner's necessity to have a ‘cultural organization’ responsible for promoting the Afrikaans culture. Throughout the existence of the *Broederbond*, their motto was to ‘be strong’, which proved to be an effective motto for the group, as after the Afrikaner's were defeated by the British after the Boer war, the Afrikaner population felt the strong urge to regain the power they had lost in the war. Many Afrikaner ‘cultural organizations were formed to regain a sense of power and belonging in what the *Broederbond* viewed as *their* country. The *Broederbond*, specifically, was formed in the epicentre of Afrikaner poverty in Johannesburg. The goal of the *Broederbond* was to recruit the “the best [Afrikaner] brains in the country” to their cultural organization (Kriel, 2010: 409).

Kriel (2010) states that we cannot deny that the “*Bond's* contribution to the consolidation and dissemination of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, both in its anti-imperial and its white racist manifestations - was significant” (409). This group's ideologies practised and promoted led to the concept of apartheid and the ideologies that helped the National Party (NP) to victory in 1948, whose party majority comprised *Broederbond* members. Soon, these group members, now holding great political and socio-economic power, transformed South Africa into a country rife with racial inequalities, using the Afrikaans language and culture to erase other cultures and races – more on this to follow.

Afrikaans still needed to find a way into the South African political realm. One of the first steps into gaining political power was implementing a new language policy that was to be used in government. The ruling government had decided to adopt both Afrikaans and English as official languages. The Afrikaners' first way of subtly beginning their fight against British rule was to have social, political, and economic power.

Knaus and Brown (2016) state that policies and laws were drafted that led to the majority of the Union of South Africa (about 80%) being oppressed. Some of these policies differentiated between appropriate jobs for black and white citizens, land, and accommodation distribution policies, creating a situation in which black South Africans were forced to live in small reservations. They were only allowed to leave once they could show an official government pass on their way to work. These laws and policies forced many black South Africans into social, political, and economic isolation, and it paved the way for the white Afrikaners to regain control over the country that they believed to be theirs (Knaus and Brown, 2016:12)

The political landscape of the Union of South Africa was likewise transformed. The South African National Party (later referred to as the National Party) outlawed the South African National Congress, the only political party created to advocate for the rights of non-white people (later referred to as the ANC). In 1928, the National Party took complete control over the South African parliament, which laid the foundation for the formation of the apartheid regime. In 1948, the National Party won the election, the final step in achieving social, political, and economic power for white Afrikaners. White Afrikaners viewed this as an extreme victory, as this cemented their triumph over the British rule, and they now firmly held their future in their hands. Whilst the white Afrikaners celebrated their win, the rest of the country did not share the same sentiments, as this win for the National Party led to the prolonged suppression of blacks, coloureds, and Indians in South Africa in order to assure the preservation of 'white purity' and allowed the whites to 'preserve' themselves from dealings with the *swart gevaar* (black danger) (Knaus and Brown, 2016:13).

*Swart gevaar* (black danger) formed the pinnacle of propagandist speech by the National Party to cement their win in 1948, and the discourse surrounding this term is vital in understanding the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. Throughout the apartheid era, Afrikaner identity was firmly established through apartheid ideology, with the prospect of vulnerability serving as the impetus for defending and promoting Afrikaner social, political, and economic superiority. To understand this viewpoint and ideology in the apartheid era, it is essential to gain insight into the legal Act's that were put in place to preserve the Afrikaner's political and social ideologies, and it is also important to note where they found their basis.

Before 1948, the date at which many of the apartheid laws and Act's came to be, the two colonies that existed in the early 1900s (Cape and Natal) and the two Boer republics (Transvaal and the Orange Free State) had developed their laws on race. Essentially, only two racial classifications were used to identify "coloured people" and "natives" (Posel, 2001:89). Strikingly, these laws lacked one thing: a clear definition of these racial demarcations, and these racial labels would be given to people based on appearance, descent, way of living or merely by general acceptance. As the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, laws surrounding race increased rapidly, driving segregation – yet as the laws increased, so did the ambiguity about these racial classifications, as well as legal inconsistencies in the application of laws that existed at that time, such as employment, taxes, land ownership and on modes of transport. These laws differentiated between allowances for "coloured people" and "natives" and those of "European descent", and the fact that there were no clear definitions for what differentiated these races from one another, other than empirical observations, created a point of contest for white people. This impacted the white people's hierarchical view of how the country should be racially classified: whites on the top and blacks (natives) at the bottom (Posel, 2001:90).

The lack of clear racial classifications was an issue that the National Party (NP) wished to address when elected to South Africa's parliament and government. One of the National Party's primary goals was to enforce a more "systematic policy of racial separation, namely apartheid" (Christopher, 2002: 405). A vital component of implementing systematic racial separation was the *Population Registration Act of 1950*. This Act legally required that all citizens of South Africa were to be assigned a specific and binding racial classification. The South African population was now to be divided into three main groups, namely; White, Black (which included the classifications; 'African', 'Native', and/or 'Bantu') and Coloured (which included the classifications; 'Cape Malay', 'Griqua', 'Indian', 'Chinese' and 'Cape Coloured'). These classifications allowed for the perceptions of race and ethnicity to be set in culture, phenotype, language and even religion.

According to the Act:

“A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White,



provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu...

A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa...

A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu..."

(South Africa, 1950: 277)

The governing National Party administration enacted this Act, which emphasised the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism. Throughout the apartheid years, this document mandated that the South African people be categorised and recorded according to their racial traits and social acceptability (including language abilities). Although segregation was prevalent before the implementation of this Act, the racial labels that existed were far more flexible and not fixed as the document prescribes.

The Population registration board took aspects of physical appearance, social acceptability, and a person's language skills, specifically their ability to speak Afrikaans, into account when racially classifying a person according to the above definitions. The coloured population was further categorised and distinguished from white and Bantu citizens based on their skin tone, facial features, hair characteristics, native language, and knowledge of Afrikaans, eating and drinking habits, and socioeconomic standing. These assessments were largely used to screen out individuals who did not 'fit' into the white group. These racial classifications can be seen as expressions of the white Afrikaner's perceptions of their vulnerability. They became a way in which the apartheid government was able to provide guarantees stemmed from their insecurities of status, "to secure the self-determination for Afrikaners, primarily through control of the geographic isolation of the majority African population into distinct racial groups" (Marback, 2012). This was also a way in which the white Afrikaner was able to enforce its ideas on white supremacy upon the nation of South Africa.

Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) quote Lewis Nkosi's (1983) account on how the system of white supremacy affected his identity:



“I first discovered my Africanness the day I learned that I was not only black but non-white... From that day onwards, I began to regard this prefix of *non-with* absolute hostility. Everywhere I went in public spaces, notices shouted at me ‘non-whites only’ and every time I read the message, it vividly brought to mind the crude fact that in the eyes of the world, my world, my life represented something negative, something ‘non’. In that small prefix before the word *white*, I saw the entire burden and consequence of European colonialism: its assault on the African personality; the very arrogance of this assumption.”

(8)

This story emphasizes the geographical benefits accorded white inhabitants of South Africa and how the linguistic environment of the period had a significant impact on the identity of South Africa's 'non-whites' – thereby establishing the concept of white privilege. Whiteness and white privilege are two concepts that are synonymous when discussing the subject of whiteness. Often, however, white individuals who are members of the 'born-free' generation fail to comprehend the concept of 'white privilege and how apartheid-era systems continue to have a long-lasting effect on their whiteness today. Several instances might be used to illustrate this notion. One was the passage of the Group Areas Act (1950), which split South Africa's metropolitan areas into racially segregated zones, establishing legally defined areas in which certain races may work and reside and making it a crime to dwell in or even own property in an area designated for a different race. Space and location were seen as a political and social commodity, one in which apartheid power relations showed themselves via racial geographies (van der Westhuizen, 2017:177).

This act led to the forced removal of the coloureds and blacks, who were now living in the areas that were legally demarcated for the white South Africans, and it also led to the apartheid government taking land that belonged to ‘non-white’ South Africans and redistributing this land for their purpose. This formed a new South Africa, where the white people were often living in the picturesque leafy suburbs - beautifully maintained by “black municipal workers who collected refuse, cut the grass verges and made sure the street lighting, water, wastewater, sewage, electricity and other services were all kept in good order” (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 9). Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) further describe that after a long day working for the white man, the ‘non-whites’ would journey on home towards their demarcated areas, which were very often seen

as unwanted territories, that were offered a form of independence from the apartheid government, in order to reduce the government's responsibility in providing the 'non-white' citizens of South Africa with sufficient housing, hospitals, electricity, water and schools.

The Bantu Education Act (1953) was later implemented to legalise the racial segregation of educational facilities. At the time, Hendrick Verwoerd stated;

“There is no place for the [Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour...what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice.”

(Davids and Waghid, 2019: 27)

The segregation of schools led to the unequal distribution of resources, and it was reported that even as late as 1976, the government was spending R644.00 a year on the education of a white child, but only R41.80 per year on the education of black learners. This translated into white schools being able to afford better facilities, such as science labs, free textbooks, sports fields, and libraries. The white schools were able to afford qualified teachers that would ensure the accurate delivery of the curriculum, “which was designed to prepare young white boys for leadership, professional and technical jobs, and girls for administrative, creative and home management work” (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 9).

The apartheid government not only reinforced racism *par excellence* but also ensured that the implementation of government structures maintained these structures, such as the police and, most importantly, by the courts, thus ensuing structural racism. If you were black, coloured and Indian, you were expected to conform to the “master-servant” role that many white people in South Africa enforced at the time. If you spend some time in the outskirts of South Africa, you will still find the lingering impacts of these years with many black and coloured people still referring to the white man as ‘baas’ (boss) and the children of the white man as ‘kleinbaas’ (little boss). These Afrikaans terms paint the picture of an unequal society, formed based on white mastership, and it also shows the vital link that existed in the apartheid era with suppression and the Afrikaans language – a point that will be expanded upon in later chapters (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 7).

The Acts, mentioned above, are just a few examples of the laws that were implemented by the apartheid government, which illustrate the stark inequalities that existed amongst the different races in South Africa at the time. Looking into the issues surrounding whiteness in South Africa, one can see how the structures that were created and implemented by our colonisers, and under the rule of apartheid, have left behind an undeniable trace of racism in the 'new' South Africa, even though there have been efforts to transform both the political realm, as well as the legislative one. We are still living in a segregated society, but the segregation is no longer a result of the *de jure* segregation of the past but instead takes the form of *de facto* segregation. This type of segregation is not enforced by law but is engaged in nonetheless (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 21).

In consideration of the above, I argue here that the *de jure* segregation now takes form through the creation of social enclaves, and in the study of the Afrikaner, I further argue that for some Afrikaners, due to their sense of perceived vulnerability and fragility that these apartheid laws no longer protect them, have migrated inward into a social enclave to form a post-national heterotopia.

The Afrikaner is not the only group to form these social enclaves, and this is a point that many Afrikaners cling to in their "claim on unchanging Afrikaner ethnic essence, transmitted through culture" (van der Westhuizen, 2018). This point is often used and projected on many ethnic black others to validate the Afrikaners claim on ethnicity. However, this claim does affect segregation, and with these ideological beliefs that claim to preserve and promote ethnicity, we see the spectre of apartheid reappearing, and it maintains the Afrikaners' privilege that was granted to them in "ill-begotten" ways (van der Westhuizen, 2018).

Due to the feeling of privilege and superiority ingrained in white South Africans' psyche during the apartheid period, many white South Africans now feel a sense of perceived vulnerability in the 'new' South Africa. Previously, the majority of white South Africans fantasized of an almost utopian South Africa; one in which they could move freely and, most crucially, with possessed power. Now that they live in a quickly changing South Africa, many believe that they no longer 'belong' in the land they once called home, and legislation attempting to establish an equitable South Africa is dubbed 'reverse racism'. This feeling of perceived vulnerability has resulted in a

case of 'inward migration' from many white South Africans, more specifically, white Afrikaners. According to Van der Westhuizen (2016), white Afrikaner nationalist shards coalesce in order to reclaim the ethnic advantages they formerly had. Instead of immigrating, which is not always an option for some, whites in South Africa seem to have developed a different form of immigration, described by Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) as 'semigrating' – a situation in which white people create new white spaces, which may not be strictly whites only, but an area which white people mainly inhabit. Whether this is within gated communities, or more subtly by creating:

“...shopping malls in the suburbs, and then to bigger and newer malls on the periphery of the city, malls which are difficult to reach without private transport. In the seaside cities or towns, whites have moved from the central beaches that used to be ‘whites only’ to more remote, seemingly private beaches, which again, are difficult to reach without private transport or club membership cards...In this way, it is possible to withdraw from perceived threats and still be the king/queen of your own castle where race relations are more similar.”

(Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 21)

Van der Westhuizen (2016) substantiates this notion of 'semigration' by seeing comparable tendencies among South Africa's white Afrikaner community. She observes that white Afrikaners engage in a "neo-nationalist strategy of 'inward migration'" (2), an act in which white Afrikaners retreat from the common national spaces of a 'new' South Africa in order to establish their tiny white enclaves; a place where they may feel 'at home' again. This type of inward migration, which many white South Africans engage in, results in a post-colonial heterotopia, a non-transformative South Africa, in which they withdraw into "self-protective, exclusivist enclaves, resisting modernity in turn toward fundamentalism" (van der Westhuizen, 2016:3), which has a significant impact on the identity the Afrikaner. This topic will be discussed in the section that follows.

### **3.3 Afrikaner identity crisis in a post-apartheid South Africa**

In 1994, South Africa underwent massive political and social changes. It was the year of the country's first democratic elections, which meant that the apartheid era was finally over. It was a

time of celebration and joy for South Africans, yet the change in power was not met with equal jubilation all around. Many whites, who had built their identity based on their white privilege, were now faced with a South Africa where they no longer had political and social power. They were now within a new South Africa, one which was in the process of redefining itself as "African within the African context." (Steyn, 2001: xxii). The post-national South Africa left white South Africans in a state of identity crisis where they were left with the challenge of adjusting to the post-apartheid South Africa, which was "an environment where political pressures militate against the perpetuation of the taken for granted privileges conferred on them by the colonial and white supremacist past" (Steyn and Foster 2008:25). White South Africans were now faced with the dilemma of attempting to "live with dignity and humanity while maintaining the benefits of privilege acquired at the expense of exploited others" (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011: 44).

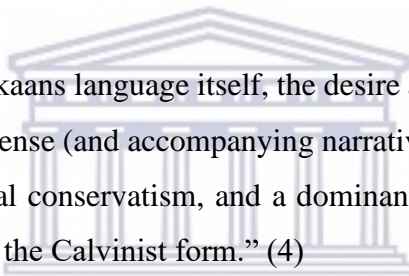
This identity crisis that white South Africans encountered may be traced back to British rule in South Africa, which had a long-lasting effect on many white South Africans' capacity to realign themselves with the new authority. Many clung to the "European assumptions of racial and cultural superiority" (Steyn, 2001: xxiii) imposed by our colonists, making it even more difficult for whites in South Africa to shed their feeling of entitlement to political power and control throughout the transition to democracy. With the fall of the apartheid regime, white Afrikaners found themselves in a new political regime, where there were no longer the *de jure* segregation policies of the past to protect their own perceived state of vulnerability, and some groups reverted to their own *de facto* segregation, which resulted in socially constructed segregation in order to protect their own perceived social and economic vulnerability.

Bock (2014) states that when one takes the Registration Population Act (1950) together with the many other apartheid laws, the racial classifications as seen in these documents "fixed one's position within the racial hierarchy, firmly entrenching the association of 'whiteness' with power, privilege and opportunity, and 'blackness' with dispossession, poverty and lack of advancement. Being 'coloured' meant occupying a rank somewhere between these two" (2).

What it means to be an Afrikaner and the identity of Afrikaners in the post-national South Africa is a hotly contested topic due to how Afrikaners have reacted to the change in the social and

political landscape after the end of the apartheid regime. What does the Afrikaner identity look like after the fall of the great Afrikaner nation-state? The Afrikaner nation-state was put in place to ensure that Afrikaans whiteness was preserved in a state of social and economic privilege, but most Afrikaners also had to comply with the strict social boundaries shaped by the strict Christian laws. Due to this, for generations, Afrikaners grew up in a social sphere where if they failed "to embody the 'good Afrikaner', they could lose their material privileges and be ostracized from their communities, churches or workplaces" (Vestergaard, 2001: 21).

Afrikaners as a social group share a clearly articulated shared value system, a shared value system that clearly outlines what it means to be a 'good Afrikaner' (Broodryk, 2016: 64). Viljoen, Lewis, and van der Merwe (2004) expand on this notion by stating that Afrikaners characterize and group themselves based on the following shared characteristics;

  
“The presence of the Afrikaans language itself, the desire and love for land (as epitomized in the farm), a pervasive sense (and accompanying narrative) of survival, a strong sense of family, a sense of political conservatism, and a dominant religious position occupies by Christianity, especially in the Calvinist form.” (4)

These characteristics that were formed and cemented within the history of Afrikaners did not simply dismantle after the end of apartheid. Instead, Afrikaners now found themselves having to renegotiate their identities in a new South Africa, and the shared discourse on 'survival' as outlined by Viljoen, Lewis and van der Merwe (2004) reached new heights for Afrikaners in South Africa.

Some white Afrikaners reading this might think that the classification of Afrikaners under such strict and rigid characteristics is not fair, as not all white Afrikaners fit these characteristics, but as with most things in life, there are always exceptions to the rule. There are those white Afrikaners who have taken the challenge of transforming their historic identities to match the new South Africa head-on. However, a large majority of white Afrikaners have adopted what Lewis (2001) referred to as the 'Afrikaner mind'. Self-admittedly, he knew that this would be a widely opposed term, but Lewis (2001) defended his usage of the term by urging people to consider that construction of a relatively rigid social identity of Afrikaners that had formed over the last 120



years, an identity that was primarily formed as a reaction towards the British colonizers. This identity has not shifted much throughout the years.

The irony that surrounds the formation of Afrikaner identity is not lost within me. The Afrikaner identity was formed due to the British colonizers that ruled and governed South Africa. It was formed around the ideals of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic preservation due to the perceived vulnerability felt by the Afrikaner. It was formed as a “result of historical and ethnic demarcation and marginalization and had a firm religious foundation invalidating its dominant myth of white superiority.” (Broodryk, 2016:65). However, the irony is that the Afrikaner – a ‘nation’ formed based on a reaction to marginalization- becomes the identity and the force that marginalizes an entire country, with the effects of this behaviour still lingering today.

With the fall of the nation-state, that same nation-state that gave white Afrikaners a sense of unity and birthed their exclusionary mythology came the introduction of new laws and legislation that opposed the strict Christian based beliefs that the National Party advocated. The white Afrikaans speakers of South Africa were left in a state of an identity crisis, attempting to make sense of the modern and more liberal South Africa they now find themselves in. A South Africa which enforced the end of the death penalty, the legalization of abortions, the easing of censorship and even protective laws regarding one's sexual orientation (Vestergaard, 2001:21).

Not only were the white Afrikaners faced with the loss of economic, social, and political power, but the new South Africa left them to confront their cultural and personal beliefs that were deeply entrenched in their Afrikaner identity. With news of the apartheid regime being spread globally and the immorality of this system exposed, the Afrikaner community could not escape the fact that apartheid was implemented in their name (Steyn, 2004:150). The Afrikaner is now left in the vulnerable position of battling with a changing Afrikaans identity and confronting the guilt and shame of the apartheid past. The fall of Afrikaner nationalism left the Afrikaners in a state of confusion and defence (van der Westhuizen, 2016: 2)

While many Afrikaners have been able to negotiate this new territory that they find themselves in successfully, there is research that shows the apartheid regime has left behind fragments of



Afrikaner nationalism that attempt to draw together to regain previously lost cultural and ethnic privileges, using a neo-nationalist strategy which van der Westhuizen (2016) refers to as *inward migration* (2). In their paper, Blaser and van der Westhuizen (2012) refer to *inward migration* as “a wielding of ethnicity (Afrikanerhood) to withdraw from shared national spaces while whitening ‘own space’” (386). They argue that after over two decades of the fall of apartheid, an Afrikaner neo-nationalism has emerged, where Afrikaans communities have withdrawn or isolated themselves from the developing nation-state in order to create a space that is more ‘homely’ and familiar to them, in an act that is described as *Afrikaner enclave nationalism* (van der Westhuizen, 2016:2).

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the complex history of the Afrikaans language, accounting for the effect of the Khoi and San people in its development and emphasizing that the Afrikaans language was a standard language even before the GRA's arrival and formal standardizing of Afrikaans. Additionally, I explained how the standardizing of Afrikaans to create the 'standard' variant of Afrikaans, a language spoken mostly by white South African inhabitants, was done under the guise of preservation. The Afrikaners want to preserve 'their' language and way of life, and the standard variety of Afrikaans, “has been shaped by a dominant racialised binary based on identity imaginings of purity versus creoleness” (van der Waal, 2012:459). The Afrikaner acquired social, economic, and political dominance due to the standardisation of Afrikaans, ultimately leading to the control of the National Party (NP) and the formal legitimacy of apartheid in 1948. However, why highlight this tumultuous Afrikaans history?

In this thesis, the literature reviewed provided a historical guide to investigate the latter phenomenon of Afrikaner enclave nationalism and Afrikaans as a language. I argue that this literature assisted me in investigating the phenomenon of Afrikaner enclave nationalism and the inward migration of segments of the Afrikaner community by observing the selected Afrikaans youth group, which I argue is organized in a manner that preserves the Afrikaner identity advocated in the past, rather than empowering the modern Afrikaner, as their mission statement, we will soon find out, enthusiastically proclaims. Understanding the chequered history of Afrikaans shows that

in a post-apartheid South Africa is associated with opposing modes of consciousness; a fear amongst Afrikaners that the Afrikaans language is facing a continued death and decay in society, versus the “versus celebration of mixture and its ‘creole’ nature” (van der Wall, 2012:459). Understanding the history of Afrikaans, and the influence it has had on and continues to have on society enabled me to study the textual and interactional processes and practices involved in developing a modern Afrikaner living in a transforming South Africa.



## CHAPTER 4: AFRIKAANS IDEOLOGIES OF DIFFERENCE

### 4.0 Introduction

Afrikaans has always been deeply entwined with the Afrikaner identity. In Chapter 3, I discussed how the Afrikaans language, and the subsequent formation of the Afrikaner took shape over the past 360 years. As stated in Chapter 1, this research study investigated how Afrikaans and language ideologies of difference frame and promote discourses of diversity and fragility of the modern Afrikaner. In order to accurately address the research problem, it was necessary to explore how Afrikaans speakers socialize and organise themselves in a selected group that formed part of a social enclave. As I discussed in the previous chapters, Afrikaans formed a significant role in discourses of oppression in the colonial and apartheid era, creating a scenario in which Afrikaners still hold great power and prejudice in a post-national South Africa. However, as I will demonstrate from Chapter 6, some Afrikaans speakers perceive their position and identity in South Africa as the complete opposite, and they believe that their language and its speakers are in a fragile state and are vulnerable in the current South African climate.

Using words such as fear, fragility, and vulnerability, relate very closely to the subjectivism of emotions, and it may seem risky to attach words with such strong emotional reactions with the position of Afrikaans and its speakers in South Africa. However, as mentioned before, language and culture are deeply intertwined in South Africa due to the history of oppression suffered in the country that and it is virtually impossible to separate or to avoid issues of race when referring to the Afrikaans language, which is still viewed by many as a ‘white’ language, the language of the oppressors (Le Roux, 2014: 4). Even though we live in a post-apartheid South Africa, it would be naïve to believe we live in the ‘rainbow nation’ that Nelson Mandela envisioned. There have been many positive moves made toward this utopic ‘rainbow nation’, but as Le Roux (2014) agrees:

“Despite changing meanings of race in post-apartheid SA, race is still an ongoing principle of social relationships... Given the permanent notion of racism, including its ability to adapt to socio-cultural changes by simply altering its expression, it is difficult to consider the

possibility of the inception of a democratic government leading to the complete elimination of the South African societies racial structure” (3)

In order to answer the research questions that I posed in the introductory chapter, as well as outline how I investigated the fragility amongst the select group of Afrikaners, this chapter begins by discussing the notion of language ideology as put forth by Irvine and Gal (2000) and I explain how I will apply Irvine and Gal’s (2000) notion of language ideology (specifically iconicity, erasure, and fractal recursivity) to argue that Group X is acting out of a position of perceived fragility and vulnerability to interactionally and textually give shape to the modern Afrikaner identity. Secondly, I discuss the notion of colour-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2019) and Afrikaner fragility as a framework that allows me to argue that Group X promotes the modern Afrikaner identity as an iconic Afrikaner one, whilst erasing any language, variety or culture that is ‘different’ to them and rendering those identity groups tied to the latter invisible. By focusing on Afrikaner fragility, I argue in this chapter that due to the perceived sense of Afrikaner fragility, Afrikaners feel compelled to migrate inwards in order to preserve their vulnerable Afrikaner identity, and the Afrikaans language. Lastly, this chapter introduces Bourdieu’s (1997) framework of habitus and the linguistic marketplace, to frame my argument that the members of Group X form Afrikaner organisations, such as Group X, based on their need to fight for the preservation and teaching of standard Afrikaans, and for the preservation of the Afrikaner identity in a post-apartheid South Africa.

#### **4.1 Language ideology: A concept**

Before looking into the term *language ideology*, I will first discuss what is meant by the notion of *ideology*. So, what is ideology? Woolard (2010) states that there are generally four central features that recur amongst the literature that exists on the notion of ideology. The first of these features is that ideology is most often viewed as conceptual – concerning itself with beliefs, consciousness, notions or ideas. The second repeating theme is that ideology is founded in, formed from, or sensitive to the experience or interests of a particular social position, despite its appearance as universally legitimate. "Distortion, falsity, mystification, or rationalisation" is the third definition of ideology. (Woolard 2010: 238). The fourth and final feature of ideology, that most closely

applies to the data collected for this research study, is that ideology has an intimate connection to social power and its legitimation. Evidently, ideology is a tool or possession of dominating social groups, while the cultural ideas of subordinate groups are non-ideological and distinct.

In the field of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and cultural studies, the terms language and ideology have been used together quite often, the terms often being joined by, “and, sometimes by in, sometimes by a comma in a trinity of nouns” (Woolard, 1994). However, viewing these terms together as one provides us with the tools needed to view language as inseparable and interconnected with social ideologies, significant in the field of sociolinguistics and to this study. It has long been argued that there is more to language ideology than the most cited definition of language ideology supplied by Michael Silverstein (1979) in which he states that language ideology refers to “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (193). Language ideology may be defined in this context as a set of ideas based on lived experience that serve to frame one's interaction with that experience. This experience does not have to be the 'false consciousness' advocated by Karl Marx, nor does it have to be a mistaken sense of the event's truthfulness. In this regard, language ideology might be thought of as a set style of thinking about a collection of themes.

Academics have realised the need to build toward a “general understanding of the cultural variability of language ideology and its role in social and linguistic life” (Woolard, 2010:235). The need for a bridge between work that is being done on language structure and language politics and social and linguistic theory is much needed, and language ideology is offered as a term that can bridge these fields. The influence of language ideology on language is a given in a social setting, and it deserves far more insight and investigation. Woolard (2002) also states that,

“Language ideologies are of broad interest because they are never about language alone. They also delimit peoples, define natures, order their natures, order their relations, and channel their movements through the world.”

(Woolard 2002:447)

Research investigating language ideologies are important for both social and linguistic analysis because, as Woolard (2002) states, they are not just about language. Instead, these ideologies envisage and actualize connections between language, group and individual identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology, and these ideologies frequently support essential social institutions through these connections (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994: 56).

Furthermore, Irvine (1989) gave the concept of language ideology a more sociolinguistic twist by stating that language ideology can be defined as: “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (255). This definition was curated based on her studies of the Senegalese Wolof attitudes to the French and Arabic languages, where Irvine (1989) observed that there is a dialectic between “language ideology and social structure as much as linguistic structure” (Woolard, 2010: 242).

Language ideology has the ability to categorise the universe according to a certain set of ideas, reproducing hierarchies within societies that are defined by and generative of power relations within that culture (Sergeant, 2007: 348).

The term language ideology assumes an implicit or explicit cultural influence on language and defines what language is, its use, and its role in society. Sergeant (2007) makes the argument that language ideologies can at times have nothing to do with the language itself;

“As ideologies stemming from other social concerns, they can blithely ignore theoretical tenets about language, and simply attempt to incorporate linguistic behaviour into wider assumptions about human interaction...any instance of language use is situated, and thus involves a complex of interrelated social pressures.” (349).

However, it is worth noting that the impact of these social influences on language is often unequal, with some social variables exerting a stronger influence. This results in a situation in which certain language ideologies are centred on language, while others incorporate it incidentally, and may constitute a misuse of the term (Sergeant 2007:349). In this thesis, I argue that there are many social issues, such as inherent power relations and feelings of Afrikaner fragility, which inform the language ideology of Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language within the Afrikaner youth group



that forms the focus of this study. I will show, agreeing with Seargeant (2007), that the language ideology of the Afrikaner is skewed more towards social factors and context and that the Afrikaans language, and the preservation thereof, incidentally, ties in with language ideology in this research project.

To make this argument, I will be using the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000), which will be expanded upon in the following section.

## **4.2 Difference and differentiation: Mapping Language Ideology**

### **4.2.1 Irvine and Gal's Language Ideology Model**

Although this thesis will greatly be dealing with the notion of language ideology, it should be noted that the concept of ideology is not one that is solely attributed to language, and it is a concept that can be applied in many areas of social sciences. Irvine and Gal (2000) state that ideology can be described as conceptual schemas and folk theories which are involved in the process of meaning making when attempting to make sense of our reality and the world around us, and more specifically, ideology can be used to observe differentiation in society among abstract concepts such as language. These conceptual schemas are then activated in social contexts in a way that help people understand their lived reality. Irvine and Gal (2019), expanding on the notion put forth by Irvine (1989), go on to further expand on their definition of ideology by stating that the most common issue with the theory of ideology is the assumption that 'ideology' is a false consciousness - that is that it is assumed that one's ideology will prevent a person from perceiving the true nature of the social or economic situation. As a result of this;

“...the false ideas are supposed to derive from a reprehensible political program, serving the interests of oppressive dominant, or would-be dominant, sectors of society. Notice now that if ideology is false consciousness, it can belong only to someone else...yet one can argue that an ideology - as a view of the world, whether it's the world of linguistic practice or anything else - cannot be totally false, or anyone who held it wouldn't survive very long” (12).



Irvine and Gal (2019) further note that subscribing to the idea that ideology is false consciousness puts researchers in a perilous position of claiming to know the truth, even though the truth is what we as scholars seek. Rather than associating ideology with false consciousness, they aim to consider ideologies as incomplete perspectives of the reality. Ideologies are imperfect, since someone observing the world from a different perspective would perceive the world differently. They are partial in the sense that "they are interested - in the political and legal sense of an interested party, someone who has a stake in a situation and how it turns out" (Irvine and Gal, 2019: 12).

Irvine and Gal (2019) explain what they want from the definition of language ideology in more detail. Rather than being equated with false consciousness, they favour the connection of ideology to power, politics, interest, and social action. This fact drew me to use the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000), as I argue that issues of power and internalised politics greatly influence the language ideology of the Afrikaner. An Afrikaner language ideology model emphasises the importance of perspective and differentiation with ideology - stating that one must always know someone else that holds a different position might have an alternative ideology. In saying this, Irvine, and Gal (2019) highlight that ideology is contestable. Ideologies are fundamental ways that ideas and beliefs come to rationalise how we might perceive one group of people and their language as different from ourselves and other groups.

We do not always have to explicitly know these language ideologies; they are merely the position from which we interpret the world. It is not explicitly labelled or seen as an ideology - it is often when viewed by an outsider, or an 'unbeliever' that this way of viewing the world is seen as an ideology (Irvine and Gal, 2019:13). This is the exact position I found myself in when I chose to study Group X, as an outsider looking in. I have always identified as an Afrikaner, yet when I conducted research on Group X's language ideology, I noticed that I was framed differentially as an outsider, at least from their perspective. This was not only hinted towards in the group's policies, but it was a type of 'othering' that I experienced first-hand whilst collecting my data. For example, the following interaction took place a few months into my ethnographic fieldwork and data collection process, and with my participants feeling more comfortable with my presence in this

group. During this time, my presence in the group was noticed more, and at times I would be questioned.

#### **EXTRACT 4.1<sup>4</sup>**

##### ***Participants<sup>5</sup>:***

**Frida:** Group leader

**Gert:** Head of divisional Group X

**Carla:** Researcher

- 1 Frida No. He's gone. He's come back, he's gone to the PV camp. Ja, I... I went to the airport five times =
- 2 Gert Hoekom praat julle Engels?  
*Why are you guys speaking English?*
- 3 Frida Want sy's Engels.  
*Because she's English.*
- 4 Gert Rêrig? Wat maak jy hier? [laughter]  
*Really? What are you doing here?*
- 5 Frida Sy is = [inaudible]  
*She is...*
- 6 Gert [inaudible] Ek het gedog jy doen 'n Afrikaanse tesis ding.  
*I thought you were doing an Afrikaans thesis thing?*
- 7 Frida Sy =  
*She =*
- 8 Carla = Nee, ek doen 'n Engelse... Ek... Ek skryf dit in Engels maar ek... Ek navors Afrikaans.

---

<sup>4</sup> Transcription key:

= Overlapping speech

... Pause in speech

[] Inaudible speech and laughter

\*\*\* Placeholder for names to protect anonymity

<sup>5</sup> Note that all names, besides for the researcher (Carla), have been anonymised.

- = No, I am doing an English...I...I write it in English, but I...I research Afrikaans.*
- 9      Frida      = Sy is 'n Engelse Afrikaner.  
                      = *She is an English Afrikaner.*
- 10     Carla      Ek is 'n Engelse... Ek is Carla Trudie Roets. Carla Trudie Roets. Maar ek...  
                      ek praat Engels. Ek praat Afrikaans ook, maar my hele familie is Afrikaans  
                      en ek... ek is net meer gemaklik met Engels, maar ek gaan 'n bietjie meer  
                      Afrikaans hierdie kwartaal praat, belowe.  
                      *I am an English...I am Carla Trudie Roets. Carla Trudie Roets. But I...I  
                      speak English. I speak Afrikaans as well, but my whole family is Afrikaans  
                      and I...I am just more comfortable with English, but I will speak a bit more  
                      Afrikaans this term, promise.*
- 11     Frida      Belowe?  
                      *Promise?*
- 12     Carla      Belowe.  
                      *Promise.*
- 13     Gert        Dis al hoe jy gaan regkom hierso.  
                      *That is the only way you will manage here.*
- 14     Carla      Okay. Dis reg so.  
                      *Okay. No problem.*

When this interaction took place, Gert was the head leader of the entire youth group. In Group X, the primary language of communication between members in standard Afrikaans, and often when English is spoken, or even a broken form of Afrikaans, group members or group leaders of Group X are quick to correct the language error. Frida, a female leader of one of the smaller grade groups, and I had spent quite a bit of time around at this point and were partaking in a bit of small talk before the formalities of the afternoon began. Frida had asked me more subtly before to speak less English, but this was during my early stages of the group. At this point, Frida had become more understanding of the fact that I chose to speak English, as I had told her before that this was simply the language that I felt more comfortable using. This was a conversation that I had not had with Gert. Frida, in this instance, spoke English to me, something that was not asked of her but

something that I am used to happening at this point of my fieldwork as an English-speaking Afrikaner. In these situations, even though people know that I am fully bilingual and understand Afrikaans fully, they tend to speak to me in English within the group.

In line 2, Gert, amicably and politely, questions Frida and me why we are speaking English. When listening to this interaction again, what I noticed immediately was the hesitation and the almost panic in my voice, and looking back, I do not think that this had to do with the fact that I was being called upon but rather that I instantly became aware that I was different. In a space that I had felt so comfortable in, I suddenly felt this overwhelming feeling that I was doing something linguistically wrong. Feeling the need to justify my actions, stemming from my need to explain myself as I felt that I had made some linguistic faux pas, in line 10, I hesitantly explain my actions in Afrikaans. I call upon the 'Afrikaansness' of my full name as an attempt to validate my Afrikaner identity to Gert, almost in a way to illustrate to him that I am indeed Afrikaans and that I merely use English as a form of communication. This was not the first or last time I used this almost social script-like reply, almost like a linguistic defence mechanism.

I have found myself in situations like this both inside and outside this group set when talking to other Afrikaans speaking South Africans. My name, considered by many in South Africa to be an Afrikaans name, often becomes a topic for conversation, as it is strange that someone with an Afrikaans name speaks English. I find that I often feel the need to defend myself and to remain polite in these situations – which can be seen in line 10, where I make a promise to speak more Afrikaans – as I realised, and as Gert pointed out – this would be the best way for me to go forward in the group.

This extract will be expanded upon later in the thesis, but I provide it here to illustrate what Irvine and Gal mean by differentiation. As an outsider to the group, I quickly realised that if I wanted to communicate within the group, I would need to adapt to their language ideology and speak Afrikaans. What can also be seen in this extract is that Gert (through his line of inquiry in line 2) is not only guarding the language ideology of the group, but he is also calling out my language ideology. Frida, in line 9, explains to Gert that I am an “English Afrikaner”, ascribing a specific language ideology to me as a means to justify the fact that I am speaking English to Gert. There

seems to be a conflict of language ideologies taking place here, the intrusion of one (lesser-known) language ideology into the space of a more dominant ideology – the seemingly dominant Afrikaans ideology. Although the group's language ideology is not officially or explicitly stated anywhere, as we come to learn in the following chapters, this interaction and others that would follow illustrate the group's language ideology quite clearly. Afrikaans is spoken here, and Afrikaners are Afrikaans.

In the short interaction above, we see an attempt to erase my Englishness from the group in defence of a more dominant Afrikaans language ideology, firmly entrenching the Afrikaans language with the Afrikaner identity within this group. This link becomes more problematic for the Afrikaners, as Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language is iconically linked with the oppressive apartheid government (which will become clearer in subsequent chapters). I argue in this thesis that it is vital for the Afrikaner to attempt to dismantle many problematic iconic ideologies that exist to truly move away from an ideology of linguistic difference and attempt to transform into the modern Afrikaner that this group strives to produce.

In the chapters to follow, I apply the notion of language ideology put forth by Irvine and Gal, which includes the notions of *iconization*, *fractal recursivity* and *erasure*, in order to gain insight into the perceived ideologies of Group X, as well as to comment on the construction of the Afrikaans youth groups social identity. It is important to note that the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure are not linear - they do not always occur one after the other, instead, they work simultaneously.

#### **4.2.2 Iconization**

Before expanding on the three terms put forth by Irvine and Gal, I want to explain the difference between an indexical and iconic relationship, as this differentiation is essential in understanding the organisation and ideologies of Group X. An indexical relationship can be viewed as a one-directional relationship. A word's linguistic form may have linked connotations to a social phenomenon, but the social phenomena are not necessarily linked to the linguistic form. An indexical relationship is not a fixed state of mind, but rather it is flexible and open to change. To

use a basic example, in an indexical relationship, if one were to take the linguistic form of the word ‘Afrikaner’ in the South African context, it could be socially linked to social characteristics such as being white, being a rugby player, being a ‘Boer’ (farmer) or even being a protestant Christian. However, as this is an indexical relationship, the link between the word ‘Afrikaner’ and these social phenomena are not fixed. This means that the word ‘Afrikaner’ may allude to these social labels, but this is not a fixed state of mind. Just because an ‘Afrikaner’ may be a ‘Boer’ for some, this does not mean that every farmer is automatically an ‘Afrikaner’.

However, an iconic relationship is far more fixed, and according to Irvine and Gal (2000), iconicity involves the transformation from an indexical relationship to an iconic one. This process involves a change in the conceptual schema of the mind so that these conceptual schemas become suffused with political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field. Often with the process of iconization, the icon (or the sign) directly resembles or relates to a social phenomenon, and often this relationship is fixed through the explicit formation of the group’s ideology. The linguistic features are then made to be iconic of the identity of the speakers.

In Extract 4.1, we can see this process of iconization taking place. During this social interaction, as an outsider to the group, I can see the group’s language ideology pertaining to the use of Afrikaans within the group. In this instance, I was able to connect that to the members of this group; it was expected that Afrikaners use Afrikaans and not English. This iconic relationship is further made clear to me by Gert stating that I would only ‘manage’ in the group if I spoke Afrikaans rather than English. What we see through the process of iconization is that very often, if an idea or concept does not fit into the iconized world view of the social group, that erasure takes place in that that group tend to ignore or transform their perception of reality in order to make it fit into an, often institutionally backed, ‘correct’ world view. I argue that this also happened in this interaction: my identity and language ideologies were erased, and I was asked to adapt to the ‘correct’ manner of interaction within the group.



### **4.2.3 Erasure**

Irvine and Gal (2000) define erasure as the process by which ideology simplifies the sociolinguistic field to the point where some individuals or actions (or social events) become invisible. Elements that are not seen as fitting the structure must be disregarded or altered. As will be seen in the data analysis chapters that follow, I will illustrate that this group actively takes part in the subtle erasure of those who do not fit their iconic ideals of an Afrikaner. In Extract 4.1, I found myself, as a researcher who is fully aware of these employed practices and a researcher who is familiar with the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal, found it impossible to resist the act of erasure in this interaction. I immediately transformed and adapted to the language ideology enforced and preferred by the group to continue 'successfully'.

Erasure is integrally intertwined with both iconization and recursivity, and it determines what can become iconized and what becomes recursive within a given group. Erasure becomes a potent tool when a particular group wants to enforce an ideological reality, and it is often used as a tool to drive institutionalised ideology, as institutions make use of this in order to create an alternative reality that works to their benefit – and in this instance, it helps Group X assert the ideology that Afrikaners, are Afrikaans. A simple phrase that cements the iconic relationship between the Afrikaans language and Afrikaners and erases anyone that might identify more comfortably with an indexical relationship pertaining to an Afrikaner.

### **4.2.4 Fractal recursivity**

Finally, there is fractal recursivity. Irvine and Gal (2000) describe fractal recursivity as "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). Intragroup oppositions, for example, may be pushed outward onto intergroup interactions, or vice versa. It is a result of iconization; it takes the iconized language and 'others' everyone who uses it with distinct linguistic identifiers. The term alludes to the reality that iconic distinctions are exploited to 'create the other' in intergroup encounters. Fractal recursivity refers to the reactivation of a mental schema at a smaller scale. It refers to a renewed opposition and enables

the reactivation of ancient ideologies in current ideology. The next section discusses how fractal recursivity manifests itself in practice.

#### 4.2.5 Iconization, erasure and fractal recursivity in practice

To gain a better understanding of how the language ideology model is used, I will be referring to a study conducted by Andronis (2004) in which she uses the language ideology of Irvine and Gal (2000) when examining the sociolinguistic and ideological aspects of linguistic differentiation in Quichua-speaking Ecuador, concerning the more dominantly spoken Spanish.

Andronis (2004) notes that in Ecuador, Spanish is both the most dominant and the official language used in the country, with Quichua being a large minority language – often attributed to speakers of “low prestige”, “backwards”, or “peasants” (Andronis 2004:264). The low grade of the speakers of the language is extended into the Spanish language – with the word ‘runa’ (meaning person in Quichua) is roughly translated to mean ‘mess up’ in Spanish. Andronis (2004) provides some other examples of negative statements made regarding the Quichua in Ecuador – and I will use these statements to show how the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000) can be applied.

- (1) *El Quichua es diferente. No se utiliza la “o.”*  
Quichua is different. It does not utilize the (letter) “o.”
- (2) *El quichua es un dialecto sin gramática.*  
Quichua is a dialect without grammar.
- (3) *Ya no hay indios. No tienen cultura... ni hablan Quichua. Son campesinos, no más.*  
There aren’t any Indians anymore. They don’t have a culture... nor do they speak Quichua.  
They’re just peasants.

(Andronis, 2004: 265)

Starting with statement 3, we see the first and most blatant form of erasure, with the statement marginalizing “the Quichua people (and language) into complete non-existence” (Andronis,

2004:265). In statement 1, we see that the Quichua language does not include the letter “o” as enough defining factor to differentiate this language, erasing all other complexities that this language may hold. In statement 2, we see another statement being made about the language, speaking to the idea that the Quichua language is “simple” – firstly by labelling it a dialect and not a language, and then qualified by the statement that the language has no grammar. These statements involve the iconization of certain forms and linguistic codes as marginal – and they agree that the Quichua are “uneducated” or “backwards” – creating an iconic link between the linguistic term Quichua and the social phenomena now fixed to it. Through the process of iconization and erasure, the linguistic forms of the language are made to be iconic to the social identity of the Quichua speakers. Andronis (2004) states that; “these attributed differences are expressed and maintained throughout the pervasive ideologies of both the majority and the minority (indigenous) populations of Ecuador” (268), making them fractally recursive.

In the South African setting, the Afrikaans language is still extremely dominant, and the language and its speakers still hold a strong societal power. Within the Afrikaner youth group that forms the basis of this research project, I will argue that from a space of Afrikaner fragility and preservation, the group members employ the acts of iconization, erasure and fractal recursivity to protect their perceived notion that the Afrikaans language is under the threat of extinction, thus protecting their language ideology. As shown and described above in extract 4.1, iconization and erasure are visible in this very short interaction. In later chapters, I will be showing how the process of fractal recursivity takes place in the social interactions and the documents of Group X. I will illustrate how old ideologies are being reactivated at a smaller scale in order to suit a particular ideology that suits Group X’s definition of a modern Afrikaner in a new South Africa. Within this process, erasure fits a narrative that the institution wants to evoke, and these ideologies are then projected onto group members through multiple forms of discourse. During this process, differentiation occurs, and those who do not ‘fit’ the narrative and iconic values that the group puts forth are iconized as opposing their ideology, as different.

If transformation does not occur in this situation, one is then seen in opposition to the conceptual schema within the group. This system of iconization, erasure and fractal recursivity is

unpredictable, but I feel that they serve as a great tool to figure out different conceptual semiotic schemas that underwrite the dominant or emergent ideologies of the Afrikaner.

### **4.3 Language ideology and the linguistics of fragility and colour-blind racism**

In the introduction to this chapter, I quoted Le Roux (2014), who stated that even though we live in a post-apartheid South Africa, race still forms the basis of our social relationships. This has led to an almost permanent notion of racism within our country, making it difficult to envision a South Africa where there will be the total elimination of these societal racial structures. This view aligns with Bonilla-Silva's theory of racialized emotions, and it is a theory I want to mention here, as it would not be fair for me to ignore the deep-rooted emotions that are involved in matters involving race, language, and culture in South Africa, as emotions directly impact discourse. In the following sections, I will expand on the notion of colour-blind racism put forth by Bonilla-Silva (2019) and expand on the link to this thesis.

#### **4.3.1 The language of colour-blind racism**

The term colour-blind racism is an ideology that gained “cohesiveness and dominance in the late 1960's” (Bonilla-Silva, 2018: 11). The term can be used to describe nonracial dynamics as the cause of current racial inequality. Traditionally, the definition of racism was based on a more simplified view and claim that people of colour's lower social status was due to their apparent lack of moral and biological inferiority in society. However, Bonilla-Silva (2018) describes that the term of colour-blind racism steers clear of those claims of racism upon people of colour. Instead, “whites rationalize minorities' contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks imputed cultural limitations.” (Bonilla-Silva, 2018: 11).

Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva (2019) states that we all feel race, whether we are conscious of this happening or not. He argues that race is a category that is subjectively produced and that in a similar that we attach emotion to issues pertaining to class and gender, emotion cannot be detached from race as, as “race cannot come to life without being infused with emotions” (2). Bonilla-Silva goes on to state that we also socialize ourselves based on race, and the social relationships that

produce whiteness “are emotionally charged and create identity” (4). Mercer (2014) expands on this notion by stating;

“People do not merely associate with groups, they become those groups through shared culture, interaction, contagion, and common group interest. The social emotion of group identity cannot be reduced to biological bodies. Instead, emotion goes with identity: group level emotion can be stronger than, different from, emotion experienced as an individual; group members share, validate and police each other’s feelings; and these feelings structure relations within and between groups” (530)

By engaging in such behaviours, individuals find themselves with feelings of affection for members of their group, and those who are different may form feelings of antipathy. With this said, why all this talk of emotion? I will argue in later chapters in this thesis that emotion, more specifically feelings of fragility and vulnerability, play a major role in the development of Afrikaner group identity and ideology, as the presence of these emotions lead to the use of racialised rhetoric devices, referred to Bonilla-Silva as ‘colour-blind racism’, as a manner of navigating the stressful topic of race. I argue that in order to gain insight into the processes and the practices that are involved in shaping the discourses and subsequent language ideologies of the modern Afrikaner, it is necessary to explore the rhetoric devices that are often unconsciously present in speech patterns, even in scenarios where one is not directly speaking about race.

Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) expand on the idea of colour-blind racism by referring to a survey-based research project conducted amongst white college students, mostly from middle-class backgrounds. The data described here forms part of the more in-depth interviews with these students, exploring the general and specific racial attitudes, social distance preferences, and interactions with minorities (54). As an example, I will be referring to one of the interview topics focused on: the white students' responses to affirmative action programs. Based on a content analysis of the interview responses, whites openly oppose or have reservations about affirmative action programs. In this survey, 65% of the White respondents disagree with occasional preference shown towards Black job seekers, 51% are against, and 36% are ‘not sure’ about reserving spots

for Black students at universities and colleges, and 36% of respondents state that they would support the elimination of affirmative action programs (Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000: 55).

In many of the responses to these surveys, the researchers found that most of the responses shared two similar ‘stories’ that seems to be a shared cognition amongst these white students. The themes were:

- (1) The past is in the past.
- (2) Present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations.

These stories that assume the ideology of these students appear to have become recursive within the “ideological, racial repertoire” about how the world is viewed to be by them ((Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000: 65). A third interesting finding of this research survey was the fear that seemed to be present in the white students’ responses based on affirmative action, with this ‘fear’ being present in 70% of the responses to this survey. The general feeling is that these affirmative action programmes will create a scenario where they feel they are likely to lose out on a job, promotion, or even admission to a college.

This fear and vulnerability that these white students experience is something that I demonstrate came forward in this research study. In Chapter 10 of this thesis, I continue this discussion by demonstrating how Group X textually reveal discourses of colour-blind racism a tactic to expose their Afrikaner fragility, which leads to a sense of cultural and linguistic superiority. I also argue that, using the theory of colour-blind racism, that Group X promotes the iconic Afrikaner, whilst erasing any language, variety or culture that is ‘different’ to them, rendering those groups of people invisible

#### **4.3.2 Afrikaner fragility**

I will argue that Afrikaner fragility finds its roots in the concept of ‘white fragility’, a term that Diangelo (2019) uses to name the instances of discomfort that white people feel when talking about race matters. Diangelo (2019) argues that this reaction can largely be related to the fact that



historically and currently, white people are socialized in a manner where there is a deep-rooted and internalized sense of superiority, whether we as white people choose to admit it or not. Due to this inherent superiority that forms as a product of society, many white people view any engagement in topics of race as an attack on our “identities as good, moral people.” (2). We often see any attempt to engage in conversations about race as a way to connect us to the system of racism, which can then be perceived as an “unsettling and unfair moral offence” (2). She argues that this creates a scenario in which white people feel this fragility when conversing about race. When somebody engages in racial conversations and tries to challenge a white person’s racial views –white people become immediately defensive in these racial conversations – which often hinders transformative conversations as they perceive themselves and their identities as being in a fragile state, thus from a position of fragility and vulnerability white people become defensive.

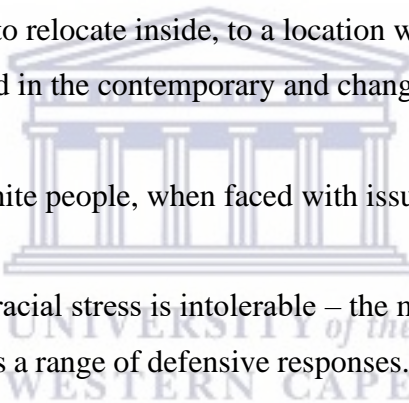
To be clear, I am not making a blanket generalization about all white people since I cannot speak on white people's racial identities generally, but I agree with Diangelo (2019) that this is a frequent observation about white people. I am aware that I have engaged in defensive behaviour when confronted with racial issues primarily because, as Bonilla-Silva (2019) notes, race is inextricably linked to emotions and the emotional reaction and influence on our speech cannot be disregarded, particularly in a South African context. In a post-national South Africa, racialised discourse elicits a range of emotional reactions, primarily attributable to our colonial and apartheid past – which forged an inextricably linked relationship between language, culture, and race.

I have chosen to focus my research on white Afrikaners because their presence in South Africa elicits significant emotional and behavioural reactions from other South Africans due to apartheid being named after them. In chapters 1–3, I described the Afrikaners' complicated and rather tumultuous history and the Afrikaans language. For many who identify as Afrikaners, the phrase elicits sentiments of guilt since the past of the Afrikaners is often connected with oppression and apartheid. I feel that as a result of this past, many white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans are left fighting with their identity, desiring to shed the label of Afrikaner yet lacking an alternative moniker. Afrikaners have always been a minority community in South Africa, although they were a minority group with majority authority during the apartheid period. They have remained a minority since the end of apartheid but have also lost political influence. As a result, persons who

identify as Afrikaners are placed in a position of perceived vulnerability, where they feel compelled to exercise their identities and ideals in a safe area.

As a result of this desire, we witness the emergence of social enclaves in which individuals may be Afrikaners without fear of being scrutinized or questioned. As an Afrikaans South African myself, I experience the same emotions as Diangelo (2019), not just when confronted with issues of race but also when confronted with issues of Afrikaner identity - which is so inextricably linked to issues of race. Similarly, since white people often move inward to join safe communities, I found that white Afrikaners in South Africa exhibit similar behaviours, not just from a position of white fragility, but also – and more frequently – from an Afrikaner position of fragility. Many Afrikaners have found themselves in the new South Africa in a nation where they no longer have authority, and this lack of power no longer makes them feel comfortable. To address this problem, many Afrikaners feel compelled to relocate inside, to a location where their delicate and sensitive sense of identity may be protected in the contemporary and changing South African setting.

Diangelo (2019) observes that white people, when faced with issues of race, find;



“The smallest amount of racial stress is intolerable – the mere suggestion that being white has meaning often triggers a range of defensive responses. These include emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and behaviours such as argumentation, silence and withdrawal from the stress-inducing situation.”

Due to their fractured Afrikaner identity, white Afrikaners in South Africa enact the above-described behaviours. Seemingly, many Afrikaners find themselves in a state of limbo, where they are not willing to associate and label themselves as Afrikaners due to these strong feelings of guilt and anger, yet they are white Afrikaans speakers. This point will be further illustrated in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

#### 4.4 Language ideology, habitus, and the linguistic marketplace

In this section, I will be discussing the work of Pierre Bourdieu, with a primary focus on his notions of cultural capital and habitus. Bourdieu (1997) explains three primary forms of capital; economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Cultural capital, Edgerton, and Roberts (2014) explain, can be “embodied (internalized and intangible), objectified (cultural products) and institutionalized (officially accredited)” (193). Bourdieu (1997) views these forms of capital as mutually important in relation to one another, as economic capital allows for the provision of resources to invest in the development of a child’s cultural capital, which then leads to further occupational and educational success – which inevitably creates greater social capital, allowing for an influential social network – creating vast opportunities for the individual. This thesis will focus on cultural capital, specifically the subtype of linguistic capital described by Bourdieu. In addition to the economic phases of ‘capital’, Bourdieu frequently uses the terms ‘market’ and ‘exchange’ in his analysis and discussion of linguistic power relations in society. Bourdieu developed the concepts of linguistic capital, linguistic market and linguistic exchange, with these concepts proving to be highly effective when attempting to analyse differences in linguistic power in societies across the world. To understand the meaning behind linguistic capital, it is important to understand how Bourdieu defines a linguistic exchange. A linguistic exchange is viewed as a type of economic transaction, “which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit” (Silver, 2005:50). The linguistic market and linguistic capital concepts are an extension of his seminal notion of habitus to the world of linguistic discourse analysis. Bourdieu (1995) explains;

“The linguistic habitus, crudely defined, can be distinguished from competence as the term is used by Chomsky – in that it is the product of social conditions and is not a simple production of utterances, but the production of utterances adapted to a ‘situation’ or, rather, adapted to a market or a field” (78)

Habitus gives individuals a sense of how to act and how to respond in their day-to-day activities. Zorčić (2019) states that it gives individuals a “feel of the game” (787) so that the individual knows

what is appropriate in any given situation and which actions are not as appropriate. The notion of habitus is rooted within one's upbringing and socialization within the family. The habitus is also impacted by one's position in the social structure. Bourdieu has termed the habitus “socialized subjectivity” – essentially meaning that the individual subjectivity is conditioned by structural circumstances (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014:195).

Bourdieu further expands on the idea of the linguistic market, where he states that whenever someone produces an utterance for a receiver who can assess the utterance, evaluate it, and set a price on it - a linguistic marketplace is available. Merely having linguistic competence does not predict the linguistic utterance's value on the linguistic market. Both concrete and abstract variables determine price, and it will all depend on the laws of the price specific to that linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1995:80). The notion of linguistic capital leads us to assume that linguistic profits are available within the market. The language as power and linguistic capital has “the power to make the laws of price formation operate to one’s advantage and to extract the specific surplus value” ((Bourdieu, 1995:80). Every interaction, even those that take place in smaller micro-markets, such as a conversation between two friends, are always dominated by the linguistic capital held by the overall structure of the linguistic market.

Zorčič (2019) uses these terms to describe a linguistic capital issue emerging in Austrian Carinthia, with her research illustrating the effects of linguistic habitus and the fact that the conscious use of language is rooted in the view of linguistic capital. Their use determines the non-economical capital of languages in Austrian Carinthia, but some linguistic capital often declines without an active language policy. In the case of her research, those who speak the regional dialect Slovene and consider themselves Carinthian Slovenes – the symbolic value of their language is high. Unfortunately, the language cannot compete with the more dominant German that is more often the choice of language in formal language situations. German then becomes the ‘legitimate’ linguistic choice, and Slovene is reserved for those “whom the speaker can identify as users of Slovene, that is, the dialect” (798) – thus giving German a stronger linguistic capital with the linguistic marketplace of Austrian Carinthia.

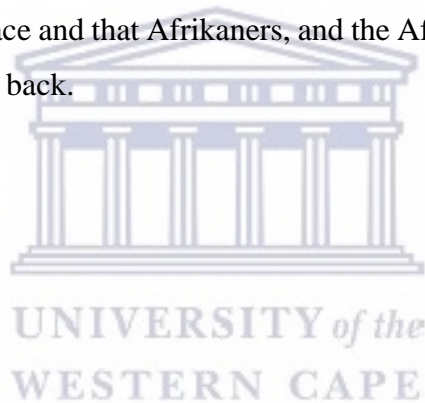
The situation described above draws strong parallels to the Afrikaans language debate and two of the most common varieties, namely Standard Afrikaans and Kaaps. Similarly, to Slovene, Kaaps is not awarded a great sense of linguistic capital within the linguistic marketplace due to the lack of language policies that afford the variety a more official and formal status. As discussed in Chapter 3, in South Africa, the standard variety of Afrikaans has always carried great social and political power and a great sense of linguistic capital within the linguistic marketplace. However, this thesis will argue that despite the linguistic capital that the standard variety of Afrikaans has, many Afrikaners still believe that their stake in the linguistic market is threatened. In the data analysis chapters to follow, I will discuss how Group X employs iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity to highlight their belief that the Afrikaans language no longer has linguistic capital. Therefore, it is no longer relevant in the linguistic marketplace. I will argue that this sense of vulnerability and fragility creates a drive amongst members of Group X to fight for the preservation and teaching of standard Afrikaans, as they feel that the language has lost its linguistic capital and that Afrikaans needs to gain its once valuable linguistic value back.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed the concept of ideology and its role in shaping the term language ideology. I introduced the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2000) and explain that the two scholars favour the connection of ideology to power, politics, interest, and social action. I discuss that Irvine and Gal's view on language ideology persuaded me to use this as the primary framework for analysis in this research study, as I argue that issues of power and internalised politics greatly influence the language ideology of the Afrikaner. In this chapter, I explain how I will apply Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of language ideology to argue that Group X, acting out of a position of perceived fragility and vulnerability, enact the notions of iconicity, erasure, and fractal recursivity in the (re)formation of a modern Afrikaner identity. In the second half of this chapter, I discuss language ideology through the lens of colour-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2019) and Afrikaner fragility. I introduce the framework that, using the theory of colour-blind racism, I will show that Group X promotes the iconic Afrikaner, whilst erasing any language, variety or culture that is 'different' to them, rendering those groups of people invisible. I also discussed the notion of Afrikaner fragility, a term which finds its roots in the concept of 'white fragility'

(Diangelo, 2019). I argued that due to this perceived sense of Afrikaner fragility, Afrikaners believe that they are in a South Africa in which they no longer have authority, and this lack of power no longer makes them feel like they belong.

Consequently, to address this problem, many Afrikaners feel compelled to relocate inside, to a location where their delicate and sensitive sense of identity may be protected in the contemporary and changing South African setting. Lastly, I introduced Bourdieu's (1997) framework of habitus and the linguistic marketplace, to frame my argument that despite the linguistic capital that the standard variety of Afrikaans has in South Africa, many Afrikaners still believe that their stake in the linguistic market is threatened. I state that I will demonstrate in the analysis chapters that this sense of vulnerability and fragility creates a drive amongst members of Group X to fight for the preservation and teaching of standard Afrikaans, as they feel that the language has lost its linguistic capital in the linguistic marketplace and that Afrikaners, and the Afrikaans language, needs to gain its once valuable linguistic value back.







## **CHAPTER 5: Researching Afrikaans and Enclaves: The inward migration of identities**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The end of apartheid came in 1994, and with this came hopes of a new, inclusive, and cohesive society in which all races would live in harmony together. In that same year, in Pretoria, Nelson Mandela addressed the nation, in which he said the following:

“We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without and fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.”

This statement was inspiring, and it resonated with many South Africans at the time, but the 'new', democratic South Africa came with many challenges. As it can be viewed with a brief look into the history in the former chapters, the Afrikaner identity and ideologies have been shaped over hundreds of years, and those identities and ideologies are not easily transformed, especially one that is so deeply entrenched with racialised discourses on whiteness and racism.

In 2021, we were indeed living in a 'new' South Africa, one I will argue is plagued with problematic racial discourses that predominantly take place in social enclaves created as a 'safe' place to celebrate culture, tradition, and heritage. As discussed in Chapter 4, discussions about race and language are often more emotional than conversations surrounding culture, gender, and religion, and as a researcher, I am not immune to this emotion. Even writing this thesis, objectivity became a challenge due to my strong connection to the Afrikaans culture. The discussion of objectivity in the field of sociolinguistic research is a topic that Chapter 5 will explore further, as well as the methodological considerations of this research project. Firstly, this chapter expands on the meaning of racialised discourse and how this led me to choose the group that forms the focus of my research project. I will expand on the theory behind social enclaves, where I will argue that the group, I studied has formed a social enclave of their own in which they explore what it means to be a modern Afrikaner in a post-national heterotopia. Lastly, I will discuss my reasoning behind

the use of ethnography to gain access to Group X. I will also reflect on my experience as a sociolinguist in the field, as a self-identified white Afrikaans South African, making sure to comment on issues of objectivity I faced researching a culture that I am part of. I also pay attention to the implications of aspects such as my language choices, identity and personality I might have had within the field and within the analysis of the data.

## 5.1 Researching social enclaves and a post-nationalist heterotopia

Heterotopia, a term developed by philosopher Michel Foucault, is a term that refers to the formation of certain spaces and places that exist either within or outside of society, which have two distinct functions - of which I will focus on the first of those. Villet (2018) explains;

“...people can go to a heterotopia and do something that would otherwise be seen as unacceptable in society; in this case the heterotopia is a space of transgression where processes of normalisation are suspended.” (17)

Essentially, a heterotopia is a space where people retreat to transgress or do what they regard as normal - that may seem immoral or indecent within the society in which they reside. Many times, people tend to flock and migrate towards these places and spaces in search of their utopia<sup>6</sup> - an idealised ‘perfect’ society - yet ironically, in their search for perfection these heterotopic spaces cause the disintegration of society, which counteract and undermine the ideas of utopia. Foucault (1984) states that there is not one society that exists without the formation of heterotopias, as it is a constant of all human groups. However, they take on many different forms that can be grouped under two different types of heterotopias: the crisis heterotopia and the heterotopia of deviation.

He argued that in the so-called primitive societies, these crisis heterotopias exist, they are sacred and privileged places commonly reserved for individuals, who, compared to society, are in a state of crisis. For example, in some societies in the world, adolescents, pregnant or menstruating women and the elderly get separated from the society they are in as they are in a state of crisis. In a modern

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<sup>6</sup> A *utopia* refers to an imagined place or state of things in which everything is perfect. As Foucault (1984) states, they are sites that have no real place – sites that have a general relation of a direct or inverted analogy with the real place society (3).

and transforming world, these types of crisis heterotopias are not found as often as they once were, and they are slowly disappearing. Foucault (1984) argued that these heterotopias are being replaced by heterotopias of deviation, a space in which those individuals whose behaviour is seen as deviant compared to that of the society they inhabit can retreat. He argues that these spaces include prisons, nursing homes and even psychiatric hospitals (Foucault, 1984:5). However, I argue that these heterotopias of deviation have become more apparent in our general society. Some of them are still backed institutionally – but merge more with the ideas of utopic social enclaves, where individuals can enact their true identities in a ‘safe space’.

In a post-apartheid South Africa, the emergence of these deviated heterotopic spaces seems to indicate what is happening here - and the origins of such secluded and idealistic social spaces can be traced back to colonial South Africa. As a colony, South Africa could have been viewed as a heterotopia;

“...in relation to the ‘motherland’ (i.e., the Netherlands and Great Britain), where heterotopia in this sense carries meaning...of a space where normal and accepted logic and rules of society are suspended, such that things can be done in the heterotopia which are not allowed or accepted in ‘decent’ society.”

(Villet, 2018:13)

However, in post-apartheid South Africa, heterotopia does not display itself in such explicit ways as before. Rather, we find that there is an emerging form of inward migration that is taking place, where many white South African are in search of “white dominos” (van der Westhuizen 2017:186), and they are often found with the facade of fences and walls that surround the suburban areas of South Africa. Here;

“...the apartheid principles of the *volkseie* (the nations own, exclusive to the *volk*) and *eie sake* (own affairs) are reactivated and directed at smaller territories to create micro-apartheid geographies. ‘Natural’ apartheid divisions, in lieu of state enforcement, privatised. Facilitating the entrenchment of these exclusive geographies in their symbolic

articulation with virtual white spaces in a plethora of cultural products, using Afrikaans language as a vehicle.”

(van der Westhuizen, 2018:186)

Falkof (2016) draws on renowned psychologist Sigmund Freud to expand on the idea of displacement and the psychological effects that this has on the behaviour of people. With the fall of apartheid, white South Africans became plagued with the anxiety surrounding the *swart gevaar* (black danger) - a fear instilled in them throughout the apartheid era. Many white South Africans came to fear the ruling ANC party and believed that their policies and changes made to the government were fanatic and excessive. These anxieties stemmed from the fact that white South Africans no longer has the privilege of living in a country designed to benefit their race - and largely because white South Africans - predominantly white Afrikaners - had to come to terms with the fact that the injustices that took place within the apartheid era were done in their name.

What made it more difficult to come to terms with this ‘new’ South Africa is the fact that many of the white Afrikaner beliefs revolved around religion and the idea that God had chosen Afrikaners as the ‘chosen’ nation - and with the fall of apartheid, many feared how they would cope with the idea of living in a South Africa that was no longer under the rule of whites. There was also a strong belief that the black rule “would violently undermine the foundations of Afrikaner identity” (Falkof, 2016:22).

Falkof (2016) makes a very interesting observation surrounding the Afrikaner reaction to their feeling of displacement. She states that the fear of a South Africa under the rule of black people was an issue of concern for many Afrikaners, and this concern and fear stayed in the common consciousness of Afrikaners. For some, this repressed fear and anxiety led to extreme behavioural outcomes, such as the sudden increase in the emergence of Satanism in South Africa and a high rate of family murder/suicides even more tragically. As she explains:

“The Satanism scare was a symptom of that repression of unsettling knowledge. Freud wrote that suppressed material seldom stays stuck in the recesses of the mind, tending instead to return in new, distorted forms. Some of those repressed white South African

fears of the future were displaced onto the figure of the Satanist, finding their way out of the extreme enough to allow the expression of possibly irrational anxieties. The sense that SA was a Christian nation at war with a demonic enemy allowed people to continue investing in colonial narratives of benevolent paternalism and moral guardianship that were challenged by increasing international depictions of South Africa as a rouge state....”

(Falkof, 2016:22)

Whilst some Afrikaners dealt with the change of political leadership in more extreme ways, as mentioned above, others reverted to seemingly more subtle ways around dealing with their fears and anxieties surrounding their loss of ‘home’ by creating a form of post-apartheid heterotopia - using the actions of inward migration to create Afrikaner enclaves, where the Afrikaner way of life could be preserved. As argued in Chapters 2 and 3, they are not the only group to have migrated inward and formed social enclaves - the problem comes in that the white Afrikaners creation of such enclaves can in some way be attributed to their historical rise and fall from grace spanning from the 1600s until now. These enclaves may run the risk of creating an environment in which problematic apartheid discourse and Afrikaner nationalist ideologies are promoted, which stands in the way of creating a transformed and modern Afrikaner in the new South Africa.

So why heterotopia? The notion of heterotopia served as a tool to frame my ethnographic fieldwork on social enclaves, a point to be discussed in the following section, where the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language are being (re)shaped.

## **5.2 Conducting ethnographic fieldwork research in Afrikaner enclaves**

To gain insight into Group X and the manners in which they aim to empower a modern Afrikaner, I went on to do a one-and-a-half-year physical single sighted ethnographic fieldwork study of Group X, who were based in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. This ethnography was conducted towards the end of 2017 and continued towards the beginning of 2019. But why ethnography? According to Schilling (2013), ethnography - otherwise known as participant-observation - is a mode of enquiry that can be defined by:



“...the complementary research goals of simultaneously developing an insider perspective while preserving a measure of outsider detachment to long-term involvement in the community of study, both as a researcher and as a participant in community activities of some sort.” (113)

Hammersley (2010) sees that ethnography involves itself with making the strange familiar, by “finding intelligibility and rationality in what is initially inexplicable”, whilst simultaneously making the familiar strange “by suspending those background assumptions that immediately give apparent sense to much what we experience, at least in contexts with which we are well acquainted” (Hammersley, 2010: 387).

Ethnographic research involves the researcher spending an extended period, usually months or even years, in their chosen site with their chosen subjects. This allows the researcher to study their participants over a prolonged period, describing and scrutinising the participants' behaviours more accurately (O'Reilly, 2012). However, there are many theoretical considerations to consider ensuring that one can balance objectivity and relativity in one's research. One of the major challenges with ethnographic research in the field of sociolinguistics is the positivist notion that underlies the principle of traditional scientific research - that the researcher must remain objective within the study (O'Reilly, 2012). To be more specific to ethnography, a positivist approach to ethnography emphasises the need for a certain degree of objectivity and detachment from the object of study, this allowing the outcomes of the research to be centred on observable facts rather than the personal beliefs, ideas and values of the researcher (Payne & Payne, 2004). The primary notion of positivist ethnography is to remain objective and to “seek rationale, causes and generalizable laws that may be applied to human behaviour...the researcher retains power and authority over inquiry with an aspect of superiority to the community being studied” (Ryan, 2007: 9).

The issue with the positivist approach to ethnography in the field of sociolinguistics, is that when dealing with research that involves studying people, one cannot ignore that the researcher is a part of the social world that they are studying, and that there is “no escape from reliance on common-

sense knowledge and common-sense methods of investigation people” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 25). Moreover, ethnographic research in the field of sociolinguistics has attempted to act as a bridge between language use and its meaning within a social context. It has always attempted to distance itself from the positivist notion that the traditional sciences can explain all things within society - by arbitrary laws - forgetting that humans do not always remain a constant, but rather everchanging, often changing their identities and behaviour they move between different time-space configurations. Sociolinguistics has always noted the importance of understanding people from their perspective, not only from the researcher's perspective. In this research project, I found that there was no way in which I could maintain a positivist approach to ethnography in this research project, as I was not able to ignore the impact that I had before entering the social world of study, and more importantly, the impact that I may have had during the ethnography. I will clarify these statements in the paragraphs that follow.

As mentioned before in this thesis, I self-identify as an Afrikaans speaking South African. I have been raised in an Afrikaans household, with the Afrikaans culture and traditions forming the foundations of my identity. However, my habitus is not as clearly defined as the Afrikaners in this group, and this is largely due to my socialization. As discussed in Chapter 4, habitus gives individuals a sense of how to act and respond in their day-to-day activities, and the notion of habitus is rooted within one's upbringing and socialization within the family or social environment (Zorčič, 2019: 787). My habitus was far different from that of the Afrikaner youth group that I was entering. I was born and raised in England, and even though the Afrikaans language was never foreign to me, the Afrikaner label and the social implications were. As a white Afrikaans speaking South African entering a majority white Afrikaner enclave, objectivity was, and continued to be a challenge - as retrospectively - throughout this research project, I noticed that I also organized myself in similar social enclaves, with mostly white Afrikaans speaking social circles. The participants of this group were similar to me, my family, and friends in so many ways; we share the same heritage and culture. I had noticed that at the beginning of my fieldwork, I felt at home, and I found myself struggling with objectivity.

As I was conducting ethnographic fieldwork, this feeling of 'home' proved to be extremely challenging in the early days of this research study, with the most challenging aspect of this

ethnographic study being that I would often be called on and involved in their conversations during my observations, which put me in a position where I would often partake in many group conversations. I would often get invited to be involved in group activities that were not necessarily part of the formal group activities. In these situations, I would find myself struggling with politely declining these activities to protect my planned persistence on remaining as objective in the ethnographic setting whilst ensuring that the group members felt comfortable enough with me around to ensure that I could collect true interactive audio data. This balancing act between the ethnographic researcher and group member status by proxy was the greatest obstacle during the data collection process, and it was an obstacle that brought my focus to the struggles of remaining objective in ethnographic research studies. With ethnography, the positivist notion of objectivity within the study becomes an area of debate - as “it is inevitable that humans doing research on other humans will affect the research participants in some way.” (Schilling, 2013: 115). During my research study, there were times that it was clear to me that I needed to take a step back and reassess my position in the group and work on regaining some sense of objectivity within the group, without ignoring the fact that my impact on the group could not be ignored.

As I used an ethnographic method of data collection, I was able to integrate other sociolinguistic data collection methods, such as collecting documents and educational texts used and produced by Group X, into my study, to better understand the group and their discourse within the enclave. I took a deeper look into some of the group's texts on their website, such as textbooks and manifestos. By taking an in-depth analysis into the documents of Group X, I was able to reintroduce myself to the research problem at hand, to investigate how the modern Afrikaner attempts to (re)negotiate Afrikaner language and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa. This reminded me that to accurately investigate this research problem, I needed to distance myself as the researcher within the group to gather interactional data that would grant me the opportunity to investigate this research problem. This assisted me in my data collection process, as it allowed me to remain as neutral as possible throughout the study and the data analysis. It also allowed me the distance needed to ascertain that there was a vast difference between the social interactions that I encountered within the youth group and the strict limitations that their documents and texts prescribe to the modern Afrikaner, a point that will be discussed in the data analysis chapters that follow.

Once I had repositioned myself as the researcher within the ethnographic study, I observed that throughout this research project, the participants constantly “re-cast” themselves towards me as the researcher in response to my actions in that context (Schilling, 2013). Therefore, it is vital to consider and figure out what the researchers’ effects are on the participants in the process of ethnography rather than eliminate innate human subjectivity. The debate about objectivity and subjectivity in ethnographic fieldwork is not a new debate, but rather one that has existed for many years and has played a central role in social sciences (Hegelund, 2005: 647). The debate often focusses on the fact that in order to develop a meaningful ethnographic perspective, the researcher needs to have the ability to distance themselves from any pre-existing and preconceived culturally biased reactions to maintain and achieve an acceptable degree of objectivity. The researcher is expected to rid oneself of preconceived notions and biases that exist before they enter the field of research. However, I argue that the fact that I identify with the Afrikaans culture allowed me to provide the insider perspective of my participants whilst attempting to maintain my neutrality, to provide the most objective view possible (Schilling, 2013:117).

Throughout the data analysis, I made sure that I was able to account for my presence in the social interactions of my participants during group meetings – as my presence and the impact that it may have had on the conversation cannot be ignored. This was naturally very difficult, as when the research project started, I considered myself similar to the group and its participants, and the challenge I faced was that my identity was often called into question through ideological differentiation within the interactions with the participants. Throughout the ethnography, I found myself navigating my identity as an Afrikaans speaking South African whilst attempting to understand my participants’ practices and processes while shaping their own identities and ideologies within the group.

### **5.3 Ethnographic methods**

Cape Town is its unique heterotopia, as, within a 40-km distance, you have two very different communities that take shape - separated by a geographical barrier known to many Capetonians as the *boereworsgordyn* (the sausage curtain) - which serves to separate the more English Southern Suburbs from the more Afrikaans Northern Suburbs (van der Westhuizen, 2016). As one passes

through the “boereworsgordyn”, this binary social divide becomes more evident, as Afrikaans schools, churches, and businesses are sudden. Another divide that can be seen in these areas is amongst the after-school youth groups that exist in these areas. When one passes through the “boereworsgordyn”, one can see the emergence of more Afrikaans based youth groups, including Group X - with almost no trace of them found in the Southern Suburbs (van der Westhuizen, 2016).

I happened upon Group X accidentally when I joined them on a group excursion one day on an invitation of a friend. They were going on a trip to a naval base in the Western Cape, and I thought I would join for the group for the day. When I joined on this day trip, I noticed many things. Firstly, I noticed a severe feeling of difference among the group of young adults and adults, simply because I spoke English. This was one of the facts that first intrigued me when I came across Group X. The language policy seemed to never be explicitly stated in any document within the group, but rather it was enforced discursively. On my first day with the group, I was kindly informed that I needed to speak Afrikaans within the group, and I became very aware of my ‘Englishness’. As stated, I identify as a white Afrikaans South African, but I have always used English as my preferred language of communication my whole life. Although being bilingual, admittedly my Afrikaans is a bit rusty, I deferred to what I normally did when in conversation with other Afrikaans speakers. I continued speaking English in the conversation, making it clear that I understood Afrikaans – I just was not as comfortable speaking the language. However, for the first time in my life – this deferral to English was questioned and corrected.

Coming home from this trip, I knew that I had to get more information about this group as it was the first time that I had experienced this feeling of being ‘out of place’ amongst white Afrikaners even though I had been raised as one. I also realised that Afrikaner and Afrikaans South African are maybe not terms that can be used synonymously. In my research of Group X, I came across the website of Group X, which defines itself as a cultural movement that empowers the modern Afrikaner. To serve as a reminder, in Chapter 1, I expand on what Group X means when they refer to the modern Afrikaner. According to this Afrikaner youth group, a modern Afrikaner can be defined as an Afrikaner who wants to remain an Afrikaner despite the mistakes of Afrikaners in the past and argue for their existence in South Africa by asking the question, “If all people who made mistakes in the past were to disappear, who would remain?” According to this youth group,

a modern Afrikaner believes in being a positive citizen of South Africa, and that being an Afrikaner and speaking Afrikaans is not a racial issue for the group, but rather it is a cultural issue that concerns itself with cultural pride. Lastly, a modern Afrikaner describes an Afrikaner who *proudly* promotes their language, culture, and heritage.

The textual and the interactional processes involved in the formation of the modern Afrikaner stood out to me, and this became my primary motivation for selecting this group as the focus of my research project, as I wanted to investigate the processes and the practices that Group X was implementing to shape the identity of a modern Afrikaner. In order to best research *this* modern Afrikaner, I chose to do an ethnography of Group X, framed with the notion of heterotopia, to investigate the textual and interactional processes and practices involved in the (re)formation of Afrikaner identities in a post-apartheid South Africa. This research project used textual and interactional data, which formed part of a year and a half ethnography, to gain a deeper insight into the group which allowed me to more accurately comment on how the youth in this group are using language in order to (re)construct their Afrikaner identity.

For the interactional data of this research study, I chose to focus on selected participants between the ages of 14 – 18 years of age and their social interactions within their weekly meetings. For the purpose of anonymity, I cannot disclose the specific groups of participants that I spent my time with; but I can disclose that I chose these participants based on their seniority in Group X. The participants for this study were selected rather organically, and the selection was largely based on my access to the group and my observations on the members of the group during my field research. I had selected older participants, as I observed that the older participants felt more comfortable speaking openly in front of me during their meetings. This aided in the collection of more natural social interactions that I argue would not have occurred if my participants were younger. With my focus being on participants between 14 – 18 years of age, I argue that I was able to more accurately comment on the formation of a modern Afrikaner, as they form part of the ‘born-free’ generation.

In order to make sure that my presence in the group was as minimized as possible, I chose to collect audio recordings of all social interactions of my participants as I moved through the spaces of the Group X meetings. This was done using lapel microphone recorders and in total, I collected



approximately 32 hours of interactional data over my year and a half long ethnography. However, I did run into a few issues during this method of data collection, which limited the number of audio recorded data that I was logistically, and ethically allowed to use. Logistically and structurally, due to how the space was organized, unfortunately many of the audio recordings were compromised in terms of audio quality. The weekly meetings were quite small, often with thin walls in-between to separate each room and corresponding grades. The audio data is often chaotic as the natural interactions of groups meeting simultaneously can be heard. As my focus was to collect natural social interactions, there was no formal or controlled setting to collect perfectly recorded data. Another point to note is that as my focus was on youth, the audio data was often filled with overlapping speech, screams of the younger kids from room next door, gossip, chatter, and speech from teens about schoolwork, friends and family life being heard in the background of the primary conversations.

For ethical reasons, many parts of the audio data could not be used as often the voices within the audio data are either from those who did not wish to partake in the study, or it may be from members whom I chose to not include in my research project due to the pre-decided age limits. For this reason, for the purpose of transparency, I chose to adopt a selective method when choosing data sets to use and to fully transcribe – to remain true to the ethics of the research project and therefore only the audio interactions of those who have consented to the study were used and transcribed. Another challenge that I experienced, was the inconsistency and limited timeframes of the group meetings. Each week, I only had one hour in which I was able to collect audio data, as the group only met on a weekly basis. Group X also adhered to the annual school holidays, which resulted in me being unable to collect any audio data within the school holidays. In terms of inconsistency, there were often elements outside of my control which also hindered the data collection process – for example – during exam periods at school, far fewer members would attend the Group X meetings, or they would be cancelled due to lack of attendance. Navigating the limited time that I had with Group X, led to an extension of my ethnographic research with me spending over a year and a half with my participants to ensure a successful ethnography.

Taking all these challenges into account, I selected the interactional data that could be used, and I manually transcribed the audio data using Microsoft Word, using VLC player to listen to the audio

data. I was the only researcher, or individual, that transcribed the audio data as I wished to maintain the anonymity of my participants and the subject matter that was discussed during the meetings. A recommendation that I would make for future studies, is that the transcription process could benefit from a more refined process; possibly using a reputable transcription software to streamline the transcription process.

Document and textual analysis also formed a great deal of my data for this research project. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the context, ideologies, and formation of the group, I felt that it was important for me to analyse many different documents that Group X, at the time of data collection and up to the date of writing this thesis, make openly available on their website. These documents can also be found on their mobile application, which is freely available on the mobile application store of your choosing. In selecting the textual documents for analysis, I chose to focus on two of the larger documents available on the website of Group X, (i) the senior group textbook that consists of 396 pages and (ii) a summative 40-page document that was compiled in 2017 in recognition of a national group leadership meeting. These documents were selected from the hundreds available on the website as they allowed me to frame the context in which the social interactions of Group X were occurring, and they also covered the educational material that was being taught to the participants that formed part of this research study. However, one of the greatest issues faced when using these documents, is that many of the informationally dense documents lacked appropriate resources, so I was unable to detect whether these words were that of the often-unnamed author or if the information provided was sourced alternatively.

As with ethnography, field notes and observations also became important to note during my extended period with the group. At all times, I had a notebook with me to take note of the group members' actions, which are not always picked up on audio data. It should be noted that these observations will serve to complement any interactional data and document analysis used in this study, as I am aware of the limitations of remaining objective when using field notes in research. As mentioned before, objectivity was a challenge of mine at the beginning with this group. When taking notes, I would often find that this made the participants feel more uncomfortable, and I would stop to make them feel more comfortable around me. For this reason, my field notes were

lacking, and they were mostly used as a personal reminder of specific nuances surrounding the recorded interactions.

Considering these methodological shortcomings, this study would have benefited from focus-group interviews that could have been conducted after the interactional data had been collected. This would have given me the opportunity to dig deeper into elements of the interactional data to allow for a more accurate viewpoint of the group members. Initially, this had been my intention when originally setting out on this research study. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and an extended ethnography due to the issues discussed above, many of the participants had graduated from Group X towards the end of my ethnography. Logistically, conducting the focus-group interviews would not have been possible, and it is for this reason that I decided to place a larger focus on the document analysis for this thesis. In further research into the formation of the ‘modern’ Afrikaner, I would recommend the addition of focus-group interviews to allow the researcher the opportunity to gain a deeper insight into Afrikaner youth and apply a more focussed line of questioning to clarify the specific processes and practices that Afrikaner youth use in the representation of the ‘modern’ Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

Typically, in a research project using interactional sociolinguistics, one would solely focus on the interactions of your participants. I, however, believe that ethnography was the best methodology for me to use when collecting this data due to the similarity that existed between myself and the members of this group. Applying ethnography to this study allowed me to face issues of objectivity head-on during the year and a half study, and it allowed me as the researcher, sufficient time to work through any issue of subjectivity that I experienced. Writing about white Afrikaners, as a white Afrikaans speaking South African, was not, and still does not continue to be easy because, as justified in Chapter 4, race, culture, language, and gender topics naturally involve emotion. Ethnography, I feel, best allows for these natural human experiences to occur during the data collection process without impacting the quality of the data collected. Furthermore, I argue that Group X’s ideologies, and its impact on the identities of their members, would be best understood by the inclusion of different sets of data, such as social interactions, textual analysis, and field

notes which best allowed me to gain insight into the inner workings of the group, and explore the processes and practices that involve the interactional formation and the representation of the modern Afrikaner.





## **CHAPTER 6: The Iconization of Afrikaner Identity**

### **6.0 Introduction**

In Chapter 5, I discussed social enclaves and how these enclaves often form as a manner of self-preservation. I have argued that Group X has formed one of these social enclaves to explore and express their Afrikaner identity – that of the iconic Afrikaner. In order to further investigate the iconic Afrikaner, and the phenomenon of enclave nationalism, this chapter reports and analyses data that provides a sense of the textual and interactional dynamics of social enclaves, and how the iconic Afrikaner is promoted within Group X. Firstly, this chapter illustrates that through linguistic differentiation and iconization, an iconic Afrikaner identity is being promoted within Group X. I argue that this iconic Afrikaner identity goes against the grain of transformation in a new South Africa, and feeds into the discourse of Afrikaner fragility and preservation in a transforming South Africa. The section that follows begins by introducing the context of Group X and expands on how the group defines themselves.

### **6.1 Empowering through differentiation: the iconization of Afrikaner identity**

Before I started my data collection in the group and attended their weekly meetings, I investigated their online presence to gain context into the space I would soon enter. One of the documents that I discovered was a workbook, or what would look like a textbook, used by the senior grade-level groups. I would later learn that this workbook was used, taught, and studied by the group members during meetings. As mentioned before, Group X proudly states that they set out to ‘empower modern Afrikaners’. In this document, which I refer to as the senior textbook, Group X acknowledges that there are instances where someone may ask, ‘When am I an Afrikaner?’ They further state that there is no longer a ‘crystal clear’ definition to this question. Group X go on to state a few of the dilemmas that possibly face an identity laden Afrikaner today and offer tips to clarify the Afrikaner identity:



## EXTRACT 6.1

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Daar is nie vandag meer 'n klinkklare definisie op die vraag wie Afrikaners is nie. Afrikaners was nooit 'n gewilde en onderdanige minderheidsgroep nie, hulle het uiteenlopende politieke standpunte en geloofsoortuigings, maar hul teenwoordigheid en bydrae tot die land en gemeenskap is onmiskenbaar.</p>	<p><i>There is no longer a clear definition for the question of who Afrikaners are. Afrikaners were never a popular and submissive minority group, they have diverse political views and beliefs, but their presence and contribution to the country are unmistakable.</i></p>
<p>Afrikaners het nooit toegelaat dat ander mense hul Afrikanerskap definieer nie. Afrikanerskap is dinamies en Afrikaners het deur die eeue in verskillende omstandighede hulself vanuit 'n interne locus standi gedefinieer.</p>	<p><i>Afrikaners never allowed other people to define their Afrikanerness. Afrikanerism is dynamic, and Afrikaners have, over the centuries, in different circumstances found themselves defined from an internal locus standi.</i></p>
<p>Vandag sê ons om 'n Afrikaner te wees, moet 'n persoon hom enersyds tuis voel as Afrikaner (m.a.w. hom met Afrikaners vereenselwig) en andersyds deur Afrikaners aanvaar word (aanvaarding deur die groep). Ons eie voorouers het opgehou om Duits, Frans, Engels, Nederlands, Portugees of wat ook al te wees, en het deur vrye assosiasie hulle lot by die Afrikaners ingewerp.</p>	<p><i>Today we say that to be an Afrikaner; a person must, on the one hand, feel at home as an Afrikaner (i.e. he relates with Afrikaners) and on the other hand, is accepted by Afrikaners (acceptance by the group). Our ancestors stopped learning German, French, English, Dutch, Portuguese or whatever, and cast their lot with the Afrikaners through free association.</i></p>
<p>Die oorgrote meerderheid middelgrond soekende Afrikaners definieer vandag Afrikanerskap as ruimte skeppend (nie voorskriftelik nie) op die beginsel van vryheid van assosiasie</p>	<p><i>The vast majority of middle ground-seeking Afrikaners today define Afrikanerism as space-creating (not prescriptive) on the principle of freedom of association.</i></p> <p><i>Afrikanerism is a matter of the heart. The best definition for self-confessed Afrikanerism is to say: I</i></p>

Afrikanerskap is 'n hartsaak. Die beste definisie vir selferkende Afrikanerskap is om te sê: Ek weet in my hart ek is 'n Afrikaner en ek is trots daarop. Afrikanerskap is ook 'n keuse. 'n Vrye vereenselwiging met die kultuurgemeenskap en sy geskiedenis. Die blote feit dat jou ouers Afrikaners is, maak nie van jou 'n Afrikaner nie. 'n Mens is eers 'n Afrikaner as jy vir jouself sê: "Ek is 'n Afrikaner," en jou optrede die Afrikaners om jou laat sê: "Hy is 'n Afrikaner."

*know in my heart I am an Afrikaner, and I am proud of it. Afrikanerism is also a choice—a free identification with the cultural community and its history. The mere fact that your parents are Afrikaners does not make you an Afrikaner. You are only an Afrikaner when you say to yourself: "I am an Afrikaner," and your actions make the Afrikaners around you say: "He is an Afrikaner."*

In extract 6.1, we can see evidence very early on that Group X felt they could be in a fragile state because they claimed that the Afrikaner people were neither a 'popular group' nor 'submissive'. By mentioning that they were unpopular whilst simultaneously declaring that they were not submissive, highlights the discourse of strength amongst the Afrikaner people. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the Afrikaners were shaped by rising and fighting against their colonial oppressors, and therefore the fact that the author here mentions that they will not be submissive holds its roots in history and can be seen as fractally recursive discourse – but more on that point later.

Group X furthers this narrative by stating that the Afrikaner presence and their contribution to the country are "unmistakable". This phrase gives the reader the impression that the author is wanting to reiterate and emphasise that the Afrikaner was responsible for helping build the South African country, whilst erasing any information about what it is exactly that would make the Afrikaner unpopular in South Africa in the first place. The fact that the Afrikaner history does display acts of heroism and strength holds, and I am in no way denying that there were many ways in which the Afrikaner helped build South Africa, but, as I discussed in Chapter 2, what this statement erases is that the Afrikaner triumph in South Africa came at the expense of others, including the indigenous KhoeKhoe, San and African tribes.

The author of this extract again states the dominance and strength of the Afrikaners, stating that, “Afrikaners never allowed other people to define their Afrikanerness”. This statement carries much weight, as it suggests that the Afrikaners are a specific group of people, with clear defining characteristics, which will be defined by them, not by an outsider. Using the word “allowed” suggests that the Afrikaner has never given anybody permission to define who they are – and the word suggests that the Afrikaner is the only party involved in defining an Afrikaner.

The author continues to give a vague definition of what it means for a member of Group X to be an Afrikaner, by stating; “Today we say that to be an Afrikaner; a person must, on the one hand, feel at home as an Afrikaner (i.e., he relates with Afrikaners) and on the other hand, is accepted by Afrikaners (acceptance by the group).” The concept of *home* and *group acceptance* is discussed at a further point in this chapter (section 6.3), but what the reader can deduct from this statement is that there are a specific set of requirements needed by an individual to be “accepted by Afrikaners”. This statement is in contradiction with the statement that follows, in which the author states that being an Afrikaner is done by “free identification”. If an individual was able to freely associate as an Afrikaner, why would there need to be a need for “acceptance by the group”? The author continues to describe to the reader what being an Afrikaner means, by stating that “The best definition for self-confessed Afrikanerism is to say: I know in my heart I am an Afrikaner, and I am proud of it.”

Shifting from a place of pride, the author introduces an important condition that one is to consider before freely identifying as a self-confessed Afrikaner. The author outlines this condition by stating that, “the mere fact that your parents are Afrikaners does not make you an Afrikaner” – as you must act in a way people around you can declare that you are indeed, an Afrikaner; reiterating the importance of being accepted by the group. The author is describing here that being an Afrikaner is a two-way relationship – an iconic relationship, if you will. This iconic relationship is dependent on both feelings of being at “home” and “free identification” as well the condition of “group acceptance” by other Afrikaners. To clarify my point, the author seems to be indicating that to be an Afrikaner, it is not just enough that you must feel at “home” as an Afrikaner or that you can identify with other Afrikaners. In order to carry the title of an Afrikaner, you also must be accepted by other Afrikaners as an Afrikaner, highlighting the importance of group identity. To

strengthen this argument, I wish to remind you about the theory discussed in Chapter 4 based on Irvine and Gal's (2000) language ideology model.

In this chapter, I distinguished between an indexical relationship and an iconic relationship. An indexical relationship describes a one-directional relationship between the linguistic form of the word and the social phenomena that it is linked to. The linguistic form of the word may be linked to the specific social phenomena, but the social phenomena are not necessarily linked to the linguistic form. An iconic relationship involves a change in the conceptual schema of the mind so that these conceptual schemas become suffused with political and moral issues pervading the sociolinguistic field. This is the exact case here – the indexical relationship that exists between the term 'Afrikaner' and particular social phenomena has shifted to a more fixed relationship – by Group X demarcating particular social traits that you need to have in order to be classified as an Afrikaner. By stating that an individual needs to not only self-identify as an Afrikaner, but also that your "Afrikanerness" and your actions need to lead to other Afrikaners stating that, "He is an Afrikaner", Group X is promoting a fixed iconic relationship that is based on group acceptance. Group X clearly states that group acceptance is vital in forming the Afrikaner identity, and you cannot have a self-perceived Afrikaner identity without the group acceptance by other Afrikaners. This fixed relationship reveals, very early on, that there is a particular language ideology of differentiation, based on iconicity and the feeling of 'homeliness' that exists within the group. Afrikaners in Group X act differently, and in such a way that will allow others to clearly observe and mark their behaviour as that of an Afrikaner.

After reading this information in extract 6.1, having always assumed that due to my familial connection with Afrikaners that I was able to identify as one, I was truly interested, would I make the cut? More importantly, how would others be able to see my 'Afrikanerness' empirically – how does one become and identify as an Afrikaner? Surprisingly, Group X provides a list of attributes that could make of you, a modern Afrikaner:

## EXTRACT 6.2

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>'n *** sou kon sê:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Afrikaners is mense wat die Here lief het en erns maak met godsdiens.</li><li>2. Afrikaners is bouers.</li><li>3. Afrikaners streef na vryheid.</li><li>4. Afrikaners het respek vir ander, is trots op hul taal en kultuur.</li><li>5. Afrikaners is lief is vir hul gesinne en familie.</li><li>6. Afrikaners is diensbaar in hul gemeenskap, kerk, skool en organisasies.</li><li>7. Afrikaners is staatmakers om werk gedoen te kry.</li><li>8. Afrikaners is pioniers wat grense skuif en dinge laat gebeur.</li><li>9. Afrikaners skep hul eie toekoms.</li><li>10. Afrikaners is mense met uiteenlopende standpunte en nie skaam om dit te stel nie.</li><li>11. Afrikaners is Afrikaans.</li><li>12. Afrikaners het 'n gedeelde geskiedenis van meer as 350 jaar.</li><li>13. Afrikaners het 'n Westerse lewenswyse.</li><li>14. Afrikaners het hulself en hul taal na Afrika vernoem. Ons is nie tweedeklas burgers nie. Ons is deel van die kontinent van sy groot ruimtes en onbeperkte horisonne.</li></ol>	<p>A *** could say:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Afrikaners are people who love the Lord and take religion seriously.</li><li>2. Afrikaners are builders.</li><li>3. Afrikaners strive for freedom.</li><li>4. Afrikaners have respect for others, are proud of their language and culture.</li><li>5. Afrikaners love their families and relatives.</li><li>6. Afrikaners are serviceable in their community, church, school and organizations.</li><li>7. Afrikaners are stalwarts to get jobs done.</li><li>8. Afrikaners are pioneers who push boundaries and make things happen.</li><li>9. Afrikaners create their own future.</li><li>10. Afrikaners are people with different points of view and are not ashamed to state them.</li><li>11. Afrikaners are Afrikaans.</li><li>12. Afrikaners have a shared history of more than 350 years.</li><li>13. Afrikaners have a Western way of life.</li><li>14. Afrikaners named themselves and their language after Africa. We are not second-class citizens. We are part of the continent of its vast expanses and unlimited horizons.</li></ol>

This extract is a depiction of Afrikaner self-perception. It also provides an opportunity the reader to understand the iconic relationship, described by Irvine and Gal (2000), that exists between the term ‘Afrikaner’ and the social phenomena related to that term, as well as how to become the modern Afrikaner that Group X prescribes. Below, I expand on the iconic characteristics that make an individual an Afrikaner by discussing a few of the points above in more detail.

To serve as a reminder for the discussion of this section, in Chapter 1, I explained why I use the indefinite article ‘the’ in conjunction with the term ‘Afrikaner’ when referring to members of this group and other Afrikaners. As stated by Christi van der Westhuizen (2017), there are appears to be three types of Afrikaners: Afrikaans African nationalists, the neo-Afrikaner and Afrikaner enclave nationalists. Before in extract 6.1, the author vaguely described what it means to be an Afrikaner, by stating that it is not enough for you to say that you are an Afrikaner, but that other Afrikaners must look at you and also agree that you are indeed an Afrikaner, that you are part of the group. However, I argue that extract 6.2 sets out to describe ‘the’ Afrikaner – an Afrikaner that meets specific iconic characteristics that allow one to be identified as an iconic Afrikaner. Extract 6.2 illustrates a list, using verbs such as *is* (are) and *het* (have) to describe an Afrikaner, and to illustrate an iconic relationship between ‘Afrikaner’ and the social characteristics that Group X prescribes to the linguistic term ‘Afrikaner’. For example, in line 1, the author states that, “Afrikaners are people who love the Lord and take religion seriously.

The statement in line 1 displays recursive ideologies that historically helped in the formation of the Afrikaner identity. Line 1 demonstrates the strong iconic link that is formed between Afrikaner and religion. This is a link that has existed for decades, and one that was clearly defined by the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Fellowship of True Afrikaners) during the first Afrikaans language movement, where the GRA stated that; “God placed us [the Afrikaners] in Africa and gave us the Afrikaans language”. This textually preserved, long-standing belief that God had chosen the Afrikaners, which is still present amongst many Afrikaners today, has been prominent throughout Afrikaner history. It still holds firm in the ideology of Afrikaners identity today, differentiating ‘the’ iconic Afrikaner that is promoted by Group X from an Afrikaans South African that may not share in these religious beliefs. This differentiation based on religion gives an Afrikaner that may be a part of a group like Group X, a reason to separate themselves from



others based on a social characteristic such as religion, as if they are not religious – Group X would not classify them as an Afrikaner. This type of classification gives the members of Group X a reason to migrate inwards – resulting in the formation of social enclaves, withdrawing themselves from a transforming South Africa.

Another characteristic of being an Afrikaner that I wish to highlight here is that the author claims that “Afrikaners are Afrikaans”. A simple iconic statement that will form the basis of analysis in Chapter 7.

The last few characteristics that I want to highlight from extract 6.2 are lines 13, “Afrikaners have a Western way of life” and line 14, “Afrikaners named themselves and their language after Africa. We are not second-class citizens. We are part of the continent of its vast expanses and unlimited horizons”. These statements, I argue, are a tool used by the author to defend the Afrikaner identity by providing statements to defend their sense of belonging in South Africa, an assertion made to defend their perceived sense of vulnerability in South Africa, and to protect their Afrikaner fragility. By the author stating in line 13, that Afrikaners have a “Western way of life”, this reinstates the relationship that the Afrikaner has with its European colonisers – a history that was expanded on in Chapter 2 and 3. The claim of a “Western” way of life plays into the discourse of superiority that is often paired with the idea that the “Western” way of life is better than any alternative, an ideology enforced on Africa through colonisation, and it is also a view that is strongly paired with discourse surrounding whiteness. The connection of the Afrikaner with a Western way of life iconizes the Afrikaner roots within Europe whilst differentiating themselves from any alternative way of life and supports the statement that the iconic relationship of the Group X Afrikaner is rooted in history. Again, this point of differentiation gives the Afrikaner a reason to disassociate with someone that does not meet these characteristics, for example, one that does not prescribe to a Western way of living. And this creates a situation in which the Afrikaner can withdraw into a space where they can interact with those Afrikaners that share their beliefs, culture, and values.

In line 14, we have the bold statement made by the author in which they state that Afrikaners are not “second-class citizens”. This point is further clarified by the author stating that, “[Afrikaners]

are part of the continent, its vast expanses and unlimited horizons”. The statement that the members of this group are not “second-class” citizens is Group X’s way of linguistically differentiating themselves and ensuring that the Afrikaners of this group are not looked over as visitors in South Africa. This statement made by the author implicitly highlights Group X’s fear of belonging and Afrikaner fragility, by wanting to counter the assumption that Afrikaners have no original place or claim in South Africa as they are not the original inhabitants of the land. This statement seems to remind the reader once again that Afrikaners belong in South Africa - they are not guests in South Africa. By the author stating that they are not “second-class citizens”, the author is euphemistically stating that Afrikaners are rather first-class citizens. Afrikaners should therefore be afforded the status of being a part of South Africa, and not guests. The list in extract 6.2 further qualifies this statement by the author including the characteristic in line 8 that Afrikaners helped build South Africa as “pioneers”, and therefore they will not have their citizenship and belonging questioned, because as stated in extract 6.1, Afrikaners have never had others define who they are – and with this iconic list of what it means to be an Afrikaner, it is clear that Group X will not stand for others ideologically defining who, and what it means to be an Afrikaner in South Africa.

On a point of reflectivity as a self-identified Afrikaner, I do not identify with many of these traits that would, according to Group X, classify me as the iconic and modern Afrikaner that Group X sets out to empower. Rather, I would say that I identify with a more indexical Afrikaner ideology, which aligns with the label of an Afrikaans South African. This point of differentiation between myself and the Afrikaners in Group X greatly impacted my experience within the group, as I entered the fieldwork with a feeling of difference. I, as an Afrikaans South African, was different to them. In this regard, Group X demarcates the specifics of what you need to be in order to be classified as an Afrikaner, and this list discussed in extract 6.2 allows Group X the opportunity to further retreat into the enclave that they have created for themselves. They have created a space in which anyone who does not fit this iconic criterion is differentiated, which could harm the social identity of the modern Afrikaner that Group X wish to empower, as well as negatively impact the social, cultural and linguistic transformation of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language in South Africa.

The list of iconic Afrikaner characteristics outlined in extract 6.2 provided me with more context into the ideology of the modern Afrikaner identity that Group X has set out to promote and empower. This information gave me more background into the specific group of Afrikaners that I would get to know throughout my ethnographic fieldwork. This introduction gave me some form of context as to who the members of my group would be, and it provided me with the context needed when analysing the social interactions of the iconic Afrikaner, and the iconization of Afrikaner identity in the group of modern Afrikaners.

## **6.2 Iconized Afrikaner Identity in Interaction**

I was eager to investigate whether the points mentioned in extract 6.2 were socially enacted by the participants in Group X, or whether they merely served as a guide, or a potential wish list of qualities for hopeful Afrikaners that hoped to join Group X. I was able to answer this question during an interaction I recorded on a Friday after one of the very popular camps that the groups host throughout the year. These camps are either attended by members from this specific group only, or on some occasions, with members from similar groups throughout South Africa. This camp was one of the latter and the young speakers of Afrikaans were discussing their experiences of the camps and all the fun and games that they partook in with kids from the other groups. In this instance, the one member Susan, in a conversation with other group members and their group leader Lina, comments on how the Afrikaners in Group X are simply different from the friends they have at school. Susan and the other members within this interaction come from single medium schools that are only Afrikaans speaking. In the interaction below, the Afrikaans speaking members differentiate themselves from others.

### **EXTRACT 6.3**

#### ***Participants:***

**Susan:** Group member

**X:** Unnamed group member

**Lina:** Group leader

**Carla:** Researcher

**Tina:** Group member

**Marie:** Group member

- 1 Susan Maar um, wat ek agter gekom het is... Ek wil nou nie... Ek het agter gekom Groep X kinders en my skool kinders is eintlik twee verskillende groepe-  
*But um, what I realized... I don't want to... I realized that Group X children and my school children are actually two different groups-*
- 2 X Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 3 Lina Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 4 X Dit is.  
*It is.*
- 5 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 6 Susan Want nou gaan ek op die kamp, en die Groep X kinders, hulle is so anderse, hulle is net so lekker en ek, en ons praat –  
*Because now I'm going on the camp, and the Group X children, they are so different, they are just so nice and I, and we talk -*
- 7 Lina Jy's amper soos familie.  
*You are almost like family.*
- 8 Tina Ja! Ja!  
*Yes! Yes!*
- 9 Marie Hulle is meer vriendeliker...en hulle is meer vriendelik en goeters.  
*They are more friendly...and they are more friendly and stuff.*
- 10 Susan -ek weet nie hoe om dit te verduidelik nie. En deur die week dan... almal kom bymekaar en almal maak hulle groepies eintlik en so -  
*-I don't know how to describe it. And during the week...ten everyone comes together, and everyone makes their groups actual and so -*
- 11 Carla Mm.

- 12 Susan En ek kom by die skool, en die kinders sê vir my; “Susan, maar... maar jy is anderste man. Wat het gebeur? Jy is so anders.” Ek is soos van, ek weet nie!  
*And I come to school, and the children say to me; “Susan, but... but you are different man. What happened? You are so different.” I'm like, I do not know!*
- 13 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 14 Susan En sulke goed. Maar um, nou ook ‘n ding is, Groep X seuns –  
*And things like that. But um, now also a thing is, Group X boys -*
- 15 Marie Oe!  
*Oe!*
- 16 Susan -Hulle kan dans!  
*-They can dance!*
- 17 Group Ja! [inaudible]  
*Yes!*
- 18 Susan Ons het ‘n skool sokkie gehad en toe is daar ‘n paar van die seuns. Nie een van die seuns daar kon dans nie, maar hulle doen daai... Hulle doen daai um...  
*We had a school dance and then there were some of the boys. None of the boys there could dance, but they do that... They do that um...*
- 19 Marie Langarm...
- 20 Susan Ja. Nee, hulle doen daai binne buite ding.  
*Ja no, they do that inside-outside thing.*
- 21 Lina [inaudible] ...ek wou vir julle vertel... My... My matriek seun, wat nou matriek is, was na vier matriek afskeide toe –  
*[inaudible]... I wanted to tell you...my...my matric son, who is now in matric, went to four matric farewells -*
- 22 Susan Ja...  
*Yes.*
- 23 Lina -waarvan drie Groep X meisies was.

*-where 3 where Group X girls.*

- 24 X Ja ek het gehoor.  
*Yes, I heard.*
- 25 Lina So dit is netwerking. Groep X maats is anderste maats.  
*So, it is a network. Group X friends are different friends.*

In Extract 6.3, we see Susan commenting in line 1 that Group X children, and the school pupils from her school, are “actually” two different groups of friends. Susan being the first to introduce the idea of difference between these two groups of Afrikaners. Subsequently, many of the other group members in the conversation agree with Susan’s statement. At this point of the fieldwork, I had been able to spend just close to a year with the members of Group X, and I was able to see first-hand that members of Group X were indeed different to Afrikaners that existed outside this group, and I found myself subconsciously agreeing to the comment, a minor slip in my ability to remain objective in this interaction. Susan continues to expand on her statement of difference in line 6, stating that the friends in Group X are “just different”, as they are “just so nice”. Susan raises this conversation of difference, but she looks onto others to answer *why* this difference is perceived, and she is not able to attribute the correct description or explanation for the difference between the two groups. The way Susan describes the Group X members as “different” speaks to the language ideology of difference, and creates a divide between the Afrikaners attending Group X and other Afrikaners outside of this enclave, thus promoting the idea of the iconic Afrikaner in Group X.

Lina steps in at this point, line 7, and makes the statement that members of Group X are “almost like family”. The idea of “family” automatically assumes shared values, beliefs, and traditions – and highlights a sense of unity and closeness, which is apparently not evident in their peer social circles outside of Group X. The choice of the word “family” to describe the relationship between group members in Group X, assumes a level of closeness and acceptance amongst the group members, essentially being around these members makes you feel at home. The fact that the members of Group X feel like family, automatically differentiates the members of this group from other friends and highlights the notion that the members of Group X are a close-knit group, with shared beliefs and values that makes it easier to get a long and have a level of group acceptance.



Marie interjects in line 9, stating that the members of Group X are more “friendly”, again placing a barrier of difference between the two social groups. At this point, I asked (internally): Is Susan’s experience of Group X’s members as more friendly than her school peers due to the fact that her Afrikaner ideology is not accepted at school, and therefore she is not able to relate to her peers? Unfortunately, this is a question that I was not able to ask at this point of the interaction. In line 12, however, Susan does make an interesting observation that provided me with some sort of answer for this question that popped up in my consciousness during this interaction. Susan notes that when she returns from these camps that Group X hosts, that she is not the only one that notices that there is a difference between herself, and ‘them’. After returning from the camp after the holiday and returning to school, she notes that her peers at school asked her, “What happened?”, as she seems, “so different”. This observation from Susan assumes that she is aware that this sense of difference is not simply an observation that she has made based on her time with the group, but that other Afrikaners – in a different social enclave – are able to recognise the difference in her behaviour.

The conversation then strolls off onto a topic about the boys that form part of Group X and the fact that they can dance – and not just this “inside-outside thing”, but they can *sokkie*. I laughed when I heard this because, being Afrikaans myself I understand the value of being able to *sokkie*. Growing up, I remember family parties where the older cousins would teach us how to *sokkie* – and at parties, Afrikaans or not, this was the ‘go to’ dance method for Afrikaners. *Sokkie* is a type of social dance style, traditionally done with a partner, and it is a dance style that is unique to South Africa, and it is most popular with Afrikaners. What stood out to me about this interaction is that something as simple as being able to do a specific dance was used to differentiate the Group X boys from other Afrikaans boys, and the fact that they could do this traditional Afrikaner dance helped Lina’s son get many dates to the matric farewell. The fact that that the boys that form part of Group X can *sokkie*, linguistically assigns an iconic attribute of Afrikaner ideology and group behaviour, to something as simple as a dance. Group X also provides a badge<sup>7</sup> for being able to do this dance and other dance specializations, further iconizing the dance called the *sokkie* – both

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<sup>7</sup> Group X provides badges as symbols of progression and completion for various activities and skills within the group and throughout the members’ time with Group X. It is encouraged to attain as many badges as possible throughout your career with Group X, and therefore there is a sense of value and pride attributed to these badges.

highlighting the importance of the cultural element of dance within the group, whilst simultaneously using the iconized *sokkie* as a point of differentiation.

Lina, the group's adult leader – who, throughout my time with the group was always eager to teach me as much as possible about Group X, wanted to gain control of this conversation. I found that this was often the case with Lina; she was known amongst other group leaders within Group X as the one who takes things very 'seriously' and often enforces Group X's codes of conduct upon other group leaders, not only its members. I could tell that she was very passionate about Group X and was always eager to teach me more and get me more involved with Group X – what I initially suspected was performativity in reaction to my presence.

Lina makes the summative statement that Group X is a "network", in line 25. If one looks at the definition of the word network (when used as a noun as it is in the above context), a network is defined as a group or a system of interconnected people or things. The statement made by Lina agrees with the conditions set out earlier extract 6.1 and 6.2, that an Afrikaner has an interconnected relationship, one that is defined by people who share similar interests. Her statement implies that the friends you will make here will be different friends, as they will be formed and shared by people who share similar interests. This, however, does not seem to satisfy the group, and the word 'different' was being used by many without anyone giving a clear answer to the question. I had hoped that Lina would clarify this further, and in the next few seconds – she did:

#### **EXTRACT 6.4**

##### *Participants*

**Susan:** Group member

**Lina:** Group leader

**Marie:** Group member

**X:** Unnamed group member

1 Susan Maar dis nie –  
*But it's not -*

- 2 Lina -dit is anderste vriendskappe wat jy bou.  
*-it is a different friendship that you build.*
- 3 Marie Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 4 Lina Dit is nie 'n emosionele vriendskap nie-  
*It is not an emotional friendship-*
- 5 Marie -Joh, ek wou dit gesê het.  
*-Joh, I wanted to say that.*
- 6 Lina -dit is 'n.. dit is 'n... Ek kan net myself mens wees vriendskap.  
*-it is a...it is a...I can just be myself friendship.*
- 7 X Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 8 Susan Dis is nie asof dit nou... Omdat ek die heelyd by die... By die mense is. Dit is nie asof ek van hulle hou, hou emosioneel nie.  
*It is not as if now... Because I'm at the... with the people all the time. It's not like I like them, like them emotionally.*
- 9 Lina Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 10 Susan Dis ek geniet hulle... Hulle geselskap en sulke goeters.  
*It's I enjoy them... Their company and stuff like that.*
- 11 Lina Ja. Kom ek sê gou vir jou iets anderste, en ekskuus Marie, ek gaan jou nou gebruik. Megan het twee weke, drie weke, 'n maand terug by ons begin.  
*Yes. Let me quickly tell you something different, and sorry Marie, I'm going to use you now. Megan started with us two weeks, three weeks, a month ago.*
- 12 Marie Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 13 X Mm.
- 14 Lina Net voor die September vakansie en sy het besluit sy gaan kamp toe. Megan het my al hoeveel keer by die skool gekry en sy sal my altyd groet. Sy sal my altyd roep. Sy sal altyd met my gesels. En dit is wat Groep X is. Dat jy moet gemaklik voel met jou Groep X maats.

*Just before the September holidays and she decided she was going to the camp. Megan has seen me at school so many times and she will always greet me. She will always call me. She will always talk to me. And that's what Group X is. That you should feel comfortable with your Group X friends.*

15 X Mm.

16 Lina Jy hoef nie emosioneel met hulle verbind te wees nie. Maar jy moet 'n gevoel van eenheid kan vorm daarmee. Sy het die vrymoedigheid om vir my nader te roep en te sê, “Nig ek het 'n probleem”, of “hallo Nig”. Of om vir my iets te vra. En dit, dit maak my hart warm om te dink dat in hierdie kort tydjie wat sy saam met ons is, het sy alreeds daai gevoel gekry. Ek het haar al ook by die skool gekry.

*You do not have to be emotionally attached to them. But you have to be able to form a sense of unity with it. She has the courage to call me closer and say, “Cousin, I have a problem”, or “hello Cousin”. Or to ask me something. And that, it warms my heart to think that in this short time that she has been with us, she's already got that feeling.*

This interaction followed a few seconds after extract 6.3, with the word “different” still being used by Lina in line 2 to describe the sense of differentiation felt by the group members towards other Afrikaans friends at school. Lina now leads the discourse on what makes a Group X friend different, by stating in line 4, that the friendship that you have with members of group X, is not an “emotional friendship”. One is left to wonder, if it is not a friendship that is based on emotions, then what is the foundation of the friendship in Group X – that makes this relationship different? Lina further clarifies her statement in line 6, by stating that the difference in the friendships made with Group X members, is due to the fact that they are friends that you can “just be yourself with” – and this does not necessarily correlate to an emotional bond that you form with these people as stated in line 4. By stating that the friendship you make with other members of Group X is a friendship where you can just be yourself, she agrees with her previous statement of the group being a network, like that of a family. It is easier to be yourself when those around you share the same values and ideas, different to a relationship that is built on emotions. A friendship with members of Group X would be more natural, as you would not need to pretend to veer from your

Afrikaner ideologies that are celebrated in Group X, but rather the friendship that would be more natural and not necessarily as complicated as an emotional friendship. She uses one of the newer members of the group to further her point. In doing so, she draws on Marie in line 11 and explains that even though she has only been part of Group X for a short while, it warms her heart that Marie has already experienced this sense of unity between herself and other group members. The sense of unity, family, sense of belonging and feeling that you can just be “yourself” seemed to be the qualities that make a Group X friend different from another Afrikaans friend at school.

Extract 6.4 strongly relates to the iconic relationship described in extract 6.1. To be an Afrikaner, you have to be accepted by other Afrikaners and this sense of group belonging seems to be something that Group X can provide to its members, and it enables the members of Group X to differentiate themselves from other Afrikaners in South Africa. Becoming a member of this group and the differentiation that is promoted in it becomes a point of tension in the promotion of a modern Afrikaner, one which I argue should be living out in the open in a transformed South Africa and not form part of an iconic ideal of an Afrikaner, one living in a heterotopic nationalist enclave, fuelled by differentiation.

### **6.3 Managing the tensions of differentiation: ‘network’, ‘family’ and ‘rules’**

Compared to the document and interactional analysis in the previous section, which illustrates the iconization of Afrikaner identity in Group X, in this section, we will see how the youth within the group deals with the tensions of differentiation and what it means to be an Afrikaner in this particular group. We see several pushes and pull factors in the transforming South Africa, where individual voices try to manage the difference between being, as van der Westhuizen (2017) states, an enclave Afrikaner and an Afrikaans South African.

Following the conversation in extract 6.4, it seemed apparent that the topic of why Group X are different was not yet resolved, as the next week, the topic of difference within the two friend groups was raised again by Susan - and we see the participants dealing with the symbolic heaviness of difference. This interaction took place away from any of the group leaders present, which allowed the participants to be more open in their discussions of difference. The topic was raised at a

weekend activity that I attended with the group. The interaction below took place under the trees, away from group leaders or any formal structure I was used to as part of the usual weekly meetings, led by Susan and Marie discussing the issue of friends at Group X.

### **EXTRACT 6.5**

#### *Participants*

**Carla:** Researcher

**Susan:** Group member

**Marie:** Group member

- 1 Marie Ja. Groep X... Die Groep X roetine is net anderste en so lekkerder.  
*Yes. Group X... The Group X routine is just different and so much more fun.*
- 2 Susan En jy raak –  
*And you become -*
- 3 Marie [As by die skool]  
*As at the school.*
- 4 Susan -jy raak nooit moeg vir jou Groep X maats [inaudible] so kan sê nie.  
*-you never get tired of your Group X friends, so can say.*
- 5 Marie [Jy raak nooit moeg nie.]  
*You never get tired*
- 6 Susan Jy is gewoon aan hulle soos...  
*You are used to them like...*
- 7 Marie Jy kamp saam met hulle.  
*You camp with them.*
- 8 Susan Jy slaap saam met hulle.  
*You sleep with them.*
- 9 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 10 Marie Ja, jy slaap saam met hulle.



- Yes, you sleep with them.*
- 11 Carla En dis anders dan by die skool mense wat nie by Groep X.  
*And it's different than with the school people who are not at Group X.*
- 12 Susan Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 13 Marie Is nie. Ma... Maar hulle is tog...  
*Its not. Bu... But they are still...*
- 14 Susan Jy sien hulle net soos vir 6 ure.  
*You only see them or 6 hours.*
- 15 Marie Daar's skool mense...  
*There are school people -*
- 16 Susan Ja.  
*Yes*
- 17 Marie Wat 'fake' is.  
*Who are fake-*
- 18 Susan Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 19 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 20 Marie Jy kan nie eintlik 'fake'...  
*You can't really fake...*
- 21 Susan Hierso... Hierso kan jy nie 'fake' wees nie.  
*Here... here you can't be fake.*
- 22 Carla Maar dink jy dis omdat al almal hierso is dieselfde familie waardes-  
*But do you think it's because everyone here is the same family values-*
- 23 Marie Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 24 Carla -en daai goed?  
*-and those things?*
- 25 Susan Wel, ek dink almal volg dieselfde reëls.  
*Well, I think everyone follows the same rules.*



26 Marie        Ja.  
                      Yes.

In Extract 6.5, we see the notion of ‘network’, ‘family’ and ‘rules’ appearing again in relation to the Afrikaner identity. Susan and Marie are trying to explain to me, once again, the difference between friends at Group X and friends at school. This was not a question that I directly asked; I noted that she raised a similar question at last week's meeting. Time was another reason of difference given by Susan and Marie, with them stating in line 5, that you never get tired of Group X friends, even though you spend more time with them (the “sleep with them” is about the time spent at the camp with these members, implying that they spend a prolonged period with these friends). Susan also mentions in line 6, that “you are used” to Group X friends, again highlighting this enhanced feeling of similarity and feeling of ‘home’ when surrounded by Group X friends. Marie then finally comes to a definitive point in line 17 that school friends are “fake”, and she goes on to differentiate other Afrikaans friends from Group X friends in line 21 by stating that Group X friends are not “fake” - a point that Susan agrees upon. Marie furthers her reasoning in saying that you “can’t” be fake at Group X. Interested by this notion of “fake”, I asked in line 22 whether Susan and Marie thought that the fact that they “can’t” be fake within and between members of the group is because they share the same family values, to which Marie agrees. Susan expands on this agreement in line 25 by saying that she thinks everybody “follows the same rules”.

The difference between the words “values” and “rules” stands out in this interaction. I had asked the participants whether they believed Group X friends were different due to family “values”, – but in the answer given by Susan, we see her substituting the word “value” with “rules”. Values are something you can choose to live by, and rules are usually enforced on you – and choice is often not part of rules. Again, we had this idea of group identity – with words such as *unity*, *network*, *family* and *rules* being used in the discourse of differentiation. Group X appear to have a certain reliance on *rules*, which strengthens the ideology of the iconic Afrikaner. Rules create a situation in this group, where members are seen complying with an Afrikaner's iconic expectations, set out for them in documents such as extract 6.1 and 6.2. I was curious to know whether there was a different set of codes or rules that members of this group lived by, which tied together with their Afrikaner identity with their group identity in Group X.

I then remembered an interaction earlier in the year when I was still relatively new to the group. This interaction occurred amongst the Grade 12 learners as they were studying for their end of year exam. For context, the academic career at Group X follows a similar structure to that of a traditional school career. Each grade has specific work and tasks that need to be completed before moving to the next year group. At the end of your time with the group, in your Grade 12 year, each member can choose to write a final exam – which is a culmination of what has been taught throughout their time with this group. Once the exam has been completed, the group member is awarded a certificate at the end of year ceremony held in honour of those who have obtained this qualification.

During this interaction, I learned from the Grade 12 group members the specific codes of conduct required by a group member. The textbook prescribes the characteristics needed to qualify as an Afrikaner (as seen in extract 6.2), but there were also codes of conduct memorized by the group that describe what a member of Group X stands for. I wondered if these qualities also made members of this group feel more at home with the friends of Group X. This interaction stood out for me for two reasons; firstly, it was one of the few meetings that I observed where they referred to the textbook.

Usually, the lessons are conducted in a far more informal manner – with a loose topic of the week, giving the members more freedom to share and talk about issues, often unrelated to work prescribed in the textbook. This week, it was different as the group leaders attempted to ‘drill’ the work into the members before their exams. Secondly, it also stood out to me, as it was the first time, I heard about these Group X ‘codes’. These codes referred to specific codes taken from a document you would sign as a symbol that you promise to live by these rules upon joining the group. This reminded me of a code of conduct given to us during school, and it is here where I ask you to reflect on your high school career. In many schools, and every school I attended, we were expected to read through the schools ‘Code of Conduct’ and contractually sign it as an agreement between us and the school that we would act following the rules set out in this ‘Code of Conduct’.

I argue here that the ‘codes’ that the Group X members are expected to learn – co-articulate the disciplinary codes that certain schools enforce, and by including similar discourse with Group X,

the group can synchronise and discipline the members of Group X towards the iconic identity of the modern Afrikaner in the same degree as to which the schools' disciplinary codes discipline the pupils towards the conduct expected within a school. In this specific interaction, we have the group leaders, Frida and Elna, attempting to drill the work into these members – as their exam is right around the corner. They are going around the room, asking the members to recite the Group X promise, a promise that each of them had to make at their induction ceremony when they first joined Group X. Kara is struggling to recite this and gets some help from Frida:

### **EXTRACT 6.6**

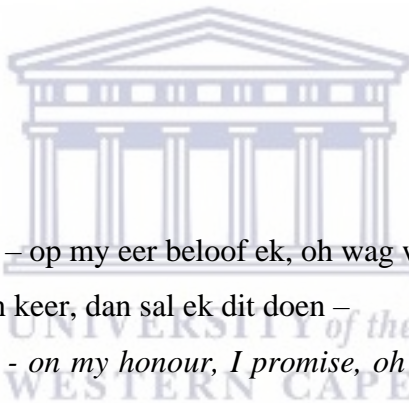
#### *Participants*

**Kara:** Group member

**Elna:** Group leader

**Frida:** Group leader

**X:** Group member

- 
- 1      Kara      Okay, okay – op my eer beloof ek, oh wag wag. Kan ek net, recap nog gou een keer, dan sal ek dit doen –  
*Okay, okay - on my honour, I promise, oh wait wait. Can I just, quickly recap one more time soon, then I'll do it.*
- 2      Frida      Okay, op my eer beloof ek dat ek strewe om God te eer, om my volk, my land en my medemens te dien, en die Groep X kode na te dien.  
*Okay, on my honour, I promise that I strive to honour God, to serve my people, my country and my fellow man, and to serve the Group X code.*
- 3      X      Ja jy sien, ek ken hom – het julle nou gesien [laughter]  
*Yes, you see, I know it – did you see now [laughter]*
- 4      Kara      [laughter] Op my eer beloof ek, om te streef –  
*[laughter] On my honour I promise, to strive -*
- 5      Frida      -dat ek sal –

- that I will -*
- 6 Kara -dat ek sal streef, nie streef nie –  
*-that I will strive, not strive-*
- 7 Frida -strewe.  
*-strive-*
- 8 Kara -strewe, ja strewe om God te eer, God te eer – my volk –  
*-strive, yes, strive to honour God, my people-*
- 9 Elna -my land  
*-my country*
- 10 Kara -my land en my medemens te tien en bo alles die Groep X kode na  
te leef.  
*-my country and my fellow man, and above all to serve the Group  
X code.*

In extract 6.6, we see the concept of a “promise” being expanded on. This promise is supposed to serve as a summary of how the members of Group X behave and act in society. First and foremost, a member must promise not only to serve but to honour God, as well as “my” people. The Afrikaans word for this, *volk*, carries a far stronger meaning than its English translation of people, with people being far more generic.

The word *volk* line 2 is historically and iconically linked with members of the Afrikaner nation, and it is also a word that was used to describe the German people under the guise of Nazi ideology. The fact that the word *volk* is placed before ‘my fellow people’ in this text could indicate the importance of taking care of your own people, before taking care of the needs of others. In the context of South Africa, this phrase that is repeated by Frida in line 2, is an act of linguistic differentiation, where she illustrates that the group members of Group X do see themselves and classify themselves as different to others, using the word *volk* to differentiate themselves from the “fellow people” of South Africa. The promise also includes the reference to “my” country, not “the” country, which further reinstates the Afrikaner’s position that they belong to the country and using the possessive adjective ‘my’ in the context of referring to the country highlights this view.

This pledge includes a promise to serve the people of South Africa, a promise that, to me, shows promise for a transformative Afrikaner, but more on that later.

Lastly, in line 10, we see Kara’s pledge that “above all other things they will serve the Group X code”. However, what was the Group X code? I found that this was the previous week’s study topic. Again, the group members were asked to go around the group and recite the Group X codes, as they will be asked in the exam. The members are having difficulty with this, as after remaining the same for their entire career with Group X, they had changed in 2017 – making these members needing to learn the new codes from scratch. These ‘old codes’ are slightly different from the new ones introduced in 2017, with many things within the textbook and documents of Group X is changed. In 2017, there was a meeting in which the national management of Group X grouped to adjust the policies, textbooks and inner workings of the Group. The new codes in the current senior textbooks read as follows:

**EXTRACT 6.7**

Afrikaans (Original)	English: Translation
<p>Ons Groep X kode:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 'n *** glo in die Drie-enige God en dien Hom.</li> <li>2. 'n *** se woord is sy eer.</li> <li>3. 'n *** is gehoorsaam.</li> <li>4. 'n *** leef met respek.</li> <li>5. 'n *** is trots op ons taal, kultuur en erfenis en bevorder dit.</li> <li>6. 'n *** leer uit die geskiedenis en bou daarop voort.</li> <li>7. 'n *** waardeer en bewaar sy omgewing.</li> <li>8. 'n *** neem leiding.</li> <li>9. 'n *** is oplettend en weerbaar.</li> <li>10. 'n *** is diensbaar.</li> </ol>	<p><i>Our Group X code:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>A *** believes in the Triune God and serves Him.</i></li> <li>2. <i>A ***'s word is his honour.</i></li> <li>3. <i>A *** is obedient.</i></li> <li>4. <i>A *** lives with respect.</i></li> <li>5. <i>A *** is proud of our language, culture and heritage and promotes it.</i></li> <li>6. <i>A *** learns from history and builds on it.</i></li> <li>7. <i>A *** appreciates and preserves his environment.</i></li> <li>8. <i>A *** takes the lead.</i></li> <li>9. <i>A *** is observant and resilient.</i></li> <li>10. <i>A *** is serviceable.</i></li> </ol>



As the members of the group went around trying to recite these codes to the best of their ability, when given a chance, I asked for more clarification on point 6 – “A \*\*\* learns from history and builds on it”, with this question raising a slightly awkward, and vague interaction about the exact ‘history’ that needs to be learnt from and built upon. A conversation that led me to take a deeper look into how Group X taught Afrikaner history to the members, a version of history that I will argue in Chapters 7 and 8, is based on Afrikaner fragility due to the need for the preservation of Afrikaner culture and identity.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I applied the concept of iconization and differentiation (Irvine and Gal, 2000) in my attempt to illustrate how the iconic Afrikaner is differentiated within Group X. Through the extracts from documents and social interactions between members of Group X, I would argue that in Group X - differentiation is iconized through the idea of ‘family’, ‘network’ and ‘rules’, which iconize the concept of a modern Afrikaner, as Group X define it. The sense of ‘family’ that they promote enhances their argument made in extract 6.1, that to be an Afrikaner – one cannot merely self-identify as an Afrikaner. Rather, it would help if you belonged to a specific ‘network’ of Afrikaners that can empirically decide that your actions meet the set iconic expectations of an Afrikaner. How are other Afrikaners able to decide whether outsiders might belong in this iconic Afrikaner network? This is done by observing whether you live your life by the iconized set of ‘rules and characteristics’ that the group has defined and whether you are able to access this Afrikaner enclave. I argued that these rules and characteristics goes against the grain of transformation in South Africa and hinders the growth and transformation of an Afrikaner, one rid of the kind of iconicity defined by ‘rules’ and ‘codes’ imposed by members of the enclave nationalist Group X.

## CHAPTER 7: Afrikaans and Linguistic capital

### 7.0 Introduction

Afrikaners are Afrikaans is a statement made by Group X when making their case for an iconic Afrikaner. In the Group X codes, the members are expected to pledge that they are proud of their language, and often within the group interactions with me and with other group members, the idea that Afrikaans, and only Afrikaans, is to be spoken within the group is made very clear. In this chapter, I firstly unpack the iconic relationship that exists between Afrikaans and the Afrikaner that Group X promotes, by highlighting areas in participant interactions and group documents that promote an iconic link between the Afrikaners and the Afrikaans language. Following this, I will draw on theories discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, focussing on Bourdieu's theories of linguistic capital. I will focus on the Afrikaans language and how in their interactions and documents, that from a place of Afrikaner fragility, members of Group X promote the ideology that Afrikaners, and the Afrikaans language have lost their power and linguistic capital in a transformed South Africa. Lastly, this chapter demonstrates how Group X, through the erasure of the other varieties of Afrikaans and iconicity, attempt to further their goal to increase the linguistic capital of the Afrikaans language and the speakers of that language.

### 7.1 “Replacement bilingualism”: Is Afrikaans dying out?

In Chapter 4, I spoke about the checkered history of Afrikaans. This background knowledge on how Afrikaans came to be is vital in understanding the identity of the modern Afrikaner. As mentioned in Chapter 4, 1925 saw the standardisation of ‘pure’ Afrikaans, a language that white Afrikaners believed was given to them by God.

In 1926, the GRA (*Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners*) made a statement in their manifesto – which would forever cement the iconic relationship between the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. In their 1926 Manifesto, they wrote, “Our beloved God placed us in Africa and gave us the Afrikaans language” (Devarenne 2006: 106). In this statement, white Afrikaners viewed the Afrikaans language as theirs. As illustrated in Chapter 4, the Afrikaans language (rather the

standard variety of Afrikaans) become the language of oppression, giving this language the supreme power and linguistic capital in the South African linguistic marketplace. To serve as a reminder, the concept of linguistic capital is viewed as a subtype cultural capital, in theories described by Bourdieu. Bourdieu frequently uses the terms ‘market’ and ‘exchange’ in his analysis and discussion of linguistic power relations in society, and the concept of linguistic capital, linguistic market and linguistic exchange, prove to be useful tools when attempting to understand the differences of linguistic power in societies across the world. To better understand the meaning behind linguistic capital, it is important to understand how Bourdieu defines a linguistic exchange. A linguistic exchange is viewed as a type of economic transaction where there are both a producer and a consumer. In this exchange, certain linguistic capital is exchanged which can procure a certain material or symbolic profit (Silver, 2005:50). To explain the concept of linguistic capital more clearly, I will use Group X and the Afrikaans language as an example. As will be discussed in this chapter, in terms of Group X, Afrikaans is the linguistic capital that can be exchanged in South Africa’s multilingual linguistic marketplace. The value of the Afrikaans language is embedded in the predispositions of individuals involved in the power dynamics (in this case the members of Group X) and the exchange within the linguistic field (how Afrikaans is used within and outside of the Group X enclave).

To return to my analysis, after the standardisation of Afrikaans by the GRA in 1926, the language soon became the language of government, politics, economy, and education, giving the speakers of that language far greater power than those not able to speak the language. Afrikaans became a commodity, as one’s ability to speak the language would give you access to opportunities not afforded to all living in South Africa. The fact that Afrikaners were responsible for the standardization of Afrikaans is a fact that is promoted and claimed by the author of the senior textbook used by Group X;

**EXTRACT 7.1**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
Afrikaners het Afrikaans gestandaardiseer as ’n spreek- en skryftaal en ontwikkel tot ’n volwaardige	<i>Afrikaners standardized Afrikaans as a language of speech and writing and developed it into a full-fledged</i>

<p>Bybel-, wetenskaps-, regs- en handelstaal. Die eerste vertaling van die volledige Bybel in Afrikaans (1933) het hierin 'n groot rol gespeel. Na 1994 bly Afrikaans 'n medium vir Afrikaanssprekendes en die Afrikaners om hulleself uit te leef in die nuwe Suid-Afrika.</p>	<p><i>language of the Bible, science, law and commerce. The first translation of the complete Bible into Afrikaans (1933) played a major role in this. After 1994, Afrikaans remained a medium for Afrikaans speakers and Afrikaners to live out their lives in the new South Africa.</i></p>
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With the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994, white South Africans were now in a democratic South Africa – one that faced rapid policy changes and promoted a democratic South Africa, one with equal opportunities for all. One of the major shifts during this period was the status of the Afrikaans language. After the 1994 elections, the language began to be used less as a public language, “becoming far less used in state administration, education, the economy, politics and social life” (Webb, 2010: 106). As the new South Africa strived to promote equal opportunities for all and pushed for social transformation, the education policies changed to allow schools and tertiary institutions to use English as the language of teaching and training. This was the beginning of the decline of the power that the Afrikaans language had in South Africa, and it can be argued that this change in language policy led to a decline of the linguistic capital of Afrikaans. Soon, we would see the number of (white) single medium Afrikaans schools drop, and over time – the transformation of Afrikaans *only* tertiary institutes to be more inclusive in terms of language policy – and allow for dual-medium education (Webb, 2010: 107).

The decline in the use of Afrikaans in the educational sector is only one example in which the new South Africa attempted to transform the country after the apartheid era. The Afrikaans speaking South Africans as Webb (2010) argued, however, still reeling from the loss of political power perceived;

“...the demise of Afrikaans in the public domain as symbolic of their marginalisation, disempowerment and loss of control over issues about which they feel they should be allowed control, such as the education of their children.”

(Webb 2010: 107)

Many Afrikaans speaking South Africans, struggling with the shift in power relations and loss of linguistic capital after the fall of apartheid, viewed how the new government managed South Africa as a threat to their human rights, such as their right to mother tongue education, as well as their accessibility to socio-economic opportunities that have been limited due to policies such as affirmative action (Verwy and Quayle, 2012). Many Afrikaans speaking South Africans, based on their long-standing history with the British colonists, were also not very happy with the increased use of English in South Africa – as many Afrikaans speakers and Afrikaners view English as the language of the oppressors. The loss of power and control over the resources in South Africa led to a dislocation of Afrikaner identity – and they once again viewed, as they did when faced with the British colonisers, that they were now the ‘other’, “and are involved in a struggle against mineralisation and marginalisation. And once again, language is used as the instrument in the struggle” (Webb 2010: 107), making this discourse fractally recursive, a point that I clarify in the next chapter.

Based on this argument, I argue in this section and with the extracts that follow that Group X repeat these fractally recursive ideologies of fragility and vulnerability. I will also argue that Group X believe that the Afrikaans language is under threat, and that due to this perceived sense of vulnerability, Group X make the iconic claim that Afrikaners are Afrikaans, as they do not want there to be any misunderstanding when it comes to the Afrikaans language. During my time with Group X, it was brought to my attention on many occasions that Afrikaans, more so the standard variety of Afrikaans, was the language that needed to be spoken in this group.

## **EXTRACT 7.2**

### *Participants*

**Frida:** Group leader

**Gert:** Group leader

**Carla:** Researcher

- 1 Frida No. He's gone. He's come back, he's gone to the XX camp. Ja, I... I went to the airport five times =
- 2 Gert Hoekom praat julle Engels?  
*Why are you guys speaking English?*
- 3 Frida Want sy's Engels.  
*Because she's English.*
- 4 Gert Rêrig? Wat maak jy hier? [laughter]  
*Really? What are you doing here?*
- 5 Frida Sy is = [inaudible]  
*She is...*
- 6 Gert [inaudible] Ek het gedog jy doen 'n Afrikaanse tesis ding.  
*I thought you were doing an Afrikaans thesis thing?*
- 7 Frida Sy =  
*She =*
- 8 Carla = Nee, ek doen 'n Engelse... Ek... Ek skryf dit in Engels maar ek... Ek navors Afrikaans.  
*= No, I am doing an English...I...I write it in English, but I...I research Afrikaans.*
- 9 Frida = Sy is 'n Engelse Afrikaner.  
*= She is an English Afrikaner.*
- 10 Carla Ek is 'n Engelse... Ek is Carla Trudie Roets. Carla Trudie Roets. Maar ek... ek praat Engels. Ek praat Afrikaans ook, maar my hele familie is Afrikaans en ek... ek is net meer gemaklik met Engels, maar ek gaan 'n bietjie meer Afrikaans hierdie kwartaal praat, belowe.  
*I am an English...I am Carla Trudie Roets. Carla Trudie Roets. But I...I speak English. I speak Afrikaans as well, but my whole family is Afrikaans and I...I am just more comfortable with English, but I will speak a bit more Afrikaans this term, promise.*
- 11 Frida Belowe?  
*Promise?*
- 12 Carla Belowe.



*Promise.*

- 13 Gert Dis al hoe jy gaan regkom hierso.  
*That is the only way you will manage here.*
- 14 Carla Okay. Dis reg so.  
*Okay. No problem.*

In extract 7.2 above, the interaction is opened by Frida who is speaking English. In this interaction, she talks to me about her son and that she must fetch him at the airport. This friendly chatter before the official start of the group meeting, is interrupted by Gert in line 2, who abruptly questions us, and ask “Why are you guys speaking English?”. This was one of the earlier interactions that I had with Group X, and it was one of the first times were my ‘Englishness’ was so explicitly called into question within the group setting. Frida, speaking on my behalf in line 3, answers Gert by stating that I am speaking English, because I am English. In this moment, I clearly remember feeling quite annoyed, as I am not English. I am not a language – I speak English, but I have – and will always identify myself as an English-speaking Afrikaans South African. This seems ironic, as I have just explained that I am not a language – but this seems to be an issue with the term Afrikaans. Empirically, I have found that in South Africa, the term Afrikaans (which by dictionary definition – refers to language), is often used interchangeably with the term Afrikaner, thus iconically linking the term Afrikaans with the term Afrikaner.

Immediately in this interaction, I felt this sense that I did not belong – a sense that was qualified by Gert asking me in line 4, “What are you doing here?”. In this interaction, Gert has linguistically questioned my belonging in this group, in this setting – in this enclave. In line 6, he further questions me, wanting to be sure of why I am part of the group in this instance – as if I am not Afrikaans, what is my reason for being here? Gert is verifying his belief of why I am there; by saying that he thought that I was at Group X meetings because I am “doing an Afrikaans thesis thing”, once again, seemingly needing to link my presence in this space to Afrikaans. Gert's line of questioning made me suddenly shift from speaking English to a broken Afrikaans, explaining to Gert in line 8 that I am writing in English, but I research Afrikaans. Frida, wanting to make up for my far from eloquent answer in line 8, adds to my reason for being here by stating in line 9 that I am an “English Afrikaner”. What stood out to me about this interaction is that both Frida and

Gert found it necessary to link my presence in Group X to me needing to be Afrikaans, researching Afrikaans, speaking Afrikaans – or being an Afrikaner. This reminded me of claims made in previous extracts in this thesis that Afrikaners are Afrikaans – and seems to be in this space, I needed to be one or the other.

Being questioned by the group leaders about the fact that I am not speaking Afrikaans makes me stutter and awkwardly shift to broken Afrikaans in line 10 – where I call on my Afrikaans *sounding* name, to validate my belonging in this group. I also go on to state that my whole family is Afrikaans, and that I also do speak Afrikaans - but I am more comfortable speaking English. However, despite this, I promise to speak more Afrikaans - and Gert mentions that this is the only way I will “manage” within the group. Earlier in this thesis, I argued that this interaction was an implicit act of enforcing the group's language ideology of erasure – that Afrikaans is spoken within the group, and I, as an “English Afrikaner”, need to speak Afrikaans, as my difference in this interaction goes against their idea of being an Afrikaner. In this interaction, Gert, and Frida, are both able to linguistically erase my “Englishness” from the interaction, and through subtle queries, they have succeeded in getting me to switch to Afrikaans, in order to belong, or as Gert states “manage”, within my time at the group. In the section that follows, I expand on instances where Group X are discursively enacting the language ideology of erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000), seemingly rendering those that are different to them as invisible or needing to adapt in order to belong to the Group X “family”.

### **7.1.1 Speaking English in an Afrikaans group context**

Thinking back, I had thought that extract 7.2 was one of the few instances where I was asked to speak Afrikaans, but going back into my data collected, I realised that the insistence of speaking Afrikaans within the group was something that I was confronted with on many occasions, and not only by group leaders but also by group members. In my first audio file collected, I was in a conversation with two group members, Julie, and Nicky. Julie is someone that I related to within the group, as she was an English-speaking member of Group X. She is not present in many interactions, as she did not attend meetings as often. She also barely spoke, as she was also

uncomfortable speaking Afrikaans. Julie had been with Group X since Grade 4, and in Grade 12, the leaders still struggle to get her to speak Afrikaans.

### **EXTRACT 7.3**

#### *Participants*

**Julie:** Group member

**Nicky:** Group member

**Carla:** Researcher

**Elna:** Group member

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Julie | You guys can't talk about your XXX stuff at Group X anymore then.   |
| 2 | Nicky | Well, we can.   |
| 3 | Carla | We can – it's juicy.  |
| 4 | Nicky | Well, you are not allowed to speak English.   |
| 5 | Julie | Well, some of us don't care.  |
| 6 | Carla | Well okay fine, I must also learn to speak Afrikaans – so ek gaan Afrikaans praat. Maar as dit so warm is, as dit -<br><i>I must also learn how to speak Afrikaans – so I am going to speak Afrikaans. When it is so warm, when its's</i> |
| 7 | Elna  | Sy, sy en Julie moet hulle Afrikaans verbeter.<br><i>She, she, and Julie must improve their Afrikaans.</i>  |
| 8 | Carla | As dit so warm is dan werk my kop nie lekker nie.<br><i>When it is so warm, then my head doesn't work right.</i>  |

In line 1, Julie was making a joke with myself and Nicky, as we shared a common acquaintance that attended her school. As I had spent time with the group before the audio files were recorded, I had come to know some of the members – and Nicky recognized me through this acquaintance. Before meetings started, she and I would often talk about this person, just general chatter. Noticing the recording device, Julie told myself and Nicky that we could no longer speak about those things, insinuating that it would be recorded. Nicky then counters Julie's statement and my commentary

– by telling me that I am “not allowed to speak English” line 4. Julie states that she does not care – and for the rest of the interaction – she chose to either not speak, or if she did, it would be in English that was corrected by the group leaders.

I, however, noted in my field notes that this conversation took me by surprise. I have never been told by a person younger than me that I could not do something. In line 6, I again state that I will speak Afrikaans, despite this going against my language ideology. For the sake of being ‘polite’, I once again agree to speak Afrikaans, shifting to the position of a more obliging Afrikaner. Elna, one of the group leaders, reinforces Nicky’s statement in line 7 by grouping myself and Julie, stating that we both *must* improve our Afrikaans – reinforcing the ideology that Afrikaners are Afrikaans, and to be accepted within this group – you need to speak Afrikaans to be accepted as a member. As mentioned in Chapter 5, one of the major obstacles I faced during my ethnography was remaining objective in my analysis. This is one of those cases, as it directly impacts my language ideology. However, with this extract, Julie’s ‘Englishness’ is also being questioned and subsequently erased from this space, so I feel more comfortable making this argument here.

I discussed earlier that Irvine and Gal (2000) define erasure as the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or social phenomena) invisible. Elements that cannot be seen to fit the structure must be ignored or transformed. In extract 7.2 and 7.3, the language ideologies of myself and Julie are being erased. We are the elements that do not quite “fit” their iconic Afrikaner structure – and we needed to transform – as to quote Gert from extract 7.2 – it is the only way we would “manage” within Group X.

This insistence that Afrikaans should be spoken during the group meetings was not an isolated event, with Nicky enforcing this group ‘rule’ once again a few weeks later. Nicky holds a position of power within Group X, as she is the senior representative for Group X on a national level. I can therefore assume that she had been given this responsibility as she best suited the group ideals and image to represent them on a national level. In my interactions with the Grade 12’s, she always had the most to say and she always made sure to voice her points:

## **EXTRACT 7.4**

### *Participants*

**Carla:** Research

**Nicky:** Group member

**Kara:** Group member

**CM:** Group member

- 1 Carla Also, you can speak Afrikaans hey? I, I – excuse me and my English, my Englishness.
- 2 Nicky Ja, we are actually supposed to make you speak Afrikaans.
- 3 Carla [laughing]
- 4 Nicky It's always like that. When there's one English person, everyone speaks English, but when there is one Afrikaans person, they still speak English.
- 5 Kara Ja! Ek weet nie hoekom doen hulle dit nie?  
*Yes! I don't know why they do that!*
- 6 Nicky Maar dit is so.  
*But it is like that.*
- 7 Kara Maar is dit –  
*But is it -*
- 8 Nicky Ons voel jammer vir die Engels mense –  
*We feel sorry for the English people -*
- 9 Group [laughter]
- 10 Nicky Hulle voel nie jammer vir ons nie.  
*They don't feel sorry for us.*
- 11 Kara Nee, maar ek wonder rêrig so – dit is, dit is om jou, ek dink – die, ons aanvaar net hulle kan nie, hulle wil nie, so ons – ek weet nie, ek weet nie.  
*No, but I'm really wondering- it's, it's to, I think - the, we just accept they cannot, they do not want to, so we - I do not know, I do not know.*
- 12 CM Kyk hier, kyk hier – dis makliker –  
*Look here, look here – it is easier -*

- 13 Nicky Afrikaners weet, Afrikaner weet – meeste Afrikaners gaan Engels  
*Afrikaners know, Afrikaners know – most Afrikaners go English.*
- 14 CM Dis makliker om vir Afrikaanse mense Engels toe gaan, as Engels mense  
Afrikaans te praat.  
*It is easier for Afrikaans people to go English than English people to speak Afrikaans.*
- 15 Nicky En Afrikaans is ‘n moeliker taal. Afrikaanse mense lag maklieker vir  
Engelse mense wat Afrikaans praat, as Engelse mense vir Afrikaans mense  
lag.  
*And Afrikaans is a more difficult language. Afrikaans people easily laugh at English people who speak Afrikaans than English people that laugh at Afrikaans people.*

This conversation happens right before the official meeting starts, with no group leaders around. CM, Kara and Nicky – all group members – have a conversation about me telling them that they can speak Afrikaans and should excuse my ‘Englishness’. At this stage with the group, I had become accustomed to apologizing first before I spoke English, and I did not attempt to defy the language policy openly. Even though I identify as Afrikaans by culture, I am more comfortable speaking English – and feel that I better express myself in this language. After my apology, in line 2, Nicky states that “we are actually supposed to make you speak Afrikaans”. This line stood out to me, as a teenager who is far younger than me states that they need to *make* me speak Afrikaans. It is not suggested by Nicky that they should encourage me or ask me to speak Afrikaans – but rather that they are supposed to *make* me speak Afrikaans. Another word that stood out to me in this line, is the word *supposed*, as the word ‘supposed’ assumes that this action is something that they are generally assumed to do, but this may not necessarily be the case. With this one word, I was able to verify a feeling that I had long believed with Group X, and that is that there exists a great divide between what the group members are *supposed* to do, versus what they actually do.

After some laughter from me, Nicky, in line 4, says exactly what I was thinking – that Afrikaans speaking people automatically tend to switch to English when there is just one English person in the conversation. Nicky claims that Afrikaans people “feel sorry for the English people”, in line 8



and that English people do not feel sorry for Afrikaans speakers. She continues to explain herself by stating that “most Afrikaners go English”, line 13, and CM states that this is due to the convivence of the English language. I recognized this observation from something that I read in the senior textbook of Group X, and it appears in a section of the textbook where they discuss the future of Afrikaans in South Africa. In this section, the author speaks about a language shift that is happening in South Africa, and they mention that sometimes a language shift only happens partially, for example, when an Afrikaans speaking person speaks English whilst at a restaurant or when they go shopping, but then switch back to Afrikaans when they are back home. However, they then continue to describe the event of a total language shift;

**EXTRACT 7.5**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Wanneer mense egter die ander taal die heelyd gebruik en die oorspronklike taal afskeep, word dit totale taal verskuiwing. Die afsterf van die taal is die finale fase van taal verskuiwing. Dit geskied gewoonlik oor ’n lang tydperk en in verskillende fases. Tweetaligheid wat oorgaan in vervangende tweetaligheid, waar die sprekers hul eie taal met die dominante taal begin vervang, is een van hierdie fases. Dit lei tot sprekers wat hul moedertaal nie meer ordentlik kan praat nie en uiteindelijke eentalig word.</p> <p>Weens Engels se dominante status word dit in verhouding met die ander tale meer gebruik (al is dit nie die moedertaal van die oorgrote meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners nie). Mense kies bloot om</p>	<p><i>However, when people use the other language all the time and neglect the original language, it becomes a total language shift. The demise of the language is the final phase of language shift. This usually happens over a long period of time and in different phases. Bilingualism that turns into replacement bilingualism, where speakers begin to replace their own language with the dominant language, is one of these phases. This leads to speakers who can no longer speak their mother tongue properly and eventually become monolingual.</i></p> <p><i>Due to English's dominant status, it is used more in relation to the other languages (even though it is not the mother tongue of the vast majority of South Africans). People simply choose to speak it more</i></p>

<p>dit meer as ander tale te praat omdat hulle dit as die taal van ekonomiese, politiese en sosiale mag beskou.</p>	<p><i>than other languages because they regard it as the language of economic, political and social power.</i></p>
<p>Daar is 'n toenemende daling in die gebruik van Afrikaans as onderrigtaal in beide skole en universiteite. Volgens statistieke het Afrikaans-enkelmedium skole in 'n provinsie soos Mpumalanga van 1993 tot 2003 met 96% gedaal (van 90 skole tot slegs 3 in 2003). Vyf Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite was in 1980 Afrikaans-medium en 15 Engels; in 1994 was 18 Engels, 5 tweetalig en geen universiteit wat Afrikaans as enigste onderrigmedium gebruik nie. Afrikaanse ouers plaas toenemend hulle kinders in Engelse skole. Afrikaanse skole veg om voortbestaan en Afrikaanssprekendes in die gemeenskap dien self die doodslag toe!</p>	<p><i>There is an increasing decrease in the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in both schools and universities. According to statistics, Afrikaans single-medium schools in a province such as Mpumalanga fell by 96% from 1993 to 2003 (from 90 schools to only 3 in 2003). Five South African universities in 1980 were Afrikaans medium and 15 English; in 1994 18 were English, 5 bilingual and no university that uses Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction. Afrikaans parents are increasingly placing their children in English schools. Afrikaans schools fight for survival, and Afrikaans speakers in the community are inflicting the killing blow themselves.</i></p>
<p>Die gesindheid is dat kinders met 'n Afrikaanse opvoeding 'n agterstand teenoor Engelse in die sakewêreld sal h.. Dit is 'n groot mistasting. Suksesvolle Afrikaanse sakelui, soos die Ruperts, staan glad nie terug in die sakewêreld nie.</p>	<p><i>The attitude is that children with an Afrikaans education will be lagging behind English in the business world. This is a big mistake. Successful Afrikaans businessmen, such as the Ruperts, do not stand back in the business world at all.</i></p>

Extract 7.5 shows the same concern for Afrikaans speakers making a shift to the English language. The author speaks about *vervangende tweetaligheid* (replacement bilingualism) and how speaking your mother tongue language less than the more dominant language, being English in this case, would become your main language, with Afrikaans subsequently dying out. This statement I argue comes from a place of Afrikaner fragility, with the author using a form of fatalistic discourse to

promote the idea that Afrikaans is dying out and losing its linguistic capital, and that the language needs to be rescued. The author goes on to further promote this fatalistic discourse, by highlighting the decreasing number of schools and tertiary institutions that use Afrikaans as a language of instruction. Anger is also voiced against Afrikaans who put their children in English schools, as Afrikaans schools are “*fighting for their survival*” and these parents are “*inflicting the killing blow themselves*”.

Fatalistic discourse can be seen in these statements about the Afrikaans language. What is interesting about the phrasing of these sections is that transformation in South Africa – by trying to create a more inclusive educational environment and not enforcing a language onto those in an educational institute that cannot speak it - is being seen as an attack on Afrikaans. In a new South Africa, one where the Afrikaans language and its speakers have lost their power enjoyed in the apartheid era, it would make sense that there would be a decline in Afrikaans medium educational institutes. By claiming that the Afrikaans language is “dying out” – using the schools as an example – illustrates the Afrikaners ability to erase the value of the other 10 official languages in South Africa and the right that the speakers of those languages have to receive tuition in their home language. Afrikaans is not the only language in South Africa, and it is only fair that it shares its place in the educational system with the other 10 official languages.

### **7.1.2 Discourses of Dying Out**

The discourse surrounding the extinction of the Afrikaans language did not stop here. In the same section of the textbook, which goes into the discussion about the future of Afrikaans in South Africa, Group X has placed an extract which deals with ‘12 lies about Afrikaans’. The extract was not referenced, but upon further research, I found that the source of this text was Pieter Mulder, the national leader of the political party, the Vryheidsfront (VF) plus<sup>8</sup> (Freedom Front Plus). The clarification of the ‘lies’ about Afrikaans came during 2015-2016, when there was an uproar about the language of instruction at South African Universities, with many South Africans wanting Afrikaans to no longer be a language of instruction at tertiary institutions. These clarifications

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<sup>8</sup> The Freedom Front Plus is a right-winged political party that was formed in South Africa in 1994 after the fall of Apartheid.

came in defence of keeping Afrikaans as a language of instruction in certain South African universities. Of the twelve ‘lies’, there are three that I have selected for analysis that relate to the arguments made in this thesis:

**EXTRACT 7.6**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p><b>2. Afrikaans het nie ’n plek in Suid-Afrika nie omdat dit ’n “witmanstaal” is.</b></p> <p>Verkeerd. Die meerderheid Afrikaanssprekendes is nie wit nie. Van die 6,8 miljoen Afrikaanssprekendes is net 2,7 miljoen wit. Bruin Afrikaanssprekendes verteenwoordig 50% (3,4 miljoen); wit Afrikaanssprekendes 40% (2,7 miljoen) en swart Afrikaanssprekendes 9% (602 100), met die res uit ander groepe (Sensus 2011). Dit beteken dat meer as 60% van die Afrikaanse gemeenskap nie wit is nie.</p>	<p><b>2. Afrikaans does not have a place in South Africa because it is a “white man’s language”.</b></p> <p><i>Wrong. The majority of Afrikaans speakers are not white. Of the 6.8 million Afrikaans speakers, only 2.7 million are white. Coloured Afrikaans speakers represent 50% (3.4 million); white Afrikaans speakers 40% (2.7 million) and black Afrikaans speakers 9% (602 100), with the rest from other groups (Census 2011). This means that more than 60% of the Afrikaans community is not white.</i></p>
<p><b>3. Dit is beter om Afrikaans af te skaf en na Engels oor te skakel, want Afrikaans was die taal van die onderdrukker.</b></p> <p>Engels was die taal waarin die wreedste slawehandel en koloniale uitbuiting in Afrika plaasgevind het. Die Nazi-geskiedenis is in Duits gepleeg. Tog word Engels en Duits as tale nie vir hierdie verlede gestraf nie. Waarom vandag die meerderheid Afrikaanssprekendes, wat bruin is en aan die ontvangkant van apartheid was, straf?</p>	<p><b>3. It is better to abolish Afrikaans and switch to English because Afrikaans was the language of the oppressor.</b></p> <p><i>English was the language in which the most brutal slave trade and colonial exploitation took place in Africa. Nazi history was committed in German. Yet English and German as languages are not punished for this past. Why today are the majority of Afrikaans speakers, who are brown and were on the receiving end of apartheid, punished?</i></p>

<p><b>10. 'n Taal kan nie tot niet gaan nie.</b></p> <p>Baie tale het reeds uitgesterf. Tans is daar 1 500 tale wat met minder as 1 000 mense wat dit praat, op die grens van uitsterf is. Afrikaans is 'n Germaanse taal. Van die 22 Germaanse tale het 10 reeds verdwyn. Tale kan dus tot niet gaan.</p>	<p><b>10. A language cannot perish.</b></p> <p><i>Many languages have already become extinct. Currently, there are 1,500 languages spoken by less than 1,000 people, on the verge of extinction. Afrikaans is a Germanic language. Of the 22 Germanic languages, 10 have already disappeared. So, language can go to waste.</i></p>
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These extracts 7.5 and 7.6 were written in defence of the Afrikaans language and the fatalistic discourse and reasoning used in these clarifications are what I would argue are a clear example of Afrikaner fragility in the promotion of the iconic Afrikaner. However, these extracts also highlight important questions that need to be raised about using the overarching term of Afrikaans to describe all speakers of the language. In the extract above, one can see the fractally recursive discourses of language struggle. In extract 7.6, the speaker strongly disagrees that the Afrikaans language is a “white man’s language”. Afrikaans is a language that consists of many different dialects and varieties, and had this clarification chosen to mention some of the other varieties of the Afrikaans language; I would have agreed with this statement more. Varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps and Namaqualand Afrikaans, are not mentioned at all, yet its speakers are used to argue that Afrikaans is not a ‘white man’s’ language. This may be true if one refers to Afrikaans as an overarching category that includes the many varieties of the Afrikaans language. However, the speakers of ‘suiwer (pure)’ Afrikaans are predominantly white, as it is a language that was proudly standardised by the Afrikaners, as mentioned by the group in the extract 7.1.

I, therefore, argue that it is safe to say and give recognition to the Afrikaners for developing a standardized variety of the language, but in doing so, they enacted the language ideology of erasure, where they actively erased other varieties of the language, giving rise to an exclusive and powerful language that was used as a tool of oppression in the years leading up to apartheid, and for much of the apartheid era. In this case, by claiming that Afrikaners are Afrikaans, and by not naming any of the other Afrikaans varieties in their argument as to why the Afrikaans language is



not a “white man’s language”, they are effectively erasing those varieties association and history with the Afrikaans language in order to strengthen the argument that Afrikaans is not a “white man’s language”.

Point 3, in extract 7.6, serves as a reminder to the reader that the Afrikaners were oppressed by the British and questioned the English language so widely, as it was the language used for colonial exploitation. The author makes the same observation about German, referring to the Nazi history and reign being carried out in Germany. Extract 7.6 questions why Afrikaans is “punished” when these other languages are not? I argue that the comparison of Afrikaans to these other languages used in the oppression of millions is an admittance that Afrikaans was indeed a language of oppression. However, again clarification is needed on which variety of the Afrikaans language was used for the purpose of oppression. I argue that standardised Afrikaans was the oppressors' language, as the other varieties of the Afrikaans language (such as Kaaps and Namaqualand Afrikaans) were suppressed and erased during the apartheid era and were not the oppressors' language.

The use of the word “punished” is also an example of hyperbolic speech and one that is at no point expanded upon with empirical evidence to support these claims. It is not that the Afrikaans language is being punished; rather that the language is not being “punished” at all. However, the group predominantly associated with standardised Afrikaans, the Afrikaners, is being called to question, rather than punished. There has been an active effort to change the status and perception of Afrikaans over the years. I acknowledge that there have been those who are fighting for the transformation of how Afrikaans is viewed by giving the much-needed recognition to the other varieties of the Afrikaans language. However, at no point in extract 7.6 has any name been given to other varieties of Afrikaans, thus erasing these varieties and supporting the strong iconic link that the Afrikaans language has to the subgroup of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa, the Afrikaners.

Point 10 in extract 7.6 shows the fragility of the Afrikaner coming through, fighting against the “lie” that “a language cannot perish”. The author states that a language can indeed go to waste if there are fewer speakers of that language. What is clear in this statement is the apparent fear that



the Afrikaans language – and its speakers – are at risk of becoming obsolete in South Africa. I began to question if Group X also viewed the other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps, as a dying language, a point of discussion in the following chapter.

## 7.2 Conclusion

In Chapter 6, I introduced you to the iconic Afrikaner that attends Group X. In this chapter, I expanded on the strong iconic link Group X makes between the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. Through the social interactions and the documents analysed in this chapter, I argue that the Group X promotes their dominant Afrikaner ideology – that Afrikaners are Afrikaans – through the erasure of any of the varieties of Afrikaans, as well as any other language that may enter that space. If someone who enters this space goes against the more dominant language ideology, they will be expected to change and adapt to gain group acceptance within Group X. Why do they feel the need to push the ideology that Afrikaners are Afrikaans? Using Bourdieu's theorisation of the linguistic exchange, linguistic capital and the linguistic marketplace, I argued that the members of Group X fear the extinction of the Afrikaner culture and the loss of linguistic capital of the Afrikaans language. I have argued (and will continue to argue in the next chapter) that the fear that the Afrikaans language has lost its linguistic capital in the linguistic marketplace of South Africa has resulted in a discourse of Afrikaner fragility that cause these members to migrate inwards to social enclaves, such as this Afrikaner organisation, and others, to enact their Afrikaner identity in a safe place. I also argue that the inward migration appears to be an attempt by the members of Group X to preserve and increase the linguistic capital of Afrikaans in a transforming South Africa. In the chapter that follows, I discuss how members of Group X address the discussion on Afrikaans 'varieties', and the strategies that Group X adopts in the commodification of the Afrikaans language.

## **CHAPTER 8: Talking about Afrikaans varieties and the commodification of Afrikaans**

### **8.0 Introduction**

Within Group X, the statement has been made both interactionally and within documents that Afrikaners are Afrikaans. However, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, the history of Afrikaans is checkered, with a long-standing history that describes the origins of Afrikaans starting long before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. By looking at the in-depth history of Afrikaans, it can be confidently argued that the myth that Afrikaans derived from Dutch and only formed in the late 1800s should be called to question, and more emphasis should be placed on the multiple earlier varieties of Afrikaans that helped shape the language that we know today.

During my time spent with Group X, it was clear to me, however, that there was one variety of Afrikaans spoken: Standard Afrikaans. As mentioned in the introduction, Standard Afrikaans is a dialect of Afrikaans that is often regarded as "proper, high, and of good quality" (Cooper, 2018:37). Standard Afrikaans is often viewed as a formal and legal language within social, economic, and political spheres with its own set of grammar which gives the language a superior status compared to other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps. In this chapter, I begin by discussing how Group X view other varieties of Afrikaans in relation to standard Afrikaans, and how they linguistically differentiate the standard variety of Afrikaans that they speak within the group from other varieties of Afrikaans. Furthermore, this chapter argues that through various forms of commodification, Group X are attempting to restate the Afrikaans' language power and privilege in the linguistic marketplace within South Africa. Lastly, I argue that the theory behind the linguistic marketplace and linguistic capital benefit the analysis, using the language ideology model of Irvine and Gal (2002).

### **8.1 The question of Kaaps**

Living in Cape Town, I am very familiar with the multiple varieties of Afrikaans that are spoken around Cape Town daily, with the predominant variety in the Cape being Kaaps. In section 3.2.1

of this thesis, I discussed the influence of the Khoesan language on Afrikaans. With reference to Kaaps, we once again see the great influence that the Khoesan people had on the establishment of the many varieties of Afrikaans varieties spoken in South Africa. Kaaps, or Afrikaaps as it is often referred to, is a language that had evolved by the 1500's in a colonized South Africa. It developed as a language as a result of the interactions between native Africans (Khoi and San), people from South-East Asia, the Netherlands, Portugal and England. Kaaps is a regional variety of Afrikaans and is often viewed as a:

“stigmatized variety of Afrikaans, which is one of the official South African languages. It is acknowledged as the variety of Afrikaans most, but by no means exclusively, used by the ‘Coloured’ people of the Western Cape, particularly in and around the city of Cape Town.”

(Dyers, 2015: 57)

In Group X however, there was only one predominant variety of Afrikaans spoken, Standard Afrikaans. And during my time with the group, the topic of different varieties of Afrikaans appeared quite a few times in our interactions, once with a group leader, and the other time with Jamie, a group member;

### **EXTRACT 8.1**

#### *Participants*

**Carla:** Researcher

**Karin:** Group leader

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Carla | Is sit ‘n reël in Groep X dat Engels, dat julle moet Afrikaans praat? Of -<br><i>Is it a rule in Group X, that English, that you must speak Afrikaans? Or -</i> |
| 2 | Karin | Ja. Want ons is ‘n Afrikaanse kultuur beweging.<br><i>Yes. Because we are an Afrikaans cultural movement.</i>   |

- 3 Carla Ja-  
*Yes - Um ... put an extremely nice piece yesterday about -*
- 4 Karin -So ons help, sy is al hier van baie jonk af, maar sy wou nie Afrikaans praat nie. Maar sy moes maar leer. So ek dink hulle uhm, ek dink hulle uhm – daar is kinders wat sukkel, maar ek bedoel sy kon vinniger geleer het, maar dit was ‘attitude’. Maar by die huis, hulle huistaal is Engels, maar haar pa het moeite gedoen met hulle Afrikaans. Maar sy onthou nie in die begin nie.  
*-So, we help, she has been here since a very young age, but she did not want to speak Afrikaans. But she had to learn. So, I think they uhm, I think they uhm - there are children who struggle, but I mean she could have learned faster, but it was 'attitude' problem. But at home, their home language is English, but her father put effort in with their Afrikaans. But she does not remember in the beginning.*
- 5 Carla Is daar baie kinders wat Engels is?  
*Are there many children who are English?*
- 6 Karin Ja, ek dink hier is ‘n hele handvol kinders. Daar is seker omtrent so, ek weet van te minste 5 –  
*Ja, I think here a handful of children. There are probably about, I know of at least 5.*
- 7 Carla Oh! -
- 8 Karin Ja, wat in die laer grade is. Maar hulle leer vinniger aan as hulle klein is. Uuhm, as hulle al ‘n tiener is, dan raak dit moeilik.  
*Ja, that are in the lower grade. But they learn faster when they are younger. Uuhm, when they are teenagers, then it becomes more difficult.*  
*XXX*
- 9 Karin As Afrikaners is om te akkommodeer, omdat dit die taal is wat orals gepraat word jy weet, maar uuhm, in Groep X self moet julle Afrikaans praat.  
*If Afrikaners are to accommodate, because it is the language that is spoken everywhere you know, but uuhm, in Group X you have to speak Afrikaans.*

- 10 Carla Maar, maar – in Groep X sien hulle Kaaps as Afrikaans?  
*But, but – in Group X do they see Kaaps as Afrikaans?*
- 11 Karin Se goue weer? Stuur hulle?  
*Say again? Do they send?*
- 12 Carla Sien hulle Kaaps as Afrikaans?  
*Do they see Kaaps as Afrikaans?*
- 13 Karin Uuhm – ek weet nie. [inaudible] Want daar is mos verskillende slangs, dit is nou nie net, ja, maar, uuhm, dit gaan mos maar eintlik oor (2) kyk – ek dink, ek dink - maar ek bedoel – ja – ek bedoel, as jy, as jy ‘n persoon kan verstaan -  
*Uuhm - I do not know. [inaudible] Because there are different ‘slangs’, it’s not just, yes, but uuhm, it’s actually about look - I think, I think - but I mean - yes - I mean, if you, if you can understand a person*
- 14 Carla Ja. En hulle praat ‘n vorm van Afrikaans -  
*Yes. And they speak a form of Afrikaans -*
- 15 Karin -van Afrikaans ja. Maar ek het dit nog nie hier by ons, teer – ek het di al glad nie by ons teëgekom nie, so ek weet nie of daar actually -  
*-of Afrikaans yes. But I haven’t heard it here at us, I have not experienced it at us, so I don’t know if there is actually.*

In extract 8.1, I was busy asking the group leader for more information regarding the language policy at Group X. In line 1, I asked if it was a rule that Afrikaans must be spoken at groups meetings, and Karin answered, in line 2, that it must be – because Group X is an Afrikaans cultural movement. As discussed in Chapter 6 of the thesis, Group X strongly promotes the iconic Afrikaner identity – that Afrikaners are Afrikaans. In this interaction, by Karin stating that Group X is an Afrikaans cultural movement, she is restating both the iconic link that Group X promotes between Afrikaners and Afrikaans, as well as the language ideology of Group X. The language ideology being promoted in this interaction is that when you form part of Group X, which is an Afrikaans cultural movement, that it is indeed a rule that you are expected to speak Afrikaans – because Afrikaners are Afrikaans.

As discussed in section 4.1 of Chapter 4 of this thesis, ideology is never about language alone – and looking into ideologies of language is important as these ideologies envisage and actualize connections between language, group and individual identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology (Woolard & Scieffelin, 2994: 56). In this interaction, we can see this concept at play – as the language ideology being enacted here points towards more than a simple language choice.

Rather, in this statement, Karin is enacting the language ideology of iconicity and erasure, buy simultaneously aligning the standard Afrikaans language with the Afrikaners within this group and erasing the existence of any person entering this group that may wish to speak any other dialect of Afrikaans or other language. In doing so, Karin is highlights Group X’s iconic ideology that Afrikaners are Afrikaans. She qualifies this statement by referring to Julie in line 4, stating that Julie could have learnt Afrikaans faster, but it was due to an “attitude” problem that she has not – seemingly attempting to qualify Julie’s ‘Englishness’ within the group as being an issue with her, and not an issue that Group X can be blamed for. Julie is a long-standing group member of Group X, a group member who is also more comfortable speaking English, and shows no interest in speaking Afrikaans, unless instructed to do so. From extract 8.1, we also find out that Julie’s father has attempted to put in the effort with her Afrikaans, so she is able to speak this language fluently, a point that will be expanded on later.

Karin appears to display a negative attitude towards Julie’s inability to *want* to speak Afrikaans and assures me that the reason that Julie did not want to speak Afrikaans is because she has an “attitude” problem. Here, I argue that the group members and the leaders of Group X are so attached to the iconic relationship that they prescribe to themselves, with a strong link existing between Afrikaans and the Afrikaner, that they are not able to accept that one could be an Afrikaner without feeling the need to speak Afrikaans only when in an enclave such as the one seen with Group X.

It is at this stage, that I felt it was an appropriate time to ask whether Kaaps, line 12, is seen as Afrikaans within the group. This question was met with a sense of hesitation, with Karin taking more gaps and pauses between her answer. She mentions that there are different “slangs” of



Afrikaans and seems to conclude that it should be okay to understand the person. A few moments pass and Karin makes the following point on “suiwer” (pure) Afrikaans.

## **EXTRACT 8.2**

### *Participants*

**Karin:** Group leader

**Nicky:** Group member

- |   |       |  |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Karin | Mens kan nooit rêrig se praat Suiwer Afrikaans nie, want wat is suiwer Afrikaans? Dit het sy bene in soveel –<br><i>A person can never really say that you speak pure Afrikaans because what is pure Afrikaans? It has it's legs in so many -</i>          |
| 2 | Nicky | Soveel –<br><i>So many -</i>   |
| 3 | Karin | In soveel rigtings. Maar ek dink Afrikaans kultuur, agtergrond – en mense wat Kaaps praat kultuur agtergrond is anders.<br><i>In so many ways. But I think Afrikaans culture, background – and the culture of those that speak Afrikaans is different.</i> |

She raises the point that because Afrikaans has its “legs in so many ways”, line 1 and 3, it is impossible to say that one speaks pure Afrikaans. This statement links to Afrikaans' history, stating that she is aware that Afrikaans has its roots based in many other languages, yet she does not expand on these roots. Rather, Karin says that the culture of those who speak Afrikaans [assuming that she is referring to pure Afrikaans here] is *different*. Once again, we see the word *different* being used similarly to its use in Chapter 6 and later in Chapter 9. A difference is noted between the languages and the speakers of those languages, but this difference is qualified using culture – almost euphemistically. By Karin using Afrikaans culture to explain herself in this interaction, she is stating that a sense of family, unity, and family values is a reason for the difference between speakers of Afrikaans and the aforementioned Kaaps speakers, not that the languages themselves differ. This interaction, I argue, once again illustrates acts of erasure – as Karin is using the

difference in cultures of different Afrikaans speakers to justify exclusions of other language varieties spoken in the group. This conversation ended here, as it happened close to the end of the group meeting. However, the next time that Kaaps was mentioned, was by Julie, but the conversation led me on a different path – the commodification and privilege of ‘pure’ Afrikaans within the group.

## 8.2 The commodification and privilege of Afrikaans

Julie had a similar view of difference regarding the standard variety of Afrikaans and Kaaps in a conversation that we had in the car one day, on the way to Mc Donald’s. Julie had pointed out to me, in the car with Nicky that she found it so weird that I sound so English, as I look Afrikaans. She then explained herself, stating very politely, it is because I am big boned. We all laughed at this observation, and Nicky told Julie that she looked English, to which Julie answered:

### EXTRACT 8.3

#### *Participants*

**Julie:** Group member

**Carla:** Researcher

**Nicky:** Group member



- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Julie | Half my family is, half my family is – on my mum’s side of the m<br>Family, my uhm, in my family is coloured – so, like –   |
| 2 | Carla | Is it?  |
| 3 | Julie | I talk like them and I say things like ‘lus’ or ‘bus’ and ‘vesin’ and stuff like<br>that. And I, I kinda speak like them as well sometimes, especially when I<br>am around other coloureds. |
| 4 | Carla | But do they speak Kaaps?  |
| 5 | Julie | Do they speak?  |
| 6 | Carla | Kaaps?  |
| 7 | Julie | Yes.  |

- 8 Carla Oh. Okay ja.
- 9 Julie Yes. But my Mum told me never never become that.
- 10 Carla Why? But it's also Afrikaans?
- 11 Julie Ja but – I don't know.
- 12 Nicky [laughter]
- 13 Julie Sometimes, I don't know – it's just, its, its bad what they say. My mum doesn't even pick up on it. Not that the speak it, my one cousin does, but like it's because he wants people to think that he is badass – I don't know why. My other cousins don't really -
- 14 Nicky I love how kids today play with drones, we played with balls.
- 15 Carla [laughter]
- 16 Julie You're so lame!
- 17 Nicky [laughter] Okay then -

With hesitation, Julie explains to me and Nicky that half of the family on her mother's side is coloured. She states that she will sometimes talk like "them" when she is around coloureds, using words that she associates with the Kaaps variety of Afrikaans, such as "lus" (a word used when one feels like something) and "vesin" (stupid). Even though this is her family from her mother's side, Julie mentions that she must "never become that", line 9, and even though she knows that it is Afrikaans, she is not too sure why. I had been able to gather from Julie and others in the group – that she had been at Group X since Grade 4, that her Dad had put effort into her Afrikaans, that her family had gone to Afrikaans schools, and that both of her parents are 'full-on English'. I then found this claim very interesting; why would her mother not want her to never become "that" – in reference to the variety of Afrikaans that her cousins speak?

This made me question the linguistic capital of Afrikaans, and if the reason that Group X maybe promote the standard variety of Afrikaans is that they believe not only that this language was a 'gift from God', but that it was also a language variety that holds more linguistic capital and status in the South African linguistic market, all discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.4.

The idea of Afrikaans, and being part of Group X has value, is visible in the following extract between myself, Julie and Nicky, still in the car to Mc Donald's. In this extract, we talked about 'AAA' (referring to the Grade 12 exam that the students can choose to write at the end of their career with Group X).

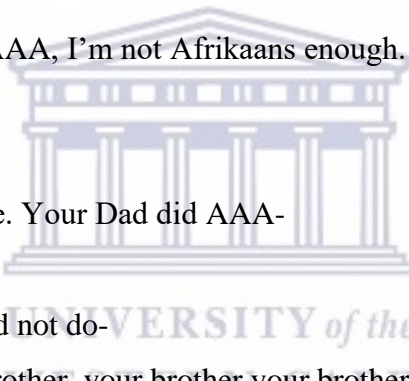
#### **EXTRACT 8.4**

##### *Participants*

**Julie:** Group member

**Nicky:** Group member

**Carla:** Researcher

- 
- 1 Julie I can't do AAA, I'm not Afrikaans enough.
- 2 Nicky (laughing)
- 3 Julie No!
- 4 Nicky -That's a lie. Your Dad did AAA-
- 5 Carla -But you-
- 6 Julie -My dad did not do-
- 7 Nicky -Ag your brother, your brother your brother-
- 8 Julie -My brother didn't do AAA.
- 9 Nicky Didn't he?
- 10 Julie No.
- \*\*\*
- 11 Nicky She wasn't excluded she could do AAA if she wants.
- 12 Julie I can't, I can't study, I-
- 13 Nicky But they, they can translate everything to you, all-
- 14 Julie -I can read questions in Afrikaans, but like if you're gonna tell me to actually write out the questions in Afrikaans I would be like-
- 15 Nicky -No! You just clicked with a mouse, it was online-
- 16 Julie Was it online?

17 Nicky And it was literally all multiple choice. It was easy-

18 Julie I know but (xxx) the money, I'm tryna like -

19 Nicky -You didn't have to pay for it.

20 Julie Ja, but like for AAA, for the rest of it.

21 Nicky For the AAA camp?

22 Julie Yes-

23 Nicky Oh, the Pretoria thingy. But you don't need that for AAA. After you've written the test you've got AAA -

24 Julie -I asked my mum if I should do AAA. She gave me like 1000 reasons why I shouldn't and I was just like, but I can put it on my CV-

25 Nicky Oh, okay.

26 Julie But no, but no, like I think when you write, I think you guys, but I don't think they gonna care that I was part of the Group X where I wanna go.

27 Nicky Well, where-

28 Carla -Where do you wanna go?

29 Julie I'm gonna be, I want to intern at the Artscape, and then I'm gonna-

30 Nicky Oh ja, they, they don't, they wouldn't care (laughter)

31 Julie -and then I'm gonna, and then I'm gonna-

32 Nicky -No offence-

33 Julie -go to UCT and study film studies.

34 Carla Well funny enough, UCT, they might be like okay(xxx)

35 Nicky At-

36 Carla You'd just probably be like-

37 Nicky -I would, I would just

38 Julie -if I applied to Stellenbosch, then I would be all like, ja, I've been part of Group X since I was like 1.

39 Nicky (Laughing) Lies! Lies Lies!

40 Julie And xxx can like help me there, and my friends. But the thing is AAA-

41 Nicky You know everything. I think it's like Pretoria, they literally ask have you done X. I was like this is amazing! I've done AAA, I can tick this box!

42 Carla Seriously? To go to-

- 43 Nicky -ja they literally-
- 44 Carla -Potch?
- 45 Nicky No uh, Pretoria.
- 46 Carla Oh my gosh.
- 47 Nicky They, they literally ask you, have you done and I was like, ja! I've done that!
- 48 Carla So it's actually on like, I didn't know it was so like widely recognized.
- 49 Nicky Well in, previous years it was way more recognized. You could get a bursary instantly if you had AAA, but-
- 50 Julie -Ja (gasps) Oh my word yes, My mum's friend, Elsa, she got uuuh, like a scholarship from-
- 51 Nicky Ja.
- 52 Julie -and it was because she, she did AAA

Julie and Nicky are busy speaking about the fact that she chose not to write the test [the Grade 12 final exam that members of Group X have an option of taking], as she believes that she “is not Afrikaans enough”, as stated in line 1, for this test. Nicky exclaims that this is a lie and that she was not excluded from this and explains to Julie that it was a very easy online exam. Julie tries to explain that she did not have money for the exam or the camp that the Grade 12 members go on after the test. Nicky tells her it was free, and she did not have to go to the camp. Seemingly looking for more excuses, Julie then goes on to use her mother as an excuse as to why she did not write the exam, and that she tried to reason with her Mum to do the test – but that her Mum gave her “1000 reasons why she should not”, as stated in line 24. The topic of being able to put the qualification on ones CV came up, and Julie mentions that she does not think that they would care about the fact that she was at Group X where she planned on interning next year – the Artscape Theatre located in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Julie seems to claim in this sentence that there is no value to the AAA qualification at the Artscape Theatre, which ties into observations made earlier in this thesis about the social enclaves that exist between the southern and the northern suburbs of Cape Town.

As it is locally referred to, the *boereworsgordyn* (sausage curtain) separates the more English Southern Suburbs from the more Afrikaans Northern Suburbs. The same comment is applied about



a Cape Town University, the University of the Cape Town - located in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. Essentially, Julie is explaining that the power that Group X membership holds, is contained within the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town – as outside of that area, Group X membership is no longer a commodity. The group membership, and the ability to speak Afrikaans will not be of any benefit in the parts of Cape Town that are on the other side of *boereworsgordyn*. Julie further states in line 38, that if she was going to Stellenbosch University which is located in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, she would have bragged that she has been part of Group X since the age of 1. This implies that she believes that being in this group – holds more value in the more ‘Afrikaans’ areas of Cape Town and Group X membership would afford her opportunities at Stellenbosch University that might not be equally afforded to members that are not members of this group. Nicky takes this point further by stating that when she applied to the North-West University (colloquially known as Potch university) located in Pretoria – a well-known majority Afrikaans area in South Africa - that there was a box that she could tick, stating that she has indeed been a member of Group X. Pretoria, and Potch University are indexically linked with Afrikaans in South Africa and is well known as an Afrikaans University – therefore it is no surprise to me that she says that the university application includes this.

This extract highlights the perceived power and privilege that is afforded to the Afrikaans language within Group X. Being associated with this group holds a greater market value in the areas of South Africa that are demographically and linguistically perceived as Afrikaans. Moreover, the membership of Group X is commodified when both Nicky and Julie mention that they know of people who have received scholarships and bursaries simply because they had the qualification that Grade 12 group members receive when they complete their education with Group X. This fact, highlight that there is heightened market value that is attached to the group membership of Group X, and this value moves beyond simple linguistic capital and power and towards something more tangible, such as money, and access to a university education at some of South Africa’s top tertiary education facilities.

There was another instance where financial value and group membership with Group X was mentioned;

## **EXTRACT 8.5**

### *Participants*

**Lina:** Group leader

**Carla:** Researcher

- 1 Lina Jy moet bietjie gaan kyk op.. Op um die \*\*\*, ag, op die \*\*\* se Facebook blad. Het \*\*\* wat die hoofleier is...  
*You need to take a look at...On um the \*\*\*, ah, on the \*\*\*'s Facebook page. \*\*\* who is the main leader...*
- 2 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 3 Lina Um... 'n verskriklike mooi stukkie gesit gister oor –  
*Um ... put an extremely nice piece yesterday about -*
- 4 Carla -Okay, ek sal gaan kyk-  
*-Okay, I will go and look-*
- 5 Lina -oor \*\*\* erkennings baadjie. Wat is die koste van 'n \*\*\* erkennings baadjie. Dit is vir my nou verskriklik interessant toe ek dit nou vanoggend gelees het. Dit was... Waar is die kinders wat so raas? Wie raas so? Um... wat hy gedoen het is... Dit was eers vir sy praatjies by een van die, um, voorslag oorhandigings funksies –  
*-about \*\*\* recognition jacket. What is the cost of a \*\*\* recognition jacket is. It's terribly interesting to me now when I read it this morning. It was ... Where are the kids making so much noise? Who makes noise like that? Um ... what he did was ... It was first for his talks at one of the, um, proposal handover functions -*
- 6 Carla -Mm-hm...
- 7 Lina -Wat hy, um gelewer het en wat hy toe gesê het is hy... maak vir ons die vensters oop dames, um... hy't gegaan en hy't gaan sê wat kos 'n \*\*\* erkennings baadjie-

*-That he, um delivered and what he said then is he ... open the windows for us ladies, um ... he went and he went to say what a \*\*\* recognition jacket costs-*

8 Carla -Mm-hm.

9 Lina En dan gaan kyk wat kos al die kentekens en goed wat daarop moet vaskom. Wat fisiese pryse is –  
*And then goes to see what all the badges and stuff that has to stick to it cost. What are physical prices -*

10 Carla -Mm-hm.

11 Lina -En dan het hy gesê, nie in ag geneem die feit dat ‘n kind ‘n groeiende kind ten minste drie erkennings baadjies dalk deur sy \*\*\* loopbaan kan dra nie, en dan die kostes net bereken tot einde Graad 7. En hy het uitgekom op die einde van die dag met kampe en goeters wat noodsaaklik is om vir voorslag te kwalifiseer, op ‘n bedrag van so R33 0000.00. **Maar** toe gaan hy verder. En dit is hoekom ek sê jy moet gaan lees –  
*-And then he said, not considering the fact that a growing child might be able to wear at least three recognition jackets through his \*\*\* career, and then just calculate the cost until the end of Grade 7. And he came out at the end of the day with camps and goods necessary to qualify for proposal, to an amount of about R33 0000.00. **But then** he went on. And that's why I say you should go read -*

12 Carla -Ja.

*-Yes*

13 Lina -want vir jou gaan dit dalk baie oulike inligting wees vir die doel waarvoor jy dit wil hê –

*-because for you it may be very cute information for the purpose for which you want it -*

14 Carla Ja. Ja. Ja.

*Yes. Yes. Yes.*

15 Lina -wat hy toe sê, wat is die waarde wat jy eintlik terug kry?

*-what he said then, what is the value you actually get back?*

- 16 Carla Ja, okay nee ek sal-  
*Ja, okay no, I will -*
- 17 Lina Wat nie koste gewys is nie.  
*Which is not cost related.*
- 18 Carla Mm.
- 19 Lina En... En dit was nogal vir my... Dit... Dit is wat \*\*\*s is.  
*And... And that was rather to me...That...That is what \*\*\*s is.*

In extract 8.5, amongst all the chaos and interruptions that tended to happen at the beginning of these weekly meetings, Lina – who was always willing and excited to teach me more about Group X, invites me to look on the groups Facebook page at the latest post that was written by the group’s primary leader. She paraphrases and attempts to summarise this piece's content and ends her recommendation by stating that this Facebook post would tell me *what* Group X are. Upon her recommendation, I went home and had a look on the Facebook page. The group is a public group on Facebook, and therefore all the posts on the page are visible to anyone who can find this group. To preserve the anonymity of the group, I did not include the actual Facebook data but rather a translated version of the Facebook post. Note that some names have been edited out for anonymity.

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**EXTRACT 8.6**

***English***

***THE PRICE OF A \*\*\* JACKET***

*I have been privileged lately to congratulate quite a few Grades 7 \*\*\* and \*\*\* on their Proposal Award. On every occasion, their \*\*\* jackets with the rows of badges they so proudly wear are striking. It made me wonder what a \*\*\* jacket costs for parents if their child is a \*\*\* from grade 1 to grade 7? If a father had to buy a \*\*\* jacket today, with all the badges for mother to sew before the Proposal Testing, it would cost him exactly R500. It is calculated on:*

*Recognition jacket R 180*

*\*\*\* badge R 18*

*Area coat of arms R 13*

*\*\*\* badge R 12*

*ABC R 11*

*Name Ribbon R 7*

*Group sign R 7*

*3 x Bells @ R7 each R 21*

*2 x Front Items @ R7 each R 14*

*7 x Degree wheels @ R7 each R 49*

*Daybreak wheel R 7*

*23 \*\*\* Specializations @ R7 each = R 161*

*(The fact that a fast-growing primary school child buys an average of 3x jackets from grade 1 to 7 is not taken into account)*

*\*\*\* parents know this is not the full financial picture at all.*

*Together with a \*\*\* jacket, a \*\*\* shirt, denim and sneakers are worn, conservatively calculated over 7 years at R1500.*

*In order to make Proposal, a child must also attend a few area camps. An average of 5 Area Camps with an average camp cost of R700 p.a. is calculated at R3500 for 5 years.*

*If the \*\*\* had done 5 badges on special badge days, the cost would have been conservatively calculated R1500 over 7 years.*

*The child would have to do the other 16 badges on extra area camps, more badge days or as a team. It is calculated at R6000 over 7 years.*

*One commando camp per year calculated over seven years at R300 per camp amounts to R2 100.*

*The annual membership fee of Grades 1-7 amounts to R4200 calculated at R600 per year or R50 per month.*

*This is a total of R17 200.*

*This is still not the full financial picture.*

*Petrol is conservatively calculated at R600 per tank (at the 1985 petrol price). Parents drive out an average of 3 tanks a year for \*\*\* activities. It works out to R1800 p.y.  $\times 7 = R12\ 600$  \*\*\* petrol from grades 1-7.*

*Miscellaneous expenses such as additional necessities for badges, induction, team camps, preparation for Proposal process, tuck shop, and if you buy packets of fudge for R20 at \*\*\* when you go to collect badges, are very conservatively calculated at R500 p.y.  $\times 7$  years = R3 500.*

*The total expenditure of a \*\*\* jacket over seven years amounts to R33 300.*

*The INCOME is qualitatively calculated by:*

*The teaching and affirmation of consistent Christian values.*

*A multitude of fun camp stories and experiences.*

*Friendship and togetherness.*

*Fun and adventure.*

*Character development.*

*Self-confidence.*

*Accept responsibility.*

*Love of language, culture and heritage.*

*Pride.*

*Self-respect and respect for others.*

*Do-it-yourself skills.*

*Leadership development through CAN experiences (Culture + Adventure + Nature = CAN)*

*Knowledge of Afrikaner history, heritage and heroes.*

*Achieving goals through teamwork.*

*Difference in community through positive serviceability projects.*

*Resilience.*

*Heritage conservation.*

*Campfires*

*Coffee under the stars.*

*A balanced outlook on life.*

*Hope for the future.*

*The PROFIT of a \*\*\* jacket lies in happiness. Virtually every camp and team photo is a testimonial of happy children. If our children are happy, the \*\*\* is happy. The \*\*\* are, without a doubt, a happy movement. No money on earth can calculate the value of happiness.*

*Thank you to the literally thousands of \*\*\* parents and adult members for your precious and immeasurable future investment in the lives of our children.*

In this extract, the author of this piece uses the analogy of expense, income, and profit to describe the value of being a member of this group. The expense is a financial one. The price of the Group X acknowledgement jacket is calculated over seven years. This amount is then expanded upon by including the minimum costs involved in other Group X areas throughout seven years, such as camps, other activities, and petrol. As is stated, the writer of this piece then, conservatively, estimates the amount that it costs to be in Group X as R33 000. Note that this is only for seven years, and some children continue with the group for an additional five years.

The income of this transaction is measured in experiences, education, Afrikaner history, heritage and heroes and essential qualities, such as pride and resilience. What is the profit that one makes in this transaction? It is happiness, according to the author. This is something that I viewed greatly during my time with Group X – all the children were very happy, and I could truly see the joy they had coming to these weekly meetings. However, what struck me about this piece was the commodification of this cultural group, and I questioned the purpose of shaping the modern Afrikaner group.



Monica Heller (2010) writes that Bourdieu (1997, 1982) point to the fact that there are many ways in which language can form part of the symbolic capital, ‘that can be mobilized in markets as interchangeable with forms of material capital’ (Heller 2010:103). Irvine and Gal (1989) have agreed with this idea and expanded on it further by saying that when we study language, we not only need to focus on the process of ‘making of meaning, of social categories (or identities), and social relations’ (Heller 2010:103), but it is also important to study the political and economic conditions that may negatively impact the social relations and the meaning-making. Heller (2010) further references Irvine and Gal (1989) in saying that these conditions:

“...underlie ideologies of language and therefore help explain why certain linguistic forms and practices play the role they do in the production and reproduction of the social order and of the moral order that legitimates it. Language, in this view, is not a reflection of the social order but is part of what makes it happen; in that sense, we cannot abstract away from the value attached to linguistic forms and practices or from their links to all kinds of social activities and to the circulation of resources of all kinds that social order mediates.”  
(103)

Group X shows, in many instances, the value they relate to the Afrikaans language and the value that the language and its speakers have in society. In extract 7.2 of this thesis – it can be seen, as I was told that I would only “manage” in the group if I spoke Afrikaans whilst attending group meetings. This made me wonder what economic and social value Group X see in speaking Afrikaans. I further examined the textbook that the members are taught from, and I noticed a section in which they encourage the group members to form a stand on poverty and the lack of jobs. The introducing words to this section state the following:

## EXTRACT 8.7

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Uit 'n Christelike oogpunt werk 'n land nie as daar net ekonomiese voorspoed is vir 'n uitgesoekte groep mense nie.</p>	<p><i>From a Christian point of view, a country does not work if there is only economic prosperity for a chosen group of people.</i></p>
<p>Armoedeverligting word deur die staat benader vanuit welsynstoelaes en staatsubsidies aan getransformeerde welsynsdienste, wat lei tot 'n reuse belastinglas. Druk word opgebou oor die herverdeling van rykdom en nasionalisering om ongelykheid reg te stel.</p>	<p><i>Poverty alleviation is approached by the state from welfare grants and state subsidies to transformed welfare services, leading to a huge tax burden. Pressure is building up over the redistribution of wealth and nationalization to redress inequality.</i></p>
<p><b>Opheffing-deur-opleiding</b></p>	<p><b><i>Uplifting-through-training</i></b></p>
<p>Waar die staat misluk om nuwe idees vir die oplossing van die armoedevraagstuk te ontwikkel, het die gemeenskap die verantwoordelikheid om met positiewe alternatiewe idees vorendag te kom.</p>	<p><i>Where the state fails to develop new ideas for resolving the poverty issue developed, the community has the responsibility to come up with positive alternative ideas.</i></p>

According to extract 8.7, to alleviate the poverty in South Africa, the government have looked to solve this issue through the distribution of welfare grants, as well as through state subsidies which, according to Group X, leads to a great tax burden. The author states that there is “pressure building up” in South Africa in order to redress inequality as well as redistribute wealth. Group X mentions that if the state fails to come up with new ideas to alleviate poverty, it is the community's responsibility to come up with alternative ideas.

Group X uses the words of the late Prof. Elize Botha<sup>9</sup> to make this recommendation to alleviate poverty in South Africa. In this section, paraphrased and summarised here, she reminisces about her days as a poor child in South Africa in the thirties. She mentions that she devoured the wealth of Afrikaans books that were available. She also speaks about how she admired the people that fought for the Afrikaans language by developing the Afrikaans bible, Afrikaans books, Afrikaans magazines, and Afrikaans newspapers – to the salvation of millions. However, she does note that those resources that are available in Afrikaans are not always available to poor Afrikaans speakers. Her words are further paraphrased in saying that Afrikaans can help solve poverty in our country. The next portion of the document states;

**EXTRACT 8.8**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Om alle moontlike hulpbronne te ontsluit, vra dat Afrikaanssprekendes die historiese omgee waardes van helpmekaar, redmekaar en saam met mekaar sal afstof en nuut in eietydse konteks moet toepas.</p>	<p><i>To unlock all possible resources, asks Afrikaans speakers to dust off and share the historical values of helping each other, saving each other and together with each other and applying it in a contemporary context.</i></p>
<p>Afrikaans is vir 'n persoon in minder gegoede omstandighede slegs 'n taal van hoop as die Afrikaanse gemeenskap bereid is om 'n helpende hand uit te reik om geleenthede in Afrikaans vir arm Afrikaanssprekendes te ontsluit.</p>	<p><i>Afrikaans for a person in less fortunate circumstances is only a language of hope if the Afrikaans community is willing to extend a helping hand to unlock opportunities in Afrikaans for poor Afrikaans speakers.</i></p>
<p>Die sleutel tot die suksesvolle aanpak van armoede bly steeds goeie moedertaalonderwys, doelgerigte</p>	<p><i>The key to successfully tackling poverty remains good mother tongue education, purposeful skills training through which children from Afrikaans communities</i></p>

<sup>9</sup> Again, we have the case where the author mentions the name of another author without the appropriate reference. I was unable to verify whether the words of Prof. Elize Botha were hers, and I include her name here only because the author has used her name to make his/her point.

<p>vaardigheidsopleiding waardeur kinders uit Afrikaanse gemeenskappe deel word van die ekonomiese hoofstroom, 'n gesindheid van helpmekaar en samewerking, asook die versterking van die middelklas.</p> <p>Hierdie oplossing wat beskryf kan word as opheffing-deur-opleiding is reeds histories as suksesvol bewys en moet weereens in eietydse konteks nuut toegepas word.</p> <p>NP van Wyk Louw het tereg gesê Afrikaans is 'n broodsaak. Dit is 'n samevoeging van broodnodig en noodsaaklik. Met geleentheid vir opleiding in Afrikaans sal Afrikaanse kinders uit arm gemeenskappe nie net in hul brood kan voorsien nie, maar sal Afrikaans as taal kan asemhaal. Afrikaans sal 'n welverdiende plek kan volstaan in Suid-Afrika, Afrika en die internasionale gemeenskap.</p>	<p><i>become part of the economic mainstream, an attitude of helping each other and cooperation, as well as the strengthening of the middle class.</i></p> <p><i>This solution that can be described as uplifting-through-training is already historically proven to be successful and must once again be newly applied in a contemporary context.</i></p> <p><i>NP van Wyk Louw rightly said that Afrikaans is a matter of bread and butter. This is an aggregation of desperately needed and essential. With opportunities for training in Afrikaans, Afrikaans children from poor communities can not only provide bread but will be able to breathe Afrikaans as a language. Afrikaans will be able to suffice a well-deserved place in South Africa, Africa and the international community.</i></p>
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Extract 8.8 clarifies the belief that in order for a member of this group to take a stand against poverty and lack of jobs in South Africa, they need to promote the use of Afrikaans to poor Afrikaans speakers. It is even blatantly stated that to tackle poverty successfully; it is necessary to promote “mother tongue education” and skills training to allow children from the Afrikaans community to become part of the middleclass and the economic mainstream. As this section is not referenced in the textbook, I could not corroborate if this was indeed what she had said. Either way, the statements that are made in this section are problematic for so many reasons. First and foremost is the use of a language, in this case the Afrikaans language, to categorise citizens of South Africa. This is an issue, as the Afrikaans language has many different varieties, and it also allows for the total erasure of any other citizen in our country that speaks any of the other 10

official languages in South Africa are all equally poor. At this point in the thesis, I have spoken about erasure in the realm of language ideology, but the extract above allows me the opportunity to put a number to the citizens that are being erased through this discourse.

Using Group X's argument that a manner in which to alleviate poverty in South Africa is to uplift the poor Afrikaans speaking community, one would assume that Afrikaans speaking citizens make up the majority of the South African population. This is not the case. As shown in Table 1.1, of the 50 961 444 South African citizens who took part in the 2011 national census, only 6 855 082 were Afrikaans speaking. This leaves a rather large sum of 44 106 362 citizens of South Africa that do not speak Afrikaans. In terms of language spoken, over 44 million South Africans are being erased from the discourse relating to poverty.

<b>Race</b>	<b>Num. Population</b>	<b>Afrikaans Speaking</b>	<b>Non-Afrikaans Speaking</b>	<b>Percentage Afrikaans Speakers</b>
<b>Black</b>	40,413,408	602,166	39,811,242	1.49%
<b>Coloured</b>	4,541,358	3,442,164	1,099,194	75.80%
<b>Indian/Asian</b>	1,271,158	58,700	1,212,458	4.62%
<b>White</b>	4,461,409	2,710,461	1,750,948	60.75%
<b>Other</b>	274,111	41,591	232,520	15.17%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>50,961,444</b>	<b>6,855,082</b>	<b>44,106,362</b>	

*Table 1.1 – Distribution of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa as per 2011 National Census*

To take their statements further, one needs to look at the percentage of Afrikaans speakers under the Upper Bound Poverty Line<sup>10</sup> (UBPL). Table 1.2 shows that 20 393 671 South Africans live under the UBPL. Of that number, only 1 416 812 accounts for Afrikaans speakers living under the UBPL.

<sup>10</sup> A measure that refers to the food poverty line plus the average amount derived from non-food items of households whose food expenditure is equal to the food poverty line.

Race	Num. Population	% Below UBPL	Pop. Under UBPL	% Afr. Speakers	Afr. Speakers under UBPL*
<b>Black</b>	40,413,408	46.6	18,832,648	1.49%	280,609
<b>Coloured</b>	4,541,358	32.3	1,466,859	75.80%	1,111,819
<b>Indian/Asian</b>	1,271,158	4.6	58,473	4.62%	2,700
<b>White</b>	4,461,409	0.8	35,691	60.75%	21,684
<b>Total</b>			<b>20,393,671</b>		<b>1,416,812</b>

*Table 1.2 – Distribution of Afrikaans speakers under the Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL) as per the 2014/2015 Men, Woman and Children: Findings of the Living Conditions Survey*

I find extract 8.8 problematic because of the erasure of the 18 976 859 non-Afrikaans speaking South Africans that live under the UBPL, which do not form part of the author's strategy to alleviate poverty. This extract also highlights how the author has commodified the Afrikaans language in terms of use-value, as they state that by using the language and promoting Afrikaans in the South African society, that as in the past, Afrikaans will have the power to solve poverty in South Africa.

Essentially, Group X fears that the Afrikaans language and its speakers have lost their linguistic capital in the linguistic market. The language has lost its power in society during the years leading up to the apartheid era and especially the power that the Afrikaans language had during apartheid. In this group, through the various commodification techniques they use to promote the Afrikaans language, they are attempting to restate their claim in the linguistic market. Through the erasure of the other varieties of the Afrikaans language, Group X can promote their idea of the iconic Afrikaner - an Afrikaner that is Afrikaans, with the discourse surrounding the 'extinction' of Afrikaans being fractally recursive. These methods that are being used to push the language ideology of Group X are done as a method to give power back to the Afrikaans language and give power back to the speakers of Afrikaans, which according to Group X, are the iconic Afrikaners.



### 8.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated how Group X use the language ideology of erasure and differentiation to iconize the standard Afrikaans variety of Afrikaans spoken within the group. Furthermore, through the extracts from documents as well as the social interactions between the members of Group X, I argued that Group X are trying to protect the power and privilege of the Afrikaans language by attempting to secure the Afrikaner organisation in the linguistic marketplace of South Africa. Through various forms of commodification, Group X are attempting to restate the Afrikaans' language power and privilege, as well as promote the Afrikaner culture to ensure that both the Afrikaans language and the Afrikaner still hold linguistic capital – a process that allows them to promote the iconic Afrikaner and to erase (and simplify) the sociolinguistic field, rendering some persons or activities (or social phenomena) invisible within the group setting.



## **CHAPTER 9: Afrikaner fragility and the formation of the modern Afrikaner**

### **9.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, I focus on the textual analysis of extracts from the senior textbook of Group X, complemented by interactional data that show how the group frames the Afrikaner identity from a place of Afrikaner fragility. Moreover, this chapter argues that Group X shape and maintain their iconic and modern Afrikaner identity from a place of Afrikaner fragility and perceived vulnerability in a new South Africa. In doing this, they have formed these social enclaves, in which they have migrated inwards to preserve their perceived sense of vulnerability.

This chapter continues to argue that Afrikaner fragility finds its roots in the concept of ‘white fragility’, a term that I discussed in Chapter 4. Diangelo (2019) uses the concept of ‘white fragility’ to name the instances of discomfort that white people feel when talking about race matters. She argues that this reaction can largely be related to the fact that historically, white people are socialized in a manner where there is a deep-rooted and internalized sense of superiority. Due to this inherent superiority that forms as a product of society, many white people view any engagement in topics of race as an attack on our “identities as good, moral people.” (2). This chapter also argues that based on Afrikaner fragility, the interactions and discourse of Group X have created a scenario in which Afrikaners and members of Group X have created a reason to migrate inwards. In doing so, Afrikaners form social enclaves such as Afrikaner organisations, in order to preserve and enact their chosen and prescribed iconic Afrikaner identity, and to protect a language they see as theirs. Lastly, I use the framework of language ideology to analyse the textual portrayal of Afrikaner fragility in the documents of Group X with a focus on the notion of fractal recursivity put forth by Irvine and Gal (2000).

### **9.1 “We are supposed to learn from the past”: Deconstructing discourses of fragility**

In Chapter 4, I discussed that many Afrikaners in a new South Africa have found themselves in a country where they no longer have the power, and that loss of power no longer makes them feel safe. To solve this issue, many Afrikaners feel the need to migrate inwards to a place where they

can protect their fragile and vulnerable sense of identity in the modern and transformed South African context. I argue that the Afrikaners in Group X, largely due to their fractured Afrikaner identity, have created a space to enact the above-described behaviours. Seemingly, many Afrikaners find themselves in a state of limbo where they are not willing to associate and label themselves as Afrikaners due to these strong feelings of guilt and anger, yet they are white Afrikaans speakers. The interaction below, I argue, shows a sense of guilt and disassociation with the Afrikaner history:

### **EXTRACT 9.1**

#### *Participants*

**Frida:** Group leader

**Carla:** Researcher

**CM:** Group member

**Nicky:** Group member

**Elna:** Group leader



- 1      Frida      Nommer ses is n \*\*\* leer uit die geskiedenis en bou daarop voort.  
*Number six is a \*\*\* learning from history and builds on it.*
- 2      Carla      Leer uit, that means teaches, learns?  
*Learn from, that means teaches, learns?*
- 3      Frida      Ons leer van wat in die verlede gebeur het, en ons is veronderstel om te verbeter daarop.  
*We learn what happened in the past, and we are supposed to improve upon it.*
- 4      CM      We learn from.
- 5      Carla      Dankie dankie  
*Thank you thank you.*
- 6      Nicky      Baie baie dankie  
*Thank you very much.*

- 7 Frida So ons moet nie al die v, foute maak wat in die verlede gemaak is nie, en ons moet voortbou op beter dinge.  
*So we do not have to make all the mistakes that have been made in the past, and we have to build on better things.*
- 8 Elna [Laughter] Ons moet ook nie nuwe foute maak nie.  
[Laughter] *We must also not make new mistakes.*
- 9 Frida Ja, ons moet asseblief nie nuwe foute maak nie, want ons het soveel foute gemaak in die verlede.  
*Yes, please do not make new mistakes because we have made so many mistakes in the past.*
- 10 Carla I'm assuming the past is –
- 11 CM Ek dink nie daar is nuwe foute om te maak nie.  
*I don't think there are new mistakes to be made.*
- 12 Frida Ja, ons is ver onderstel om te leer uit die verlede uit, maar ons doen nie altyd nie. Want ons is mense en –  
*Yes, we are supposed to learn from the past, but we do not always do that. Because we are people and -*
- 13 CM -mense is voutief.  
*-people are wrong.*
- 14 Frida -yes. Ons maak permanent die selfde voute.  
*-yes. We permanently make the same mistakes.*

This interaction came after all the group members recited Group X's codes covered in chapter 6. As discussed in that chapter, these codes are taught as the behaviours and the characteristics that members of Group X need to have to be a member of the group. The question that I asked was a question that was asked to the group members, but the answer that I received was from both group leaders that were present during this study session. This was the first and only interaction in which history was discussed, specifically Afrikaner history. Frida and Elna expand on code number 6 for me, with an interaction in line 3, stating that they learn from what happens in the past, and they are “supposed” to improve upon it and not make the same mistakes that were made in the past, as Frida states in line 9, there were so many mistakes made in the past. CM, one of the Grade 12

members, states confidently in line 11 that she, however, does not think that there are new mistakes to be made, a slight moment of hope displayed from a member of the born-free generation - which is qualified by Frida saying again, that they are “supposed” to learn from our mistakes, but as people, we keep on making the same mistakes.

At some point in this interaction, I wanted to find out what they meant when speaking of “history”, but this line of the question was interrupted by more talk of the “mistakes” of the past. The words *history*, *past*, *supposed*, and *mistakes* stand out to me in this interaction as a form of defensive elusiveness in reaction to the uncomfortable topic of apartheid and how the oppression of millions was done in the name of the Afrikaner. The use of the word *supposed* also indicates a sense from the group leaders, that even though they know that this is what should be happening – that they are aware that ‘we’ (referring in this context to Afrikaners and Group X members), are still making the same mistakes as were made in the past – but at no point in this interaction, or in any, is this point discussed further interactionally. In order to get an answer on what these “mistakes” refer to and understand how Group X portrays the history of Afrikaners, I had to look at other resources such as the senior textbook.

The following extract forms part of a greater section in the textbook that focuses on how South Africa became a republic until current times. The extract is prefaced by a section in which they discuss how across the word *kleiner volke* (smaller nations) were beginning to seek freedom from the European colonists (this standpoint further reiterates Afrikaner fragility by contrasting the Afrikaner in the light of overcoming the oppression of European colonists). The author states that Afrikaners viewed South Africa becoming a republic as a second chance for the *volk* after losing the *Boere republieke* (Farmer Republics) to the British in earlier years. The author further mentions that the Afrikaners wanted to;

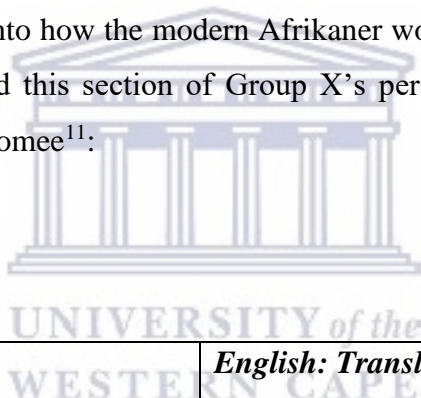
“...teen alle koste ‘n sukses van die republiek maak, en het om die rede vanuit hul roepings besef plig teenoor land en volk as een van die belangrikste waardes beskou.”

“...make the republic a success at all costs, and for this reason, out of their sense of vocation, one of the most important values considered was a duty to the country and the nation.”

This section illustrates the iconic link that is being made between the Afrikaner and the ‘freedom’ of South Africa from the European colonists, and it in no way tries to disguise the fact that the Afrikaner viewed this as a second chance for *their volk*, erasing the struggle of the anyone that was not privileged to be part of this *volk*. The Afrikaners were vital because South Africa became a republic, and in no way am I disputing this – but unfortunately, in escaping oppression of their own, they created a system of oppression that would permanently impact millions of blacks and coloureds in South Africa.

The next topic discussed in the senior textbook falls under a heading related to Group X’s perspective on apartheid. The reason that I am focusing on this chapter is that this is the *mistake* that Afrikaners are *supposed* to learn from in terms of Afrikaner *history*, that Frida and Elna were referring to in extract 9.1 and I wanted to see how this history was taught to the members, in order to gain a deeper understanding into how the modern Afrikaner would learn from this history and grow from it. The author started this section of Group X’s perspective on apartheid with the following extract by Herman Gilomee<sup>11</sup>:

**EXTRACT 9.2**



<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
Dit is vir my duister hoe die Afrikaners ’n gesonde politieke bewussyn kan ontwikkel as die hele apartheid geskiedenis enersyds deur sommige net in skuld en skaamte en andersyds deur sommige met blinde ontkenning bejeën word.	<i>It is beyond my comprehension how the Afrikaners can develop a sound political consciousness if the whole of the apartheid history is viewed on the one hand by some only in guilt and shame and on the other hand by some with blind denial.</i>

This point made by Gilomee is valid, as this is the case with many Afrikaners and it highlights the fact that there are Afrikaners that are still very much struggling with the loss of power felt after

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<sup>11</sup> It is to be noted that the author of this textbook has used Herman Gilomee’s name in the text, next to possible quotes that he has said. There were no references next to this quote, so I am unable to verify if the quotes that the author states were said by Herman Gilomee were in fact said by him. Further research from side, has also been unsuccessful in verifying this quote.



the end of apartheid, that there are still some that truly deny that apartheid either happened or had the impact that it did. This extract also agrees with this chapter's argument that Afrikaners have guilt about their history, which serves as the foundation of perceived Afrikaner fragility. This extract gave me hope for discussion on apartheid that would cover all sides of the apartheid history, one that would maybe teach the parts of Afrikaner history that are often not spoken of. Unfortunately, this was not the case as Extract 9.3 demonstrates:

### **EXTRACT 9.3**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Verwoerd wou die tuislande van die verskillende swart stamme omskep in onafhanklike state waar swart Suid-Afrikaners volle burgerregte sou geniet. Hy het verkies dat gepraat word van afsonderlike ontwikkeling of vreedsame naasbestaan as van apartheid. Die terme was vir hom meer positief en het die beleidsoogmerke beter verduidelik. Verwoerd wou aan elke bevolkingsgroep die geleentheid bied om selfstandig na sy eie aard en vermoë te ontwikkel met behoud van eie identiteit. Om die rede het die twee slagspreuke “Skep jou eie toekoms” en “Behou jou identiteit” Verwoerd se uitgangspunte die beste beskryf.</p> <p>Flip Buys plaas ’n gebalanseerde siening van apartheid op die tafel deur klem te l. op die positiewe en negatiewe kante van apartheid. “Aan die positiewe kant,” verduidelik Buys, “was dat dit gesien is as ’n beleid om die Afrikaner as ’n klein volkie – op ’n groot en gevaarlike vasteland – se</p>	<p><i>Verwoerd wanted to convert the homelands of the different black tribes into independent states where black South Afrikaners would enjoy full civil rights. He preferred to speak of separate development or peaceful coexistence instead of apartheid. For him, these terms were more positive and better explained the policy objectives. Verwoerd wanted to give each population group the opportunity to develop independently according to his/her own nature and ability whilst still preserving their own identity. For this reason, the two slogans “Create your own future” and “Preserve your identity” best described Verwoerd's points of departure.</i></p> <p><i>Flip Buys puts a balanced view of apartheid on the table by emphasizing the positive and negative sides of apartheid. "On the positive side," explains Buys, "was that it was seen as a policy to ensure the freedom of the Afrikaner as a small nation - on a large and dangerous continent - in its own country, through a</i></p>

Vryheid in 'n eie land te verseker, deur 'n proses wat terselfdertyd vryheid aan ander volke in hul eie lande sou bewerkstellig. Die tema van vryheid kom soos 'n goue draad na vore in tallose Afrikaanse liedere, gedigte en prosastukke, wat dit duidelik maak dat dit 'n grond motief in die Afrikaner se nasionale strewe was. Vryheid, en nie onderdrukking nie, was die vertrekpunt van Afrikaners se soeke na oplossings vir die rassevraagstuk.”

*process that at the same time will bring about freedom to other peoples in their own countries. The theme of freedom emerges like a golden thread in countless Afrikaans songs, poems and prose pieces, making it clear that it was a fundamental motif in the Afrikaner's national pursuit. Freedom, and not oppression, was the starting point of Afrikaners' search for solutions to the racial issue. "*

Aan die negatiewe kant was apartheid gesien as 'n metode om die Afrikaner teen Afrika te beskerm. Vryheid was die strewe, maar vrees het die dryfkrag agter die apartheidsideologie geword

*On the negative side, apartheid was seen as a method of protecting the Afrikaners from Africa. Freedom was the pursuit, but fear became the driving force behind the apartheid ideology.*

The author in this extract explains the ‘reasoning’ behind apartheid, from the perspective of Hendrick Verwoerd. Hendrick Verwoerd is known as the architect of apartheid for shaping and implementing apartheid policies when he was prime minister of South Africa. His views and role in apartheid would lead to his assassination in 1966. The author explains that the point of departure for the apartheid ideology was born from a need for each population group in South Africa to “preserve” their identity.

Here, we see the fractally recursive discourse of preservation. In chapter 4, I discussed the concept of fractal recursivity as put forth by Irvine and Gal (2000). Irvine and Gal (2000) define fractal recursivity as “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). The notion refers to the fact that the differences which are made to be iconic are used in the ‘creation of the other’ in intergroup relations. Fractal recursivity refers to a conceptual schema that is reactivated at a smaller scale. It refers to a reactivated opposition and makes it possible that old ideologies are reactivated in modern ideology. In this case, Afrikaners' view to “preserve” their identity was born out of the apparent fear that the Afrikaners were at risk of dying out - a point that will be made clearer in this chapter. These

ideologies of fear and Afrikaner fragility are embedded in history and this discourse of fragility becomes fractally recursive throughout generations, finding itself into the discourse of Group X.

The discourse of Afrikaner fragility is further continued by a viewpoint of Flip Buys, the chairperson of the Solidarity<sup>12</sup> movement. In this extract, Flip Buys speaks of the positive and the negative side of apartheid, a controversial statement as the general view of apartheid is that there was no positive side. The positive is being contrasted against the negative. The positive, according to Buys, is that apartheid, for the Afrikaner *volk*, was a manner to ensure freedom for the *volk*, while at the same time the segregation would allow other people in the country to have ‘freedom’. The author states that freedom was the desired outcome, not oppression. However, the author does bring light to the fact that there was a negative side of apartheid, in that apartheid “was seen as a method of protecting the Afrikaner from Africa”. These two contrasting ‘sides’ to apartheid are in contradiction to one another if viewed from the point of fragility, as the apparent positive aspect of ensuring freedom to the *volk* was done from a place of preservation, and the fact that the author states that it was seen as a method of protecting the Afrikaner, erases the fact that this was not a mere matter of perception. From a place of fear, threat, preservation, and fragility, the Afrikaner moved away from its initial strive for ‘freedom’, and admittingly the author states that fear became the driving force for the apartheid ideology.

At this point of the text, I thought that the discourse would shift from fear of extinction and Afrikaner preservation to a more inclusive perspective on apartheid, which tells the history from the perspective of others who do not identify as an Afrikaner. This was not what was found. The author continues to explain Flip Buys’ views on apartheid and mentions that to balance the positive and the negative sides of apartheid, Buys tries to understand Verwoerd’s policy within the context of a nationalist. It is stated by the author that Buys judges apartheid on the strategies that Verwoerd had to make when he designed policies based on racial relations. One of the ten points that are discussed as a way of understanding Verwoerd’s actions can be seen below:

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<sup>12</sup> The Solidarity movement: “is rooted in the Christian tradition of trade unionism and therefore has a unique approach to trade unionism that differs from that of Cosatu, for example. The main task of the trade union Solidarity is to ensure job security; to improve conditions of employment and to eradicate injustice in the workplace.” (Via solidarity website)

## EXTRACT 9.4

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>3. Die nasleep van die Anglo-Boereoorlog</p> <p>Afrikaners is meer as een keer in hul geskiedenis met uitwissing bedreig. Gilomee praat ook van die “bestaansangs” en oorlewingstryd van die Afrikaner as ’n klein volkie wat deur sy hele geskiedenis onveilig was. Die eerste konsentrasiekampe was in Suid-Afrika gebou, en nie in Nazi-Duitsland nie. Tydens die Tweede Wêreldoorlog het die Nazi’s hul konsentrasiekampe selfs regverdig deur na die Engelse kampe in Suid-Afrika te verwys. Daar was ’n gevoel dat Afrikanermassasterftes nooit weer mag gebeur nie, en dat die Afrikaner nooit sy mag oor homself mag prysgee nie.</p> <p>NP van Wyk Louw het kort na die Tweede Wêreldoorlog in 1946 geskryf dat wanneer die Afrikaner ’n minderheid onder ’n swart meerderheid sou word, “hy so hulpeloos soos ’n Jood in Duitsland” sal wees. Gebeure in Afrika het die siening versterk dat dit die einde van die Afrikaner se veiligheid sou beteken as hy onder ’n swart regering te lande sou kom. Afrikaners het apartheid met vryheid vir alle volke in hul tradisionele lande as ’n alternatief vir wit .f swart oorheersing gesien.</p> <p>Vryheid-deur-apartheid is tot die tagtigerjare as ’n voorwaarde vir Afrikaner oorlewing in Afrika</p>	<p>3. <i>The aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War</i></p> <p><i>Afrikaners have been threatened with extinction more than once in their history. Gilomee also speaks of the “fear of existence” and struggle for survival of the Afrikaner as a small nation that throughout its history was unsafe. The first concentration camps were built in South Africa, and not in Nazi Germany. During World War II, the Nazis closed their concentration camps, even justified by referring to the English camps in South Africa. There was a feeling that Afrikaner mass deaths may never happen again and that the Afrikaner may never give up his power over himself.</i></p> <p><i>NP van Wyk Louw wrote shortly after the Second World War in 1946 that when the Afrikaner would become a minority among a black majority, “he would be as helpless as a Jew in Germany”. Events in Africa reinforced the view that it would mean the end of the Afrikaner's security if he landed under a black government. Afrikaners saw apartheid with freedom for all peoples in their traditional countries as an alternative to white or black domination.</i></p> <p><i>Freedom through apartheid was seen as a condition for Afrikaner survival in Africa until the 1980s.</i></p>

<p>gesien. Verwoerd het onderskeid getref tussen permanente of groot apartheid wat die ontwikkeling van 'n eie land vir elke volk beteken het, en klein apartheid wat as tydelike oorgangsmatreëls gesien is totdat eersgenoemde tot stand gebring is. Afrikaners was egter blind vir die morele implikasies van die beleid en die vernietigende effek wat die gedwonge skeiding op gesin- en samelewingstrukture gehad het.</p>	<p><i>Verwoerd distinguished between permanent or large-scale apartheid, which meant developing an independent country for each nation, and small-scale apartheid, which were seen as temporary transitional measures until the former was established. However, Afrikaners were blind to the moral implications of the policy and the destructive effect that the forced separation had on family and society structures.</i></p>
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In extract 9.4, we can see more examples of fatalistic discourse surrounding the Afrikaner *volk*, with the threat of extinction being used here to explain that the Afrikaner acted from a place of survival – as once before at the hand of the British had they fallen victim to oppression and violence, especially in said concentration camps. The discourse of the *swart gevaar* is brought to light in this extract by using the false claim that if the Afrikaner were ever to become a minority among a black majority, that they would be as helpless as a Jew in Germany, comparing the fight for the Afrikaner to that of a Holocaust victim. Other than that, alarming and insensitive comparison, the author states a scenario in which the Afrikaners were at some point in the majority to blacks in South Africa – when this was never the case. The Afrikaners have always been in the minority in terms of number, they did, however, create a system in which they would hold majority power, which makes us wonder if this statement should have read; when the Afrikaner would have minority power among a black population holding majority power. Sadly, this statement also erases the so-called coloured population of South Africa, who also suffered at the hands of the Afrikaners.

The vague statement of “events” in Africa that would reinforce the Afrikaners need for security under the risk of a black government is used to explain apartheid away as a strategy that would ensure the survival of the Afrikaner people. This fractally recursive discourse of fragility is being used in a manner for the Afrikaners to distance themselves from the atrocities of the apartheid movement and ideologies. This reasoning erases and minimises the experiences of the suffering of any other race than the Afrikaner. Unfortunately, the statement included in this section that



Afrikaners were ‘blind’ to the moral implications and the destructiveness of the apartheid ideologies stands in contradiction to all that was said before, as to how is it possible to be blind to the consequences of a system that was not only created but also named *apartheid*, the Afrikaans word for separateness.

I read this section in the hope of finding information that Group X members could learn from and build on – as this was one of the codes that the members of Group X had to learn, know and act upon. I found this information to follow in a section which was titled the *Afrikaner critique against apartheid*. In this section, the author expresses that the perception that all Afrikaners accepted, and supported apartheid is wrong and that even throughout the apartheid era, debates were surrounding possible alternatives. In this section, the author states that no matter how much change was talked about during the apartheid era, this does not in any way outweigh the damaging effect of apartheid. This section highlights the story of Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner anti-apartheid activist, who was placed under house arrest for supporting the ANC’s struggle against apartheid, and it mentions that even though he was thought of as a traitor by many during the apartheid era, and after that he never strayed from his Afrikaner identity, by quoting a statement that he made before his death, stating that he was never anything else but an Afrikaner. This section continues chronologically, telling the story - from the perspective of the Afrikaner - about the events that unfolded before 1994, which would mark the end of the apartheid era and lead to the reconciliation of South Africa. This part of history, which is widely viewed as a new and inclusive beginning for South Africa – a period of transformation, is described by the author as follows:

**EXTRACT 9.5**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Ten spyte van die aanvanklike belowende versoening het Afrikaners spoedig onder groot druk gekom. Die nuwe Suid-Afrika het Afrikaners met twee kernvrae gekonfronteer. Eerstens moes Afrikaners aan hulself vra of daar nog plek is vir Afrikaners in Afrika?</p>	<p><i>Despite the promising initial reconciliation, Afrikaners soon came under great pressure. The new South Africa confronted Afrikaners with two key questions. First, Afrikaners ask themselves whether there is still room for Afrikaners in Africa?</i></p>



<p>Dit was 'n moeilike vraag vir Afrikaners om te beantwoord. Die Instituut vir Rasseaangeleenthede het bereken dat meer as 'n miljoen Afrikaners in een dekade (1995-2005) die land permanent verlaat het. Dit is ongeveer 20% van wit Suid-Afrikaners. Afrikaners se getalle het demografies afgeneem en vir die eerste keer in dekades het die Afrikaners beleef wat dit werklik beteken om 'n minderheid gemeenskap te wees.</p>	<p><i>This was a difficult question for Afrikaners to answer. The Institute for Racial Affairs calculated that more than a million Afrikaners left the country permanently in one decade (1995-2005). This is about 20% of white South Africans. The numbers of Afrikaners have decreased demographically, and for the first time in decades, the Afrikaners have experienced what it really means to be a minority community.</i></p>
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The author once again uses discourses of fear as a way in which to define the position of the Afrikaner at the end of the apartheid era by asking the rhetorical question of if there would be space for the Afrikaner in Africa in the new South Africa, as after the end of apartheid – apparently, 20% of white South Africans had left South Africa, making a false equivalence between white South Africans and Afrikaners. This is done to prove the argument that Afrikaners now *really* understood what it meant to be a minority, erasing the fact that the Afrikaner has always been the minority in numbers and had always only had majority power. This discourse paints the picture of the vulnerable and fragile Afrikaner, one whose position is once again threatened. A viewpoint that is qualified by the following extract:

**EXTRACT 9.6**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p><b>Magsverlies</b> Na die uitslag van die 1994-verkiesing het Afrikaners vir die tweede keer in een eeu magsverlies beleef. Die optimistiese verwagting by baie Afrikaners was dat Suid-Afrika met sy progressiewe grondwet in 'n liberale demokrasie sou ontwikkel met 'n vrye pers, onafhanklike regbank,</p>	<p><b>Loss of power</b> <i>After the result of the 1994 election, Afrikaners experienced a loss of power for the second time in one century. The optimistic expectation among many Afrikaners was that with its progressive constitution South Africa would develop into a liberal democracy with a free press, independent judiciary,</i></p>

<p>erkenning van individuele regte en beskerming van taal- en kulturele regte deur middel van skole en universiteite. Nelson Mandela het na afloop van die verkiesing op 27 April 1994 'n versoenende hand na Afrikaners uitgesteek met die woorde:</p>	<p><i>recognition of individual rights and protection of language and cultural rights through schools and universities. Following the election on 27 April 1994, Nelson Mandela hand extended to Afrikaners with the words:</i></p>
<p>Die uitdaging van die nuwe patriotisme is nie een van 'n keuse tussen Afrikanerdom en Suid-Afrikanerskap nie. Inteendeel, dit is gewis oor die genesende versoening van Afrikaners met volle Suid-Afrikanerskap.</p>	<p><i>The challenge of the new patriotism is not one of choice between Afrikanerdom and South Africanness. On the contrary, it is certainly about the healing reconciliation of Afrikaners with full South Africanness.</i></p>
<p>In stede daarvan om in die gees van versoening vele tale, kulture en verhale te akkommodeer, is 'n eensydige meesterverhaal op die verlede, hede en toekoms afgedwing om die Nasionaal demokratiese rewolusie se doelwit van rasse transformasie te regverdig. Giliomee beskryf die praktiese toepassing van die ideologie van 'n "Nasionale Demokratiese Rewolusie" as volg:</p>	<p><i>Instead of accommodating many languages, cultures and stories in the spirit of reconciliation, there is a one-sided master story forced on the past, present and future to justify the National Democratic Revolution's goal of racial transformation. Gilomee describes the practical application of the ideology of a "National Democratic Revolution" as follows:</i></p>
<p>Ten spyte van die feit dat die demokrasie in verskeie Afrikalande lank reeds meer skyn as substansie is, bly meerderheidsregering steeds die groot morele alibi van Afrika-nasionalisme, en word dit selfs gebruik om openlik rassistiese beleide te vergoelik.</p>	<p><i>Despite the fact that democracy in several African countries has long been more apparent than substance, majority rule remains the great moral alibi of African nationalism and is even used to openly justify racist policies.</i></p>
<p>Waar die ANC in ballingskap sterk deur Leninisties beskouings beïnvloed is, ag hy homself as 'n voorhoede party en nie as die agent van die mense se wil nie. Hy tref weinig onderskeid tussen die staat en</p>	<p><i>Where the ANC in exile was strongly influenced by Leninist views, it considers itself a vanguard party and not the agent of the will of the people. He makes little distinction between the state and the ruling party and</i></p>

<p>regerende party en besluit self watter “kaders” in die staatsdiens “ontplooi” moet word. Die ANC dwing ook die groter ondernemings in die privaatsektor om hul personeel die demografiese profiel te laat weerspieël. Die ANC verskaf ook welsyn aan die massa op so ’n wyse dat hul afhanklikheid van die regering voortdurend versterk word.</p>	<p><i>decides for himself which "cadres" should be "deployed" in the public service. The ANC is also forcing the larger enterprises in the private sector to reflect the demographic profile of their staff. The ANC also provides welfare to the masses in such a way that their dependence on the government is constantly strengthened.</i></p>
<p>Selfverryking deur korrupsie, regstellende aksie, kader ontplooiing, die soustrein, die brutaliteit en omvang van die plaasmoorde, tesame met die miskenning van Afrikaans, het die belowende potensiaal van nasiebou ondergrawe. Iets waarteen ’n filosoof in Stellenbosch, Johannes Degenaar, reeds teen 1995 al gewaarsku het.</p>	<p><i>Self-enrichment through corruption, affirmative action, cadre deployment, the sauce train, the brutality and extent of the farm murders, together with the disregard for Afrikaans, has the promise to undermine the potential of nation-building. Something that a philosopher in Stellenbosch, Johannes Degenaar, had already warned against by 1995.</i></p>
<p>Die misdaad golf wat die land teen 2000 getref het, tesame met die impak van regstellende aksie op dienslewering, het lands verlaten van amper ’n miljoen Afrikaners tot gevolg gehad. Konserwatief bereken het tussen ’n kwart en ’n vyfde van Afrikaners gemigreer wat enorme demografiese druk op die Afrikaner minderheid plaas.</p>	<p><i>The crime wave that hit the country by 2000, together with the impact of affirmative action on service delivery, resulted in the immigration of almost one million Afrikaners. Conservatives have estimated that between a quarter and a fifth of Afrikaners have migrated, which puts enormous demographic pressure on the Afrikaner minority.</i></p>

A section that discusses the reconciliation of a country after years of oppression at the Afrikaners' hand is titled *loss of power*. The extract follows, with what can only be viewed as a political dig towards the ANC government and their ability to reconcile South Africa. A sense of irony must be called out in the fact that they state that:

*“Instead of accommodating many languages, cultures and stories in the spirit of reconciliation, there is a one-sided master story forced on the past, present and future to justify the National Democratic Revolution's goal of racial transformation.”*

Seemingly, Group X also seem to be promoting a one-sided master story of events in the past, whilst also forming itself on the principle of the promotion of a distinct culture and language, Afrikaners and pure Afrikaans for that matter. The author in this extract displays a tone of negativity towards the ANC government by describing affirmative action as the government “forcing” businesses in the private sector to look at the demographic of its staff. The ANC is also being critiqued for providing welfare to “the masses”, which is said to strengthen the “masses” dependence on the government, all statements that I may add are made without any references or evidence.

I think any South African can agree that there is evidence of corruption within the ANC government, but my personal political opinions are not appropriate or relevant in this thesis. Any form of academic writing needs to remain as objective as possible, a point that the author of these extracts has forgotten as they display negativity against the government and these ideologies and viewpoints are shared and taught to members of this group between the ages of 14 – 18. One must argue if these ideologies and viewpoints about the Afrikaner history and the state of our government are in line with Group X’s goal of promoting the modern Afrikaner?

The actions of the government, the apparent decline in service delivery due to the implementation of affirmative action, paired with an unreferenced crime wave in 2000, are blamed for the immigration of almost one million Afrikaners, putting ‘pressure’ on the Afrikaners as there are now fewer of them. I argue that the arguments made here go against nation-building and transformation, as they tell the story of the Afrikaners survival versus the new South Africa, an era of reconciliation framed as a period of fear of survival from the viewpoint of the Afrikaner. This discourse is not unknown to the Afrikaner as this discourse of struggle and survival threads its way throughout Afrikaner history.

## 9.2 The preservation of the Afrikaner identity

The fear of becoming ‘extinct’ seems to be a common thread in the justifications of the actions of some Afrikaners, as they are facing an era of loss of identity due to their loss of power in South Africa. This loss of identity is expanded on in the following extract:

### EXTRACT 9.7

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p><b>Identiteit verlies</b></p> <p>***</p> <p>Afrikanerskap is deur sommige meningsvormers in die Afrikaanse media as eksklusief en uitsluitend beskou; iets waaroor mens eintlik skaam behoort te wees; ’n denkbeeldige gemeenskap en ’n sosiale konstruk van nasionaliste in die apartheids-era om wit oorheersing oor swartmense te konsolideer.</p> <p>Uit vrees vir etikettering en beskuldigings van neo-apartheid, eksklusiwiteit, etnosentrisme en alles nog wat, het baie Afrikaners onsuksesvol gepoog om met vreemde terme soos wit Suid-Afrikaanse Afrikaanses of wit Afrikaanssprekende Suid Afrikaners uitdrukking te gee aan hulle kulturele identiteit.</p> <p>Vele Afrikaners, en voorheen Afrikanerorganisasies, het gewillig, gediensig en gedwee na allerhande maniere gesoek om ’n polities korrekte kniebuiging</p>	<p><b>Identity loss</b></p> <p>***</p> <p><i>Afrikanerism was regarded by some opinion makers in the Afrikaans media as exclusive and exclusive; something one should actually be ashamed of; an imaginary community and a social construct of nationalists in the apartheid era to consolidate white supremacy over black people.</i></p> <p><i>Fearing labelling and accusations of neo-apartheid, exclusivity, ethnocentrism, and everything else, many Afrikaners have unsuccessfully tried to use foreign terms such as white South African Afrikaans or white Afrikaans-speaking South African to give Afrikaner’s expression to their cultural identity.</i></p> <p><i>Many Afrikaners and earlier Afrikaner organizations willingly, submissively, and meekly sought all sorts of ways to make politically correct knee-jerk reactions</i></p>



<p>te maak en die ideologie van rasse-transformasie organisatories te internaliseer.</p> <p>Die nuwe bedeling het Afrikaners gekonfronteer met twee essensiële vrae, naamlik is daar nog plek vir Afrikaners in Afrika en wil ons nog Afrikaners wees?</p> <p><b>Afrikaner organisasies</b></p> <p>Afrikaners het die vrae deur middel van nuwe sterk organisasies beantwoord. Die verlies aan politieke mag met die ontbinding van die Nasionale Party (NP) het Afrikaners gedwing om buite die politiek nuwe toekoms strategies te bedink. Afrikaners het hulself begin herorganiseer in sterk burgerlike organisasies.</p> <p>Hierdie organisasies, wat elk 'n eie nismerk bedien, het oor tyd met toenemende selfvertroue begin standpunt inneem oor taal-, kultuur-, onderwys- en burgerregte kwessies.</p> <p>Hulle ontstaan teen die regering en standpunte oor 'n wye verskeidenheid van kwessies het aan Afrikaners nuwe selfvertroue gegee. In minder as 'n dekade het die Afrikaner organisasies se gesamentlike ledetal die van die NP op die hoogtepunt van sy mag verbygesteek.</p>	<p><i>and to organize the ideology of racial transformation internally.</i></p> <p><i>The new dispensation confronted Afrikaners with two essential questions: is there still room for Afrikaners in Africa, and do we still want to be Afrikaners?</i></p> <p><b><i>Afrikaner organizations</i></b></p> <p><i>Afrikaners answered the questions through new strong organizations. The loss of political power with the dissolution of the National Party (NP) forced Afrikaners to develop new future strategies outside of politics. Afrikaners began to reorganize themselves in strong civic organizations.</i></p> <p><i>With confidence, these organizations, each serving its own niche market, over time began to take a stand on language, culture, education and civil rights issues.</i></p> <p><i>Their rise against the government and views on a wide range of issues have given Afrikaners new confidence. In less than a decade, the membership of Afrikaner organisations exceeds that of the NP at the height of its power.</i></p>
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This extract goes to claim back the term Afrikaner by stating that many Afrikaners, such as myself, have unsuccessfully tried to use terms such as white South African Afrikaans or white Afrikaans



speaking South African to give Afrikaner's expression to their cultural identity. This assumes the fact that every white South African speaking Afrikaans citizen wants to identify as an Afrikaner. This loss of identity and the submissive and politically correct reactions of Afrikaner organisations in reaction to the ideology of racial transformation are critiqued by the author, and we once again see rhetorical devices being used to ask the question of not only is there still room for Afrikaners in Africa but do Afrikaners still want to be Afrikaners?

How does the author offer an answer to this question? By bringing this analysis full circle and providing us with a reason for the formation of Afrikaner organisations. I argue that extract 8.7 illustrates how the fractally recursive ideologies of fear and preservation are being integrated and used as justification for the formation of Afrikaner organisations, which I argue take the form of an enclave formed on the ideals of a heterotopia. By raising the point that they fear extinction, discourse that has its roots in Afrikaner history, the author uses this fractally recursive discourse to justify the fact that Afrikaners have been 'forced' to develop and form Afrikaner organisations (such as Group X).

These groups each hope to serve their niche market that stands on language, culture, education, and civil rights issues. The discourse in the above extracts strongly asserts that Afrikaners still have a place in South Africa but that the current state of affairs of the country stands a threat to their existence in Africa. From the fear of 'extinction', the author states that Afrikaners have now been forced to create Afrikaner organisations to preserve their Afrikaner identity, a behaviour that I argue is an act of inward migration, moving towards the formation of social enclaves in which certain behaviours and ideologies can be enacted without the fear and judgement of others, social enclaves who, depending on the 'niche' that they cater towards, can 'rise' against the government and give confidence to the Afrikaner, a confidence that was lost after the loss of power in 1994. One cannot ignore the problematic assertion and comparison made by stating that today's membership numbers are higher than the membership numbers at the height of the National Party's (NP) reign, the NP being the political party in which apartheid was formed.

This in-depth look into how Group X perceives the apartheid history and the subsequent flow into the loss of power and identity the Afrikaner experienced after the end of the apartheid, led me to

the authors view that this loss of identity and power experienced by Afrikaners has forced Afrikaners to form Afrikaner organisations to live out their Afrikaner identities, in fear of extinction in Africa. The question remained, were these ideologies shared by the members of this group?

As seen in the previous chapter, the members of Group X do note that they are *different* from other Afrikaans children that they go to school with, giving reasons, using labels such as *friendly, like family, share the same values, a network* and *following the same rules* as indicators of differentiation between Group X members and other Afrikaans speaking South Africans. I do, however, believe that the members of Group X are experiencing a struggle with their identity, and not necessarily a loss of identity as described in the extract 9.7. This identity crisis, stems from the struggle that the students feel between the iconic Afrikaner identity that Group X prescribes for its members, so much so that they feel that they are two people;

### **EXTRACT 9.8**

#### *Participants*

**Susan:** Group leader

**Carla:** Researcher



- 1 Susan Ja. Ek... Ek moet se ek is... Ek was... Daar's een seun, hy was by Groep X maar ek moet se hy spot nogals baie vir my as ek in Groep X is maar na daai kamp worry ek glad nie meer nie.  
*Yes. I ... I have to say I am ... I was ... There's one boy, he was with Group X, but I must say he mocks me quite a lot when I'm in Group X, but after that camp I do not worry at all.*
- 2 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 3 Susan Jy kan wat ook al se. Hier is dit net anderste. Dit is baie lekkerder, jy leer ander goed, jy leer vriendskap wat... Dis net anderste hierso.

- You can say anything. Here it's just different. It's a lot nicer, you learn other things, you learn friendship that ... It's just different here.*
- 4 Carla Voel jy jy kan jouself hierso wees?  
*Do you feel you can be yourself here?*
- 5 Susan Ja. Ja. Ek... Ek wil amper se soos ek is twee mense...  
*Yes. Yes. I ... I almost want to say like I'm two people ...*
- 6 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 7 Susan Maar nie in 'n slegte manier nie.  
*But not in a bad way.*
- 8 Carla Ja. Ja. Ja.  
*Yes. Yes. Yes.*
- 9 Susan Soos by die skool vriende is ek saam met hulle dan is ek so. Hierso...  
Omdat jy met hulle 24 uur is.  
*Like at school friends I'm with them then I'm like that. Here ...  
Because you're with them 24 hours a day.*
- 10 Carla Ja.  
*Yes.*
- 11 Susan Kom jou regte een uit.  
*Your right one comes out.*

In extract 9.8, Susan, once again on the difference between friends at Group X vs school, had mentioned earlier that she wanted to quit Group X because many kids at school thought it was ‘nerdy’. She then shares with me that one boy who used to be a member of Group X mocks her for being part of the group. After the camp, where the group members are taught about Afrikaner culture and traditions, she is not bothered with him mocking her anymore. Again, she mentions that it is just *different* at Group X and that she feels like she is two people (but not in a bad way) – and that when she is at Group X, her “right” side comes out. Sadly, this interaction contradicts Susan's statements earlier – where she stated that children at school are being “fake” when it seems that she is also struggling with being her ‘right’ self at school. I never had the opportunity to ask her why she felt that she needed to be two different people, and why could she not be this ‘right’

version of herself at school with her school friends? Why is it only in the space of Group X that she felt ‘right’ in expressing her identity, within the safe place of this Afrikaner organisation?

Another question that I had after reading the information regarding Group X’s perspective on apartheid is, did the members of this group share this feeling of preservation of Afrikaner identity and pride for the history of the Afrikaner? I encountered this in terms of the Afrikaans language, a topic discussed in chapter 7, but this was never the experience in relation to other aspects of the Afrikaner identity. The majority of the time, the weekly meetings were simply friendly catchups based on the week – or it was an opportunity to talk about the fun activities on the camps. There were also one or two weeks where the members were taught about all the national emblems of South Africa, referencing our national animals and the emblems on South African currency. Often, when it came to theory, this was handled in a way the children would have to recite facts, and the most ‘textbook’ work that I saw, was when the Grade 12’s were studying for their exam; and even then, a general disinterest was shown in the topic of the exam, with the members not seeming to be as concerned with the exam as their leaders were;

### **EXTRACT 9.9**

#### *Participants*

**Frida:** Group leader

**CM:** Group member

**Nicky:** Group member

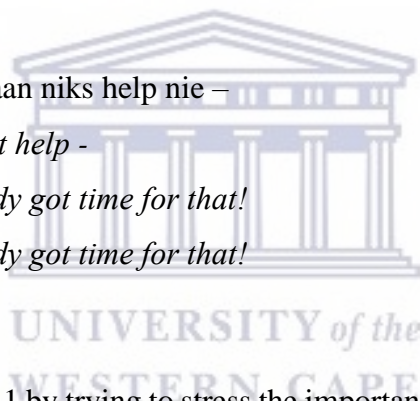
1 Frida Ek wil net vir julle herinner dat hierdie jaar se vraestel anders lyk as al die vorige jare se vraestelle.

*I just want to remind you that this year's paper looks different from all the previous years' papers.*

2 CM Ja, maar, ja – met die, met die mock exams gaan ons ‘n voorsmakie kry van min of meer wat ons moet leer.

*Yes, but, yes - with the mock exams, we are going to get a taste of more or less what we need to learn.*

- 3      Frida      Nee, maar dit tel minder want jy gaan basies ‘n voorsmakie kry van hoe hulle die vrae vra.  
*No, but it counts less because you are basically going to get a taste of how they ask the questions.*
- 4      CM      Ja, maar nog steeds –  
*Yes, but still -*
- 5      Frida      Nie wat jy moet leer nie –  
*Not what you need to learn -*
- 6      CM      Ja maar nog steeds, dit sal vir ons nog steeds help, maak nie saak wat nie.  
*Yes but still, it will still help us no matter what.*
- 7      Frida      En het julle gesien op die brief, dat julle vorige jare se vraestelle ook aflaai.  
*And did you see on the letter that you also downloaded previous years' papers.*
- 8      CM      Maar dit gaan niks help nie –  
*But it won't help -*
- 9      Nicky      *Ain't nobody got time for that!*
- 10     CM      *Ain't nobody got time for that!*



In extract 9.9, Frida opens in line 1 by trying to stress the importance of studying for the upcoming exams, attempting to provide them with tips, such as using old exam papers to help study for the exam – with CM saying in line 2 that the mock exams will help, and her and Nicky both agreeing with each other in lines 9 and 10, quoting the popular English catchphrase, “Ain’t nobody got time for that!” in response to Nig’s tip that they could download old papers. Further on in this interaction, there was more evidence that agrees with my theory that not only the members of Group X show a general disinterest with the contents of the senior textbook and the work within it, but the leaders of the group also seem to be in the dark about a few of the facts, with one example being particularly interesting.

In extract 9.10, the group was still busy with revision – when the topic of ‘beskermvrou’ and ‘beskermheer’ came up. The direct translation for these terms is protection woman and protection lord, but the correct translation is patron and patroness, according to the dictionary.

### **EXTRACT 9.10**

#### *Participants*

**Elna:** Group leader

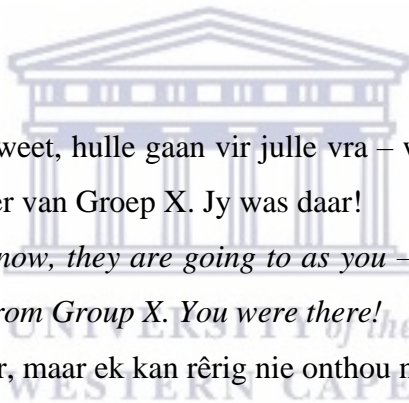
**Nicky:** Group member

**Carla:** Researcher

**Frida:** Group leader

**CM:** Group member

**Allan:** Group leader

- 
- 1 Elna Julle moet weet, hulle gaan vir julle vra – wie is die nuwe beskermvrou en beskermheer van Groep X. Jy was daar!  
*You must know, they are going to ask you – who is the new patron and the patroness from Group X. You were there!*
- 2 Nicky Ek was daar, maar ek kan rêrig nie onthou nie, daar was so baie mense –  
*I was there, but I can really not remember, there were so many people-*
- 3 Elna Uhm – daai tipe goed. Omdat daar nou ‘n nuwe beskermheer en beskermvrou is, ek is amper seker daarvan hulle gaan dit vir julle vra. En – en – ken Groep X geskiedenis. En – en – ken jou algemene kennis.  
*Uhm - that kind of thing. Because there is now a new patron and patroness, I'm almost sure they'll ask you for it. And - and - know Group X history. And - and - know your general knowledge.*
- 4 Carla Quick question, sorry. My Afrikaans is a bit bad.
- 5 Frida No problem.
- 6 Carla What is the beskermvrou en die beskermheer? What do they do?  
*What is the patron and the patroness? What do they do?*
- 7 Frida Uuuh -



8 Nicky Protectors -

9 Carla Do Group X have protectors?

10 Nicky It's dangerous!

11 Carla Why? -

12 Nicky [laughing] I don't know. I got no idea.

13 Carla Oh okay, cause I was just wondering what they do, because it sounds like -

14 Nicky I'm sure they just [inaudible] just in case, they – political stuff that goes wrong, and they would like defend us, and stuff like that. I'm, that's all I could think of.

15 Carla Interesting,.

16 CM It does not been it's a bad organisation

17 Nicky I have no idea – I'm, just guessing.

18 \*\*\*

19 Frida Neef Allan, neef Allan! [inaudible] wil vinnig vir jou 'n vraag vra. Ek weet jy's haastig –  
*Cousin Allan, cousin Allan! [inaudible] wants to quickly ask you a question. I know you are busy -*

20 Allan As jy vir my iets gee –  
*If you are going to give me something -*

21 Frida Beskermheer – beskerm heer, beskerm vrou. Wat is hulle uhm, doen hulle in Groep X?  
*Patron -patron, patroness. What are they uhm, they do in Group X?*

22 Allan (3)

23 CM [laughter]

24 Allan Wat se die boek?  
*What does the book say?*

25 Frida Hulle moet net weet wie dit is nè?  
*They just need to know who it is hey?*

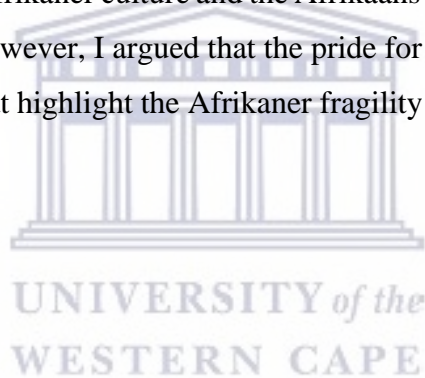
26 Allan Dis al wat hulle moet weet ja.  
*That's all they need to know yes.*

Extract 9.10 shows how the one group leader, Elna, is trying to convince the children that it is very important to know the roles of the “beskermheer” and “beskermvrou” in line 1. Me, knowing that the English word for ‘beskerm’ is *protect*, felt compelled to ask what the roles of these people are in the Group, to which Nicky first laughed and then answered that she has no idea. This was strange to me, as not only was Nicky the most vocal in the group, she was also the group senior representative on a national level – meaning that she attends meetings of Group X nationally and has been in the presence of the “beskermheer” and the “beskermvrou”. Nicky then attempts to answer me in line 14, in saying that she is “sure” that they are just there in case “political stuff goes wrong, and they would defend us”. CM steps in quickly in line 16, feeling inclined to tell me that Group X is not a bad organisation – almost as an act of defence against Nicky’s claims. Nicky inevitably tells me in line 17 that she has no idea what they do and is just guessing. A minute or two passed, and Frida, whom I had hoped would step in and clarify this point for me, called out to Allan who was passing the door at the time. Allan was one of the head leaders of Group X at the time of this recording. Frida asks Allan in line 21 if he maybe knows what the “beskermheer” and “beskermvrou” do in Group X. After a few seconds of silence, Allan asks Frida what the book says – and says that the members-only need to know who they are. I still did not have my answer to who these people were and their roles in the group. If this was going to be tested in the exam and the Grade 12 members need to know this information, should it not be something that the members know? Or, more importantly, that the group leaders know?

These comments are not being made as an attempt to criticise the actions of the members of the leaders, but rather these interactions go to show that this specific fraction of Group X seems less concerned with the formal aspects of this cultural organisation formed to preserve the Afrikaner identity and that they simply view Group X as a simple youth organisation, a place to be with friends, go on camps, learn practical and outdoor skills and a place to socialize. I thought that instances of fractal recursivity would appear more in the interactions that I recorded, but this was not always the case. By Group X promoting the iconic Afrikaner, it can be argued that fractally recursive discourse is automatically being produced within the interactions. However, any detailed accounts of fractal recursivity were far more evident within the documents, which I argue illustrate the ideals of what Group X want the iconic Afrikaner to be.

### 9.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how the group frames the Afrikaner identity from a place of Afrikaner fragility. I argue that using Irvin and Gal's (2000) notion of fractal recursivity, that Group X enacts fractally recursive discourse of fragility. This may not necessarily be enacted within interactions, but rather, Group X uses documents such as the textbook prescribed to all senior group members to map out the ideal iconic Afrikaner. These texts frame a modern Afrikaner as a *volk*, which according to Group X, are living in a state in which they have lost their power and identity, and they need to protect their Afrikaner fragility by migrating inwards to form Afrikaans organisations such as Group X, in which they can reproduce this discourse of fragility, and protect their Afrikaner identity. However, my ethnography illustrated that the idea that Afrikaans and Afrikaners are 'under attack' was never explicitly clear to me in our interactions. The participants seem to show such pride in the Afrikaner culture and the Afrikaans language. In the greater scheme of the Afrikaner organisation, however, I argued that the pride for the Afrikaner has been masked by discourses of preservation that highlight the Afrikaner fragility imminent within the group.



## CHAPTER 10: The modern Afrikaner: Afrikaner pride – or preservation?

### 10.0 Introduction

To answer the question of pride or preservation, this chapter focuses the textual analysis on one document, a document that ties together the arguments made in the previous chapters; that Group X promote their version of an iconic Afrikaner and that Group X see their culture and language as being at risk, and therefore the language and its speakers are being marginalized in the new South Africa. This slightly shorter chapter aims to reinforce the arguments made in earlier chapters, as I argue that Group X use this document as an attempt to justify their ability to form freely as an Afrikaner organisation by calling on South Africa's constitution and drawing on fractally recursive ideologies of Afrikaner fragility. I illustrate how the sociolinguistics of Afrikaner fragility plays out in the form of sociolinguistic colour-blindness, as defined by Bonilla-Silva (2002), and reinforces a discourse of difference between 'the' Afrikaner and the greater South African population.

### 10.1 “Afrikaners are under siege”: The linguistics of colour-blind racism

The document that forms the basis of this analysis was found on the webpage of Group X, and at the time of writing this thesis, it is still freely available on their website. From what I have been able to gather from the document, it was written in 2017 and it seems to highlight many points that are raised in the senior textbook, but also reinforces a claim that was argued in Chapter 7 of this thesis – that Afrikaner are Afrikaans. Group X believe that 'their' language is being marginalized, and that the language and the Afrikaner are in danger. This document begins with the following introduction:

#### **EXTRACT 10.1**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
XXX 2017 vergader in 'n tyd waar Afrikaans op 'n ongekende skaal as landstaal uitgeskuif word.	XXX 2017 is meeting in a time where Afrikaans, on an unprecedented scale, is being marginalized as a

<p>Afrikaners is onder 'n staat van beskuldiging oor die verlede, rassisme en alles nog wat. Afrikaner beelde en erfenisterreine is onder beleg en Afrikaner geskiedenis word gekriminaliseer. Die Afrikaner jeug is aan die ontvangkant van regstellende aksie en klipharde rasgedrewe transformasie. Daar is 'n sterk beweging om die Christelike godsdiens uit staatskole te skuif. Ons land het op 'n ekonomiese rommelhoop beland, terwyl bates geplunder word.</p>	<p><i>national language. Afrikaners are under a state of indictment over the past, racism and anything else. Afrikaner images and heritage sites are under siege, and Afrikaner history is criminalized. The Afrikaner youth is on the receiving end of affirmative action and tough race-driven transformation. There is a strong movement to remove the Christian religion from public schools. Our country has landed on economic rubble while assets looted.</i></p>
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Extract 10.1 displays Afrikaner fragility, using the fractally recursive fatalistic discourse to frame this document. The claims being made about the Afrikaner and Afrikaans in this extract are that:

- 1) Afrikaans is being marginalized as a national language.
- 2) Afrikaners are being blamed for the past, racism – and the vague qualification of ‘everything else’.
- 3) Afrikaner images and heritage sites are “under siege”.
- 4) Afrikaner history is being criminalized.
- 5) The Afrikaner youth are on the receiving end of affirmative action.
- 6) The Afrikaner youth are at the receiving end of ‘tough race-driven action’.
- 7) There is a strong movement to remove the Christian religion from public schools.

None of these claims is backed with any references or evidence that will justify these statements made by the author, and many of these statements are false equivalencies based on flawed reasoning. I will expand on a few points to prove my argument. For example, let us look at claim 1, that the Afrikaans language is being marginalized as a national language. I first must start by raising a point that I made in Chapter 8, in that there needs to be a distinction made about which variety of Afrikaans is being “marginalized” – as the Afrikaans language (existing of all the many varieties) have shown a much larger growth in the post-apartheid South Africa. If one is looking at the Afrikaans language from a purist form, one could argue that the standard variety of Afrikaans is not as widely used in social, political, and economic environments as it was in the past.

Unfortunately, one can also not statistically debate this topic, as the last national census completed in South Africa was in 2011, which means that the data is slightly dated. However, if we had to look at the number of Afrikaans speakers from the last two national census' in 2001 and 2011, we can see that there has been a 14,5 % increase in the use of the Afrikaans language between 2001 and 2011. In 2001, there were 5 983 420 Afrikaans speakers recorded, compared to the recorder 6 855 082 in 2011.

To strengthen my argument— due to the lack of objective data on this point - I will be referring to a report written by the Solidarity Movement, a group that Group X has quoted in earlier extracts. In this research report, the Solidarity movement looked at the projected growth of the Afrikaans language over 12 years to the year 2031. This report projected that over 250 000 Afrikaans speakers would be growth in the next 12 years, with the growth mostly being within the 'brown Afrikaans speakers' and the 'black Afrikaans speakers. This same study also predicted that there would be a decline in 'white Afrikaans speakers' (Solidariteit Demografieprojek, 2018). With these statistics in mind, one must wonder if Group X are truly worried about the Afrikaans language, or if they are only concerned with the Afrikaans of 'the' Afrikaner, erasing the value of the other varieties of Afrikaans that are spoken and their growth in recent years. This claim is also a clear example of 'colour-blind racism', as defined by Bonilla-Silva. To serve as a reminder to my discussion of this in Chapter 4, the theory of colour-blind racism attempts to explain contemporary racial inequalities as an outcome of non-racial dynamics, other than racism based on moral and biological inferiority. When dealing with sociolinguistics of colour-blind racism Bonilla -Silva explains;

“...whites rationalize minorities' contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks' imputed cultural limitations. For instance, whites can attribute Latinos' high poverty rate to a relaxed work ethic (“the Hispanics are man~ana, man~ana, man~ana—tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow”) or residential segregation as the result of natural tendencies among groups (“Does a cat and a dog mix? I can't see it. You can't drink milk and scotch. Certain mixes don't mix”).”

(Bonilla-Silva 2006:3)



He explains that this type of discourse enables an individual to “otherize softly”, essentially – “racism lite” (Bonilla-Silva 2006:3), and this tool is often used in order to maintain racial order whilst enabling the maintenance of white privilege. Without sounding racist, colour-blind racism allows whites to “express resentment toward minorities; criticize their morality, values, and work ethic; and even claim to be the victims of “reverse racism” (Bonilla-Silva 2006:4).

I argue that Group X employ the act of colour-blind racism as a tactic to expose their Afrikaner fragility, and rather than othering others as opposed to them, Group X others themselves as fragile and vulnerable to others – which leads to a sense of cultural and linguistic superiority and need for cultural preservation. In point 5, we see colour-blind racism at work once again. Point 5 states that the Afrikaner youth are on the receiving end of affirmative action. To understand the false equivalencies and colour-blind racism of this phrase, it is necessary to quickly describe the process of affirmative action in relation to South Africa.

The process of affirmative action was introduced within the Employment Equity Act of 1998. The purpose of affirmative action was to promote the constitutional right of equality afforded to all citizens in the new South Africa. Affirmative action was to be implemented in the workplace to eliminate discrimination in the workplace and allow for equal employment opportunities for all and a more diverse workforce that is representative of the South African population. The Affirmative action act has received much critique, as it is widely agreed that the implementation of this act has led to the marginalization of coloureds, Indians, and whites in South Africa.

However, in no form is the act only used to target the Afrikaner cultural group, as this is an aggrieved constitutional violation. This claim is made by Group X, has no references to support this claim – which further creates doubt to this point. By placing the Afrikaners as the victim of affirmative action, the author is inadvertently claiming that other races (or to use their argument, cultural groups) benefit from this or that they are less impacted by affirmative action – enacting colourblind racism. What point 5 in extract 10.1 also displays, is a form of fatalistic discourse in saying that the Afrikaner youth are on the receiving end of affirmative action, highlighting that this is a negative act done unto the Afrikaner youth. This point highlights the fractally recursive discourse of vulnerability that has been seen throughout this thesis. The application of fractal

recursively in this instance illustrates how the master narrative of Afrikaner fragility and vulnerability is “evoked within discourse, while allowing speakers to stay within the discursive boundaries of colour-blindness” (Eberhardt and DiMario, 2020: 2).

The last point that I wish to focus on is point 7, and the claim that Christianity is being removed from public schools. The inclusion of the word ‘public’ in this claim should make it clear that these schools are open to the public of South Africa, with the South African public displaying a diverse range of religious beliefs. It is the interest of South African democracy and the upholding of the South Africa constitution that no single religion is promoted at public schools, and is, therefore, makes constitutional sense that Christianity has seen a decline in schools, as this is not the primary religion of all within schools and in the hope of a more inclusive environment for all in South Africa, this decline seems justified.

These points bring to light what I argue as Afrikaner fragility – out of a fear that the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language is being marginalized, Group X draws on false equivalencies to promote the fatalistic discourse that the Afrikaner is being marginalized. They, therefore, need to organise themselves within these types of Afrikaner organisations from the point of preservation. Through this discourse, Group X is erasing the progress of the many other varieties of Afrikaans and further iconizing the Afrikaner culture with the standardised variety of Afrikaans, the variety that Group X seem to be more concerned with preserving.

## 10.2 The constitutional ‘right’ to preservation

On the point of preservation and the constitution, Group X quotes the South African constitution as a way to justify their right to form an Afrikaner youth organisation:

### **EXTRACT 10.2**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<b>Kulturele vryheid as ’n grondwetlike en internasionale reg</b>	<b><i>Cultural freedom as a constitutional and international right</i></b>

<p>Groep X funksioneer binne die regsorde van Suid-Afrika en Namibi..</p> <p>Die Grondwet waarborg die reg tot individuele vryheid, maar ook vryheid van kultuur gemeenskappe in artikel 30 en 31.</p> <p>Artikel 30.</p> <p>Elkeen het die reg om die taal van eie keuse te gebruik en om aan die kulturele lewe van eie keuse deel te neem, maar niemand wat hierdie regte uitoefen mag dit doen op 'n wyse wat met enige bepaling van die Handves van Regte onbestaanbaar is nie.</p> <p>en</p> <p>Artikel 31</p> <p>1. Persone wat aan 'n kultuur-, godsdiens- of taalgemeenskap behoort, mag nie die reg ontsê word om, saam met ander lede van daardie gemeenskap—</p> <p>(a) hul kultuur te geniet, hul godsdiens te beoefen en hul taal te gebruik nie; en</p> <p>(b) kultuur-, godsdiens- en taalverenigings en ander organe van die burgerlike gemeenskap te vorm, in stand te hou en daarby aan te sluit nie.</p> <p>2. Die regte in subartikel (1) mag nie uitgeoefen word op 'n wyse wat met enige bepaling van die Handves van Regte onbestaanbaar is nie.</p>	<p><i>Group X functions within the legal order of South Africa and Namibia.</i></p> <p><i>The Constitution guarantees the right to individual freedom, but also freedom of cultural communities in Articles 30 and 31.</i></p> <p><i>Article 30.</i></p> <p><i>Everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.</i></p> <p><i>and</i></p> <p><i>Article 31</i></p> <p><i>1. Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community</i></p> <p><i>a. to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and</i></p> <p><i>b. to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.</i></p> <p><i>2. The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.</i></p>
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After quoting the legalities of the South African constitution relating to the freedom to participate in the cultural life of one's choice, the author further explains Group X's take on the constitution:

### EXTRACT 10.3

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Artikel 30 van die Grondwet verleen dus aan elkeen die reg om sy taal van eie keuse te gebruik, sy godsdienst te beoefen en aan die kulturele lewe van sy eie keuse deel te neem, terwyl artikel 31 weer erkenning verleen aan persone wat aan taal-, kultuur- en godsdienstgemeenskappe behoort om verenigings en organe van die burgerlike gemeenskap te vorm en daarby aan te sluit. Die artikel gaan verder met 'n verbodsbepaling dat niemand daardie reg ontsê. mag word nie.</p>	<p><i>Article 30 of the Constitution, therefore, gives everyone the right to use the language of his choice, to practice his religion and to participate in the cultural life of his/her own choice, while Article 31 allows persons belonging to language, cultural and religious communities to form and join associations and organs of civil society. The article goes further with a prohibition provision that no one may be denied that right.</i></p>
<p>Artikel 31 maak dit onmoontlik vir die staat om byvoorbeeld 'n wet te maak wat vereis dat elke kultuurvereniging of instelling se samestelling verteenwoordigend van die totale Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking moet wees, want 'n kultuurorganisasie soos Groep X sal byvoorbeeld nooit so doelwit kan bereik sonder om sy identiteit as 'n kultuur instelling van Afrikaanssprekende jongmense te wees nie.</p>	<p><i>Article 31 makes it impossible for the state to, for example make a law that requires every cultural association or institution's composition to be representative of the total South African population because a cultural organization such as Group X, for example, will never achieve such a goal without changing its identity as a cultural institution of Afrikaans-speaking young people.</i></p>
<p>Verder sou dit onbestaanbaar met artikel 31 van die Grondwet wees as 'n wet, of 'n riglyn of vereiste deur 'n openbare instelling eis dat elke gemeenskapsorganisasie ter wille van inklusiwiteit en transformasie, slegs Engels as voertaal moet gebruik. Dit sal die lede van 'n</p>	<p><i>Furthermore, it would be inconsistent with Article 31 of the Constitution as a law or a guideline or requirement by a public institution that each community organization, for the sake of inclusivity and transformation, should only use English as a medium of instruction. This will deny members of a cultural organization the right to operate their</i></p>

<p>kultuurorganisasie hulle reg ontsê. om hul vereniging te bedryf in die taal van hul keuse en dit te doen saam met lede van daardie gemeenskap.</p> <p>Die Suid-Afrikaanse Grondwet maak voorsiening vir die reg van kultuur gemeenskappe en kultuurorganisasies om hulself op 'n geloof- en waarde grondslag te organiseer met die beginsel van vryheid van assosiasie. Kulturele vryheid bied nie net aan Afrikaners die ruimte om Afrikaners te wees, of aan kinders die reg om in hul moedertaal skool te gaan nie, maar ook aan kultuurorganisasies soos Groep X die reg om ons kultuur voluit te leef en te ontwikkel.</p>	<p><i>association in the language of their choice and do so with members of that community.</i></p> <p><i>The South African Constitution provides for the right of cultural communities and cultural organizations to organize themselves on a faith and value basis with the principle of freedom of association. Cultural freedom not only offers Afrikaners the space to be Afrikaners, or to children the right to go to school in their mother tongue, but also to cultural organizations such as Group X to have the right to live and develop our culture to the fullest.</i></p>
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This extract serves to highlight points of importance relating to the constitution. The author chooses to highlight these points;

- 1) Due to a prohibition provision, no one may be denied the right to belong to language, cultural and religious communities or join civil society's associations and organs.
- 2) Due to article 31, the government cannot make a law that would require groups like Group X to be representative of the South African population because in doing so – a group such as Group X would need to change their identity as an Afrikaans-speaking youth organisation.
- 3) Due to this same article, the author also states that it would be unconstitutional to enforce that public institutes only use English as a medium of instruction.
- 4) These quoted articles give Afrikaners the 'space' to be Afrikaners, their children to receive education in their mother tongue language and develop their culture to the fullest.

Point 1 is started from the point of defensiveness. The author boldly makes this statement to protect Group X from any questions of legality into the formation of their group, and by using the South

African constitution in defence of the group, they can safely enact their iconic Afrikaner identity. The author also makes sure to pre-emptively make a case for the hypothetical scenario in which the government might require them to be more ‘inclusive’ – as a manner in which to preserve the Afrikaner community but doing so by using language as a proxy for the justification of their exclusion, whilst simultaneously iconizing the Afrikaans language with Afrikaner identity. Group X’s position on the English language is shown again, stating that even for the sake of transformation and inclusivity, it is unconstitutional for English to be forced as a language of instruction. This statement on the English language made many of the interactions in previous chapters make more sense to me – as this statement implicitly cements their language policy, Afrikaners are Afrikaans – and according to South Africa's laws, this is statement can be made.

Point 4 agrees with the arguments made throughout this thesis. Group X has retreated into a social enclave, or a ‘space’, that gives Afrikaners the freedom to be the iconic Afrikaner that they prescribe, one that can speak and learn in Afrikaans – which solves the issue that the author earlier raised about the decline in Afrikaans medium schools – and a space where they can enact their Afrikaner identity. By using the constitution as a starting point for these arguments, the author shows that Group X is protected by law – the Afrikaner is once again seen as an entity and culture that needs protection, a fragile Afrikaner identity being protected.

Group X are seemingly on a mission to ensure that their culture remains relevant in South Africa. This relevance is further expanded in the following:

**EXTRACT 10.4**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>’n Kultuurorganisasie is relevant as sy idees relevant is. Hennie Aucamp skryf: “In krisistye is kultuur geen luukse nie, maar die hoogste vorm van selfbehoud. Kultuur staan vir interne orde en interne orde is die fondament vir alle beskawing.” Deur middel van die “interne orde” wat ’n</p>	<p><i>A cultural organization is relevant if its ideas are relevant. Hennie Aucamp writes: "In crisis times culture is no luxury, but the highest form of self-preservation. Culture stands for internal order and internal order is the foundation for all civilization. " By means of the "internal order" which brings a rich</i></p>



ryk kultuurlewe bring, word stabiliteit en kontinuïteit tussen hede, verlede en toekoms geskep. Kultuur is die bewys en draer van beskawing. NP van Wyk Louw noem dit die aristokratiese ideaal – ’n strewe na die hoogste, die mooiste, die skoonste, die uitnemendste.	<i>cultural life, stability and continuity between present, past and future is created. Culture is the proof and carrier of civilization. NP Van Wyk Louw calls it the Aristocratic ideal - a strive for the highest, the most beautiful, the cleanest, the pride.</i>
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The notion of self-preservation is raised here. According to the author, culture is vital to survival in a time of “crisis”. The importance of group identity is raised here by comparing culture to “internal order”, and internal order laws are the foundation of “civilisation”. The argument can be summarised as culture makes you civilised, and culture will help one to survive. Words such as “pride”, “clean”, “strive”, and “beautiful” describe the idealistic view that the author paints of culture, and it speaks to a sense of cultural determinism and cultural superiority imposed onto the group.

This document seems to serve as an answer to questions previously raised by the author of the senior textbook of Group X. In extract 9.5 and 9.7 in Chapter 9, the author of the textbook questions whether there is still a place for Afrikaners in Africa – a statement that forms the basis of the linguistics of self-preservation displayed in chapter 8 and 9. This document now provides an answer to this question;

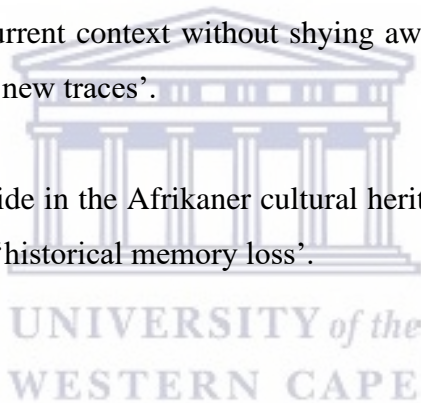
**EXTRACT 10.5**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
Die belangrikste kultuur vraag in die tweede dekade van die een-en-twintigste eeu is nie meer wie Afrikaners is en of hulle ’n plek in Afrika het nie. Ook nie of Afrikaner kultuur in die nuwe politieke bedeling gaan oorleef nie. Afrikaner kultuurorganisasies het hul aanpasbaarheid en lewenskragtigheid oor en oor aan hulself en ander	<i>The most important cultural question in the second decade of the twenty-first century is no longer who Afrikaners are and whether they have a place in Africa or not. Also, not if the Afrikaner culture will survive in the new political dispensation. Afrikaner cultural organizations have proven their adaptability and vitality over and over to themselves and others. The</i>

<p>bewys. Die Afrikaner kultuurwêreld se fokus is lankal nie meer op oorleef nie, maar op LEEF. Die belangrikste kultuur vraag is, hoe kan Afrikaner kultuurorganisasies in die huidige konteks Afrikaners se kulturele erfenis bevestig, maar ook terselfdertyd nuwe spore trap?</p>	<p><i>focus of the Afrikaner cultural world has long ceased to be on survival, but on living. The most important cultural question is how can Afrikaner cultural organizations in the current context affirm their Afrikaner cultural heritage, but at the same time, tread new traces?</i></p>
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The question of if there is a place for Afrikaners in Africa no longer seems to be relevant. Their ‘survival’ in the new South Africa, or as the author calls ‘the new political dispensation’, is also no longer questioned. The strength and resilience of Group X are voiced here, and it is stated that they will no longer focus on the survival of the Afrikaner, but the question is now on how the Afrikaner can both live in the current context without shying away from their cultural heritage, whilst at the same time treading ‘new traces’.

The author raised the issue of pride in the Afrikaner cultural heritage, who notes that Afrikaners today seem to be suffering from ‘historical memory loss’.



**EXTRACT 10.6**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Kestell skryf in 1926 dat Afrikanerkinders die name en datums van al die Britse konings en koninginne op die punte van hul vingers ken, maar geen benul het wie Pieter Retief, Gert Maritz of Andries Pretorius is nie. Dieselfde kan van vandag se Afrikaners gesê word.</p>	<p><i>Kestell wrote that in 1926 Afrikaner children knew the names and dates of all the British kings and queens at the points of their fingers, but no one knows who Pieter Retief, Gert Maritz or Andries Pretorius is. The same can be said of today's Afrikaners.</i></p>
<p>Om dié rede beleef Afrikaners nie net ’n gebrek aan kulturele selfvertroue nie, maar word hul kulturele self verstaan dikwels vanuit ’n eksterne locus standi</p>	<p><i>For this reason, Afrikaners do not only experience a lack of cultural self-confidence, but their cultural self-understanding is often defined from an external locus.</i></p>

<p>gedefinieer. So sal sommige Afrikaners beskryf as kolonialiste van 'n spesiale soort, of as 'n wit stam van Afrika. Dit sê nog nie wie ons as Afrikaners is nie en hoe ons onself definieer nie. Waaraan is die historiese geheueverlies te wyte?</p>	<p><i>Thus, some Afrikaners will be described as colonialists of a special kind, or as a white tribe of Africa. It still does not say who we are as Afrikaners and how we define ourselves. What is the reason for this historical memory loss?</i></p>
<p>Enersyds aan die ANC se propaganda masjien wat verstommend suksesvol daarin geslaag het om Afrikaners se historiese bewussyn te reduceer tot apartheid en Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis te herinterpreteer vanuit slawerny en kolonialisme. Hermann Giliomee skryf in sy outobiografie dat die ANC met hul “Jakobyne benadering” nie net een dominante taal en een kultuur op gemeenskappe afdwing nie, maar veral “een interpretasie van die geskiedenis op skoolleerplanne afdruk”.</p>	<p><i>On the one hand, the ANC's propaganda machine, which has been amazingly successful in reducing Afrikaners' historical consciousness to apartheid and to reconstruct South African history from slavery and colonialism. Hermann Giliomee writes in his autobiography that with their Jacobi approach, the ANC enforces not only one dominant language and culture on communities but also "one interpretation of history on school curricula" with their "Jacobine approach."</i></p>

The point is that Afrikaners have always lacked a sense of ‘historical memory loss’, where in the past it was blamed on the British colonists, today – the historical memory loss is blamed on the current ruling political party, the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is being accused of being a ‘propaganda machine’, as they are reconstructing South African history and the Afrikaner history by promoting one language and only one interpretation of history within schools.

The irony present in this line of accusations makes me question the motives of Group X. Group X promote a prescriptive version of an Afrikaner, partake in acts of revisionist history; on many occasions, they narrate history from the perspective of the Afrikaner, and the ‘pure’ version of Afrikaans is the variety of the language that the group promotes. Group X themselves do the same that they accuse the ANC government of doing, but in the case of Group X, these actions take place in the form of social enclaves – promoting cultural superiority as a defence mechanism to their perceived vulnerability. This extract, as well as the one to follow make strong political claims.

Is it the place of an Afrikaner youth organization, which claims to promote a modern Afrikaner, to promote the discourse of Afrikaner superiority over others?

**EXTRACT 10.7**

<b>Afrikaans: Original</b>	<b>English: Translation</b>
<p>Geskiedenis word geskryf deur die dinamiese spanning tussen die mag van vernedering en die krag van vryheid:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lank voor die EFF, het die Vryburgers met ekonomiese vryheid as dryfkrag, teen die VOC se vernederende prysbeheer en korrupsie opgestaan en private eiendomsbesit as 'n reg gevestig. Later jare het Afrikaners die Britse ekonomiese meerderwaardigheid getroef met Volkskas, Sanlam, Santam, die Rembrandt-groep, Federale Volksbewegings, SASOL, YSKOR en vele ander nywerhede.</li> <li>• Afrikaans is deur Engelse snobs afgemaak as 'n minderwaardige huistuin- en kombuistaal. Met taal vryheid as dryfkrag om in Afrikaans te mag lees, praat en sing, het 'n Afrikaanse Bybel, 'n Afrikaanse radiostasie, Afrikaanse koerante, 'n Afrikaanse liedereskat in 'n FAK-Sangbundel, 'n magdom van Afrikaanse tydskrifte, gedigte en boeke gevloei. In die woorde van wyle prof. Elize Botha, "tot heil van miljoene".</li> </ul>	<p><i>History is written by the dynamic tension between the power of humiliation and the power of freedom:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Long before the EFF, the Vryburgers, with economic freedom as a driving force, raised themselves against the VOC's degrading price control and corruption and established private property ownership. Later, Afrikaners troubled the British economic superiority with Volkskas, Sanlam, Santam, the Rembrandt Group, Federal People's Investments, SASOL, YSKOR and many other industries.</i></li> <li>• <i>Afrikaans was made off as an inferior home garden and kitchen language by English snobs. With language freedom as a driving force to be able to read, speak and sing in Afrikaans, an Afrikaans Bible, an Afrikaans radio station, Afrikaans newspapers, an Afrikaans song treasure in an FAK Songbound, a wealth of Afrikaans magazines, poetry and books gushed. In the words of the late prof. Elize Botha, "to the salvation of millions".</i></li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Na die vernedering aan die oosgrens het die Voortrekkers met politieke vryheid as dryfkrag by Thaba 'Nchu demokrasie in Afrika gevestig, republieke gestig, grondwette geskryf en met vele politieke partye en belangegroep demokrasie oor dekades uitgebou.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>After the humiliation on the eastern border, the Voortrekkers with political freedom established as a driving force at Thaba 'Nchu Democracy in Africa, established republics, constitutions and with many political parties and interest groups democracy built out over decades.</i></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Afrikaners het die vernedering van armoede met die Helpmekearfonds, Reddingsdaadbond en vele ander maatskaplike instellings twee keer in een eeu oorwin.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Afrikaners survived the humiliation of poverty with the Helpmekearfonds, Reddingsdaadbond and many others social institutions, twice within one century.</i></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met denk vryheid as dryfkrag het Afrikaners in vyf dekades wêreld gehalte Afrikaanse skole, universiteite en tersiêre kolleges gestig, en Afrikaans tot 'n volwaardige wêreld gehalte akademiese taal uitgebou.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>With freedom of thought as driving force, Afrikaners have established world-class Afrikaans schools, universities and tertiary colleges in five decades and built Afrikaans to be a full-fledged World-class academic language.</i></li> </ul>
<p>***</p> <p>Afrikaners en Afrikaans staan vandag in vele opsigte weereens aan die ontvangkant van kulturele vernedering. Om aan die ontvangkant van kulturele vernedering te staan, is sleg, maar nie net negatief nie. Die geskiedenis wys vernedering bring elke keer nuwe vryheid horisonne vir gemeenskappe. Afrikaners is nie slagoffers nie, maar bouers. Hoe groter die vernedering, hoe harder bou ons. Bouers wat met elke Afrikaanse boek, film, lied, koerant, organisasie, skool en daad nuwe geskiedenis skryf.</p>	<p>***</p> <p><i>Today, in many respects, Afrikaners and Afrikaans are on the verge of cultural humiliation. Being on the receiving side of cultural humiliation is bad but not only negative. History shows humiliation brings new freedom horizons to communities every time. Afrikaners are not victims but builders. The greater the humiliation, the harder we build. Builders who write new history with every Afrikaans book, film, song, newspaper, organization, school and deed.</i></p>

The comparisons and accolades raised in this extract are illustrative of Afrikaner superiority. We see a shift in the extract before preservation and vulnerability were present in the discourse in extract 10.7. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), another political party in South Africa, is



being used to highlight Afrikaner superiority by stating that long before the EFF began their fight for economic freedom, the Afrikaners did it first against the British colonisers. The standardisation of the Afrikaans language by Afrikaners is viewed as a ‘salvation’ to millions and a way to claim the Afrikaans language back from the “English snobs” with the standardisation of Afrikaans being a way to reclaim the language as something more than a simple ‘kitchen language’. The Afrikaans language is being appropriated as a language of freedom versus humiliation, and this appropriation creates a form of colour-blind racism that is reminiscent of its history and raises again the question of Afrikaner fragility.

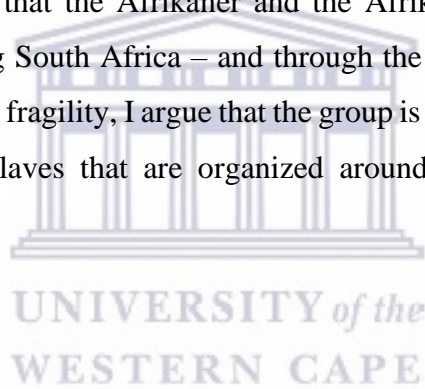
The concept of ‘freedom’ is stressed in this extract again, which would assume that the Afrikaners were historically in a situation where they were not free but as history would confirm, this has never been the case. Without evidence or references to back up statements such as ‘with freedom of thought’ is a dangerous method to undertake, as it leads the reader to assume that there is currently, or there was an entity standing in the way of Afrikaner thoughts. Indeed, there was a loss of power experienced by the Afrikaners. And the ‘thought’ and the subsequent actions of oppression at the hands of the Afrikaner were challenged and overcome, but at no point was this an attack of Afrikaner freedom. Linguistic capital is raised once again, where the author describes Afrikaans schools and tertiary institutes as ‘world-class’ and describes Afrikaans as a ‘world-class academic language’. These statements aim to boost the Afrikaans' status by assuring that the language carries status on a global level, thus enhancing the linguistic capital of Afrikaans, making it more valuable on the linguistic market.

The issue that Afrikaners ‘survived the humiliation of poverty and cultural humiliation’ is raised here. The author states that Afrikaans and Afrikaners are on the ‘verge’ of cultural humiliation but takes the point that this is not always a negative thing as Afrikaners are builders, and when faced with humiliation this brings the Afrikaner new freedom, and they will build a new history for the Afrikaner.



### 10.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrate that the author of the document that formed the basis of analysis for this chapter, argues that a modern Afrikaner is iconically defined as an individual that fights back against the perceived marginalization of their culture and language in a transforming South Africa. I argue that the author promotes the inward migration of like-minded Afrikaners, those who wish to preserve the identity and language of Afrikaners, to form social enclaves to safely enact the iconic Afrikaner identity promoted within the group. I argue that this goes against the transformative potential of Afrikaners in South Africa. This chapter also demonstrated, using the sociolinguistics of colour-blind racism, that Group X is able to simultaneously promote the iconic Afrikaner outlined and discussed in Chapter 6, whilst erasing any language, variety or culture that is 'different' to them, rendering those groups of people invisible. What this document proves once again is that Group X believes that the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language are fragile and vulnerable within a transforming South Africa – and through the use and promotion of fractally discursive discourse of Afrikaner fragility, I argue that the group is providing a basis for the inward migration into these social enclaves that are organized around the ideals of a post-national heterotopia.



## **CHAPTER 11: Conclusion**

### **11.0 Introduction**

In this study, I embarked on a one-and-a-half-year single site ethnography, in which I collected textual and interactional data to investigate the interactional formation of a modern Afrikaner. The Afrikaner youth group that formed the basis of this research project, from a place of Afrikaner fragility, employed the acts of linguistic differentiation through the processes of *iconization*, *erasure* and *fractal recursivity*, to reorganize their space and the social life as part of an enclave group to promote the modern Afrikaner identity in a post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, I set out to investigate how the idea of a modern Afrikaner is employed as part of a language ideology of differentiation within Group X's exclusionary monolingual space. In this concluding chapter, I pull together the different threads and arguments that run through my data analysis chapters to comment on the implications of my research into the study of Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity in a post-national South Africa. Furthermore, I comment on whether this research study successfully met the original aims and objectives of the study by revisiting the aims and objectives. Lastly, this chapter suggests directions for future research and study on the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language in a transforming South Africa.

### **11.1 The threat of the iconic Afrikaner on the transformative potential of Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language**

In this thesis I argued that Afrikaners, in order to preserve an iconized Afrikaner identity and preserve their fears and anxieties surrounding their loss of 'home' in a post-apartheid South Africa, have migrated inwards to create Afrikaner enclaves that take the form of a post-apartheid heterotopia. Using Irvine and Gal's (2000) language ideology model, I argued that these enclaves run the risk of creating an environment in which problematic fractally recursive apartheid discourses and iconic Afrikaner identities are promoted, which stands in the way of creating a transformed and modern Afrikaner in the new South Africa. In Chapter 6, in order to investigate the notion of the iconic Afrikaner, I discussed the textual and interactional processes and practices involved in creating the iconic Afrikaner promoted and empowered by Group X. The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that through both textual and interactional data, differentiation is

iconized through the promotion of the idea that the Afrikaner identity is iconically linked to the notions of ‘family’, ‘network’ and ‘rules’. I suggested that the sense of group belonging, and acceptance promoted by Group X, creates a space in which one cannot merely self-identify as an Afrikaner, but rather that there are set characteristics and actions that frame the iconic expectations of an Afrikaner. I argued that these rules and characteristics of an iconic Afrikaner goes against the discourse of transformation and diversity in a transforming South Africa, and that these actions negatively impact the formation of a truly *modern* Afrikaner - an Afrikaner rid of the kind of iconicity defined by ‘rules’ and ‘codes’ imposed by members of the enclave nationalist Group X.

In Chapter 7, I demonstrated how Group X iconically link the standard variety of Afrikaans to the Afrikaner identity. The members of Group X proudly state in their pledge to the group that Afrikaners are Afrikaans, and that they are proud of *their* language. Paired with this pledge, I discussed that through both textual and interactional data, that members of Group X promote an iconic link between the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. This chapter argues that through promotion of this dominant iconic link, that Group X enact the process of erasure to erase any of the varieties of Afrikaans, as well as any other language that may enter the iconic Afrikaner enclave. I argue that this goes against discourses of diversity in a transforming South Africa and plays into the discourse of Afrikaner fragility. Through this process, members of Group X promote the discourse that the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language have lost their linguistic and social capital, and that the Afrikaner is at risk of ‘dying out’. Using Bourdieu’s notion of linguistic capital and the linguistic marketplace, I argue that the process of erasure of the other varieties of Afrikaans within the Group X enclave is done from a place of preservation to ensure that the Afrikaans language does not lose value in the linguistic marketplace. In this chapter, I also demonstrated that the fear that Afrikaans has lost linguistic capital in South Africa has caused the members of Group X to migrate inwards in the formation of social enclaves, as a practice in which to preserve their iconic Afrikaner identity and the standard Afrikaans language iconically linked to Group X’s definition of an Afrikaner.

In Chapter 8, I moved on to discuss the commodification of the iconic Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language, as well as how the members of Group X enact the discourse of differentiation as a process in which they are able linguistically differentiate the standard variety of Afrikaans spoken

within the group from other varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps. This chapter demonstrates that through various forms of commodification, Group X are attempting to restate the Afrikaans' language power and privilege in the linguistic marketplace within South Africa. I argue that through the process of differentiation and iconicity are being used by members of Group X to frame discourses of difference and fragility in the promotion of the modern Afrikaner, and this process allows members of Group X to promote the iconic Afrikaner and to erase (and simplify) the sociolinguistic field, rendering some persons or activities (or social phenomena) invisible within the group setting. I argue in this chapter demonstrates the processes and practices that could harm the social identity of the modern Afrikaner that Group X wish to empower, as well as negatively impact the social, cultural, and linguistic transformation of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language in South Africa.

In Chapter 9, I set out to investigate how the fractally recursive discourses of Afrikaner fragility impact the formation of the modern Afrikaner empowered and promoted by Group X. Using textual data, I was able to demonstrate how modern Afrikaners, that according to Group X are living in a state in which they have lost their power and identity, need to demonstrate processes of preservation in order to protect their iconic Afrikaner identity that is in a state of fragility and vulnerability. In this chapter, I argue that the members of Group X migrate inwards to form Afrikaans organisations such as Group X, in which they can reproduce a discourse of fragility, and protect their iconic Afrikaner identity in the promotion of a modern Afrikaner. I argue that through the problematic fractally recursive discourse of extinction and preservation, that the pride of the iconic Afrikaner has been masked by discourses of preservation that highlight the Afrikaner fragility imminent within the group. This in turn proves to be problematic for the transformational potential of Afrikaans, and the Afrikaner identity in a post-national South Africa; as I argue that a modern Afrikaner identity cannot be built on the foundation of Afrikaner fragility and the preservation of an iconic Afrikaner.

Lastly, Chapter 10 departed from the investigation into the discourses of Afrikaner pride and preservation of the iconic Afrikaner within Group X. This chapter aimed to reiterate arguments made throughout the data analysis chapters of this thesis to further illustrate how Group X use the sociolinguistic process of colour-blind racism, as defined by Bonilla-Silva (2002), to reinforce a

discourse of difference between the iconic Afrikaner and the greater South African population. This chapter aimed textually illustrated what the modern Afrikaner looks like from the standpoint of the author - a modern Afrikaner is an Afrikaner who fights back against the perceived marginalization of their culture and language from within Afrikaner enclaves, which provide them with the space to enact their iconic Afrikaner identity in a 'safe' space. I argue that this goes against the transformative potential of Afrikaners in South Africa, as through the discourses of Afrikaner fragility, Group X promotes the fractally discursive discourse of preservation which forms the basis for the inward migration into iconic Afrikaner enclaves that are organized around the ideals of a heterotopia. In the section that follows, I revisit the aims and objectives of this research study through the lens of my data analysis chapters, to comment on whether this research study successfully met the original aims and objectives of the study.

## **11.2 The consequences of inward migration on Afrikaner identity**

In order to illustrate the interactional and discursive formation of the 'modern' Afrikaner, my argument, I set out to examine (i) interactional formations and (re)negotiations of Afrikaner language and identity, (ii) how language ideologies frame and promote discourses of diversity and fragility of the modern Afrikaner and lastly, (iii) how the 'modern' Afrikaner enacts a language ideology of differentiation to migrate inwards in the formation of a post-national heterotopia. To illustrate the initial objectives of this thesis, I set out to introduce you to the iconic Afrikaner in Chapter 6, an Afrikaner who forms their identity based on a specific set of social, cultural, and linguistic characteristics creating an iconic link between Afrikaner and the social phenomena linked to the term. One of the iconic links that I took an in-depth analysis on is the claim that Afrikaners are Afrikaans, and this claim formed the basis of analysis for Chapter 7 and Chapter 8; where I first introduced the fractally recursive idea of fragility concerning the Afrikaans language. In these chapters, I discussed the notion of linguistic capital in relation to the Afrikaans language spoken by the group (pure/standard Afrikaans), and I noted that through the linguistics of differentiation that Group X are successful in erasing any other variety of Afrikaans from association with the language they claim to be 'theirs'. This essentially creates a space and sociolinguistic field that renders some persons or activities (or social phenomena) as invisible within the Afrikaner enclave.

This has resulted in the discourse of Afrikaner fragility that causes these members to migrate inwards to social enclaves, such as this Afrikaner youth group and other Afrikaner organisations, to enact their iconic Afrikaner identity in a safe place. I argue that Group X believe that the ‘pure/standard’ Afrikaans language still holds value within the linguistic marketplace and that they also believe that the Afrikaans culture and the members of Group X are just “different” – enacting on this process of differentiation through the process of erasure in the promotion of the iconic Afrikaner. From this chapter, I continued to argue that this iconic Afrikaner that Group X promotes, paired with their claim that “Afrikaners are Afrikaans”, fuels their belief that the Afrikaner is in a fragile state in South Africa. Chapter 9 focuses on the fractally recursive discourse of Afrikaner fragility, and I argued that Group X uses documents such as the senior textbook to map out the iconic Afrikaner based on fractally recursive histories. These texts frame a ‘modern’ Afrikaner as a nation that has lost their power and identity within South Africa, and in order to protect it, ‘the’ Afrikaner has migrated inwards to form Afrikaans organisations such as Group X, in which they can reproduce this discourse of fragility, and protect their Afrikaner identity.

Lastly, in the concluding chapter of this thesis, I use Bonilla-Silva’s (2002, 2006 & 2019) theory of colour-blind racism to argue that Group X explicitly promotes the iconic Afrikaner within their documents, whilst erasing any language, variety or culture that is ‘different’ to them, rendering those groups of people invisible. This chapter also argued that Group X uses South Africa’s constitution as a point to justify the inward migration of the Afrikaner, using their perceived sense of vulnerability and Afrikaner fragility as the basis for this migration the social enclaves. As discussed, this thesis aimed to investigate Afrikaans and the formation of a ‘modern’ Afrikaner in a transformed South Africa. This thesis focussed on a particular Afrikaner youth group that set out to ‘empower the modern Afrikaner’, and through the chapters in this thesis, I argue that Group X have not succeeded in the promotion of the ‘modern’ Afrikaner. If one looks at the definition of the word ‘modern’, it states: “relating to the present or recent times as opposed to the remote past”. Rather, I argue, that Group X reproduce a fractally recursive ideology of the iconic Afrikaner, a cultural group and a language, which are in a vulnerable state in South Africa – a culture and language that need to be protected in order to preserve the power and privilege that the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language once had. I have argued that due to a sense of Afrikaner fragility and vulnerability, that the iconic Afrikaner has migrated inwards to form social enclaves in the



formation of a post-national heterotopia in order to preserve and protect the recursive iconic Afrikaner, the Afrikaans language and *their* way of life.

I do not believe that this thesis has shown that Group X has attempted to dismantle many of the past problematic ideologies that shaped the Afrikaners before apartheid. I argue that Group X are not attempting to (re)negotiate the Afrikaner identity to correlate with a transformative South Africa but are rather, from a place of Afrikaner fragility, are moving towards the problematic iconic Afrikaner ideologies of the past in the act of self-preservation. I argue the members of Group X have migrated inwards in the formation of a post-national heterotopia which goes against the grain of transformation in South Africa, and I argue that this goes against the truly ‘modern’ Afrikaner that this group strives to produce.

### **11.3 Future Research on Afrikaans and Afrikaner Identity**

Through the discussion on the textual and interactional processes and practices that involve the formation of the modern Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language, I have concluded that through the language ideology of differentiation, that Group X has formed a social enclave of their own in which they explore what it means to be an iconic Afrikaner in a post-national heterotopia. I have argued that this goes against the grain of transformation in South Africa and has a negative impact on the formation of Afrikaner identity in a post-national South Africa. Concerning the Afrikaans language, I argued that through discourses of Afrikaner fragility, that Group X fear for the power and existence of the standard variety of Afrikaans. I demonstrate that through the processes of iconicity, erasure, and fractal recursivity; that the members of Group enact discourses of preservation in order to protect that status and use of the standard variety of Afrikaans in South Africa. However, I suggest that a future direction for research on the Afrikaans language and identity should move into the investigation of the rise of status and power of other formerly oppressed varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps. This research study was not able to fully investigate the impact of Kaaps, a formally oppressed dialect of Afrikaans, has on the formation of the Afrikaner identity and the transformation of Afrikaans in a post-national South Africa. I recommend that further studies on the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language include a

discussion into how the rise and recognition of Kaaps as a language in South Africa feeds into the discourse of Afrikaner fragility by speakers of the standard variety of Afrikaans.

I recommend that future studies focus on the prominent discourse of Afrikaner fragility and discourses of ‘dying out’ that exist within the more conservative scholarly circles on Afrikaans research, in order to destabilise the notion that the Afrikaans language is at risk of extinction and to dislodge it from language ideologies of differentiation. Rather, future research should aim to investigate that the use of the Afrikaans language is potentially on the rise, but not necessarily due to the use and promotion of the standard variety of Afrikaans, but rather through the increasing production of Kaaps in the South African social, educational, and literary sphere. Lastly, I recommend that future studies on the status of Afrikaans language should focus on the reinvention of the Afrikaans language; a reinvention that includes the vast histories and social impact of the multiple varieties of Afrikaans and their thriving future in South Africa.



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