AFRIKANER VALUES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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DECLARATION

I, **Jan Petrus van der Merwe**, herewith declare that this thesis, which was submitted in fulfilment of the requirements pertaining to my doctorate in Anthropology at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work.

Furthermore, I declare that this thesis has never been submitted at any other university or tertiary training centre for academic consideration.

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PREAMBLE

Pfänder (1963:12) and Strauss (1973:130), points out that human thought processes relating to concepts are usually accompanied by representations of *Gegenstände* (arguments). It is not concepts in themselves, but rather the actual human thought processes in respect thereof, that bring an objectified logical multiplicity into a subjective-logical unity through a correlative process, by means of concepts (in judgements). Although it would seem, on the one hand, that judgements presuppose concepts in a logical sense, it also appears, on the other hand, that the possibility of outlining a concept in terms of a definition implies that such a concept is the result of a judgement, and that it can still be converted back into a judgment.

Viewed in terms of a correlative subjective-logical combination (synthesis) of an implicitly logical, objectified multiplicity, all judgements can be said to be analytical as well as synthetic, in a logical sense. It can also be added – almost tautologically – that only definable concepts can be defined. In other words, the relevant moment on which the focus falls, is the relationship between the concept (usually identified with the word that is being defined) and the conceptual object, on the one hand, and the definition, on the other. In this relationship, the modal, logical subject-object relation comes explicitly to the fore.

In the South African context, "Afrikaner" – along with "Afrikanerhood" – is a politically loaded concept. In this regard, reference can be made to several prominent anthropological discourses (cf. Coertze 1973:61; Comaroff 2004:188; Erasmus 2003:1-5; Sharp 1981:22-23 and 2006:17-22) regarding the origin, composition, commonalities and establishment of Afrikaners within the broader South African context.

On the basis of the above-mentioned, the author formulate a conceptual definition of the term "Afrikaner", with a view to creating a point of departure (paradigm) for this study.

For the purposes of this study, Afrikaners, although not homogeneous, are viewed as a group of persons, of primarily European descent, who possess an own language and share the same historical orientations, and who have a specific manner of self-representation with regard to the latter. The setting (the southernmost tip of Africa) in

which the Afrikaners originated was of especial importance; and their place of origin made a significant contribution to their identity.

The more constant aspects of the concept, "Afrikaner", include the characteristics of continuity and sameness, and the functional context thereof. The context of the concept "Afrikaner" is complex, and should not be restricted to a single point of departure; it includes the society (with all its different communities), the economy, politics and the relevant histories. It would thus be impossible to investigate the identity of Afrikaners as a consistent phenomenon, without also considering the social, economic and historical contexts. The dynamic aspects of the Afrikaners' identity, refers fluidity to the experiencing of continuity by the members of the Afrikaner group, who are eager to identify themselves as Afrikaners. In other words, it is the subjective appropriation of the objective aspect of continuity. However, as in the case of the constant aspects of any other identity, the dynamic aspects also resides in the cognitive, psychological and emotional dimension of the society, as well as in the economy, politics and historic basis of the society.

This approach does not resolve all our problems relating to the understanding of terms such as Afrikaner identity (ethnicity); but it does clarify the method that should be followed – firstly, by making us aware (and keeping us aware) of the fact that human beings can inevitably focus on only one aspect of a phenomenon at a time, and secondly, by reminding us that the relationships between various aspects of the phenomenon should also be taken into account.

This study does not proceeds from the primordial assumption that the existence of "Afrikaners" and of an "Afrikaner culture" is an unproblematic, given factor; that is to say, that the existence of an Afrikaner ethnos with a clear, distinguishable identity and culture is an indisputable "fact". However, it is only within a specific social, political, categorical, economic and gender-related context that the phenomenon of "Afrikaners" has any real meaning. The specific context in which the notion of an "Afrikaner" was formulated, is one in which "Afrikaners" comprise a minority group in South Africa, and in which the so-called "white" Afrikaners enjoyed all the political, economical and social powers and advantages in this country during the apartheid era (pre-1994), and also in

which – with the establishment of the New South Africa (post-1994) – they forfeited all these powers and advantages in the process of democratisation and normalisation.

The process of restructuring and transformation of the broader South African society which has been in full force since 1994 has brought about radical changes for the Afrikaner. In an egalitarian post-apartheid milieu, coupled with the irresistible 21st-century forces of globalisation and market alignment, the essential attributes of the Afrikaner character are being engulfed for the sake of transformation, the New South Africa and nation-building; and the identity of the Afrikaner is being irrevocably redefined, and possibly even eroded.

In terms of their numbers, Afrikaners have always been in the minority in their locality (South Africa). During the apartheid years, Afrikaners were the dominant role-players in South Africa, and they created rigid legislation that was stringently prescriptive towards the other groups that inhabited South Africa alongside of them (Slabbert 1999:61-63). In many respects, this legislation was discriminatory and degrading (Du Preez 2000:20). In post-apartheid South Africa, Afrikaners have lost their dominance in government; and their status was diminished, virtually overnight, to that of a minority group within their locality (Slabbert 1999:104). Afrikaners were thus necessarily constrained to make certain adjustments very rapidly in a post-apartheid South Africa. Now that they have a full-blown minority status in the new South Africa, Afrikaners are being confronted with the realities of nation-building and transformation.

Apart from the importance of the context, read together with the use of specific definitions, as pointed out in the above discussion, it is also necessary to say something about the empirical data that were collected, and which comprise the fundamental basis of the five articles in this study. These empirical data are presented in annexure 2. The informants' own perceptions and experiences in respect of the New South Africa are described in this annexure. These perceptions and experiences of the informants in relation to the world in which they currently find themselves, are thematically discussed. On the basis of the information in annexure 2, those elements of the broader South African society that have a direct impact on the identity and value judgements of Afrikaners today, as well as the way Afrikaners think and feel about these elements, will become clear to the reader.

Although the ethnographic material presented in this study only takes a few dimensions of Afrikanerhood into account, and although this material was gleaned in a specific geographical area, namely the southern Free State, it can nevertheless be generally applied to Afrikaners and Afrikanerhood, as well as to the broader South African context.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"It is illusory to try to find a totally culturally independent analytical point of departure from which it will be possible to confirm the truth and moral validity of all culturally relative positions, my own included. That is cultural arrogance. It is therefore clearly evident that I – from a cultural position that is perpetually being renewed – should confess that I am responsible for my own judgements and actions, and that nobody but I, myself, can be held accountable for them. This is how I see it; and this is how I want to be judged."

(Slabbert 1999:71)

1.1   PROBLEM STATEMENT AND OBJECTIVES

The University of the Free State offers doctoral students two options how to present their research findings; namely the traditional thesis, or alternatively five related articles, reviewed and accepted for publication in accredited journals. The latter option was executed in this case. Although each of the presented articles is bedded in its own theoretical context, it is necessary to sketch the broad theoretical framework of the study.

This study focuses primarily on the Afrikaner[1] and his[2] values. Afrikaner values comprise a central theme of three of the articles, while narratives and myths, religion and identity represent the focus of the other two articles.

Up to and including 1990, according to Slabbert (1999:49-51), an official Afrikaner identity[3] and culture existed which was largely determined by a grand narrative constructed around church membership, commitment to political power and party membership, as well as membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. According to authors such as Vosloo (*Die Burger*, 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (http://www.praag.org/menings - 2005:4-13), the loss of this official identity after 1994 marginalised Afrikaners and plunged them into an existential crisis. In this regard, it must be pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual ties with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and the Afrikaans language are undergoing major

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[1] The definition of the Afrikaner is explained in detail in the preamble. The Afrikaner will also be discussed in full in each of the five articles in chapter three.

[2] In this study, reference has been made throughout to the male gender. However, the intention is inclusive of both gender; and no sexism is intended in this regard.

[3] The concept of *identity* contains various meanings: ethnic identity, social identity, cultural identity, self-identity and *"Dasein"*. On page 11 at 1.2.2 under the heading *"Values as identity",* the concept of identity will be discussed in more detail.

changes, and are even becoming attenuated. Afrikaners are increasingly pursuing a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

Other commentators do not share this view. Du Preez (2005b:15), who is of the opinion that Afrikaans is undergoing a flourishing period in the domains of rock music and publishing, points out that more Afrikaans books, newspapers and magazines have been released in the past two decades than in the case of any other native language in Africa.

Although commentators differ regarding the question as to what influence the post-apartheid system had and still has, on the Afrikaner, it is an undeniable fact that the political and social transformation that South Africa has undergone since 1994 has been extremely far-reaching, and that the majority of Afrikaners were largely taken by surprise by this. Clearly, Afrikaners were not prepared for the changes that ensued, with the result that now, after 15 years, they are confronted with an urgent need to reflect on their values, common goals, identity, role and place in the *"new"* South Africa. On the one hand, Afrikaans core groups are now prepared to take action in a more conspicuous manner (as illustrated by recent events on certain previously mainly Afrikaans university campuses). They are also resolute and outspoken in their display of loyalty to their language and Afrikaner identity. However, on the other hand, there is also a tendency, particularly among the Afrikaner youth, to move more closely towards international norms, practices, preferences and viewpoints for the sake of career opportunities and wider world exposure. The rationale for this trend can more or less be summarised as follows: The number of public organisations with a predominantly Afrikaans character, identity and mission is continually dwindling, and since Afrikaners are being presented with an increasing number of options relating to the question of how they should position themselves in the world with regard to their identity, language and culture, the Afrikaner culture and identity is beginning to lose their dominant value systems.

According to Gouws (*Die Burger*, 24 May 2005:7), there is no other ethnic group that is quite as obsessed with values and identity politics as the Afrikaners. However, up-to-date anthropological information on Afrikaners is scarce. Research regarding the changes that the Afrikaner values have undergone since 1994 and are still undergoing, has largely been neglected by Afrikaans anthropologists. As a result, the contribution of Afrikaans-speaking anthropologists to the discourses relating to current issues affecting Afrikaners

(cultural identity, values and the nature of the so-called *"new"* Afrikaner) is relatively limited.

In this regard, the overall objective of this anthropological study is to conduct an ethnographic investigation into current tendencies in Afrikaner values, culture and identity.

The attribution of a specific culture or cultural characteristics to a group, so as to identify that group[4] is a common phenomenon in anthropology. Although anthropologists differ regarding the nature and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the notion that culture and identity are based on and integrated in shared fundamental values represents the point of departure of this study. In other words, values will be used to shed light on the culture and identity of Afrikaners within the pre-1994 context, as well as in the post-1994 milieu.

1.2   CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.2.1   VALUES AS AN ASPECT OF CULTURE[5]

The question pertaining to the character and intent of values can be traced far back in the history of philosophical thought. According to Degenaar (1984b:28), Socrates was the first theoretician to make a meaningful contribution in terms of providing a definition of values. He placed particular emphasis on the objectivity and totality of ethical values. Plato's *"idea hierarchy"* culminates in his theories regarding good (ethical) and attractive (aesthetic) values (Dreyer 1975:31). In the *"form hierarchy"* of Aristotle, aesthetic values are grounded in cosmic reality, which is why values have a strong cosmological character in his world-view (Dreyer 1975:96). In contrast to Aristotle, Kant transfers values from the cosmic to the personal sphere. That which is good, is subjected to the reasonable will of man. It is therefore also only the *good will* that is good in itself (Bach 1975:66-72). To Kant, aesthetics is a matter of reasonable judgement, and not a matter of enjoyment of emotion. Appreciation of aesthetics does not necessarily imply

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[4] On page 18, at 1.2.6. under the heading *"Culture and identification"*, the concept of culture and identity is discussed in detail.

[5] Article one on page 52 deals in more depth with the topic *"Values as a cultural aspect of Afrikaners"*.

knowledge of the character thereof, but *"…comes about when there is a general harmony between the powers of the human mind and the form and features of the thing whose beauty we take [it upon] ourselves to grasp"* (Bach 1975:75).

P.J. Coertze's (1979) view of values is probably the only published view in Afrikaans Anthropology.   For Coertze (1979:33), values are the most directional element in a culture – he makes no mention of values within the context of the individual (personality) or the social system. According to him, a value system is only one of fifteen universal aspects of culture. Thus, it is clear that in Coertze's (1979:32) opinion, values are to be viewed as a cultural feature that is linked to the cognitive processes of a human being, and further connected to his/her attempts to ensure a happy existence for him-/herself. Values develop through cohabitation, cooperation, joint suffering and striving, and gradually mature to form a conventional system.

Coertze (1979:34) also differentiates between truth and logical values (logos), moral or ethical values (ethos), pleasing or aesthetic values (aesthesis) and useful or pragmatic values. The first category is linked to the factual and logical evaluation of the phenomena of reality. As soon as a person starts to evaluate these phenomena, he/she is building a personal value system (Coertze 1979:34).

The nature of truth values is categorised according to various factors, for example, in terms of incidences according to a factual or logical evaluation; while the grading of phenomena and categories takes place according to proposed evaluations; the connection of the status of phenomena and categories of phenomena is done according to gradation; and the presence of behaviour patterns are organised with regard to categories of phenomena in relation to order of status.

Moral and ethical values relate to the evaluation of conscious and popular behaviour, particularly with regard to the appraisal of such behaviour as good or bad, right or wrong. The value-judgements made in this regard are based on the substance and nature of the behaviour, and not necessarily on the behaviour itself. Coertze (1979:37) maintains that what is considered by an ethnos to be right and good – or not right and good – does not comprise a given norm, but depends on the judgement, insight and knowledge of preceding generations, conveyed as a cultural heritage. The ethical norm is

thus secured by the supposed truth thereof.

Concerning aesthetic or attractive values, Coertze (1979:38) differentiates between the judgement of attractive values in *"primitive"* cultures and the application of such judgement in modern cultures. He points out that, under conventional cultural conditions characteristic of so-called primitive cultures, a stronger attachment to the particular culture – and thus greater stereotyping of aesthetic behaviour – is found.

The perspective of this study is that a value is a component of human action and exists within the normative dimension of behaviour. That it is a concept of that which is desirable; a similar value that exists concurrently in a culture, in the society and in the groups that are bearers of that culture, as well as in the personalities of the members of the concerned society and groups.

In a society, humanness (as meant by being a total person) is a complex of social relationships as Radcliffe-Brown (1940:194-195) pointed out. As more social relations and value systems are added through life, humanness approaches completion, but the critical feature is the social relation with the next generation whereby society is continued into yet another cohort. In societies which define human beings by their place in a social chain linking past with present, not every individual is seen as fully a person or even a person at all (Carrithers, Colins and Lukes 1985:138).

The key to comprehension is that the values of the person are embedded in a social context. In particular these common values relate to the degree of institutionalisation. The way in which an individual is accorded the moral status of humanness depends on a variety of social features. As Fortes (1973:17) points out, the concept of the person relates mortal, transient human beings to a continuing social whole.

A value exists in different forms in the three systems that are constituted by personality, the social system and culture, while still being the same value, and the same conception of the desirable. Within culture, a value exists as a criterion for the selection of possible orientations in situations and in social systems, in an institutionalised form. This means that, within social institutions, it comprises a norm that specifies the desirable orientation and the associated actions that apply to particular status roles. Within personality, a value

exists as an orientation of the individual, that means that he has a conception of the relevant cultural criteria and status-role norms, and is committed to the maintenance of these criteria and norms in role-related behaviour. In this internalised form, a value is an element in the orientation of the actor in relation to situations.

A comparable value that exists simultaneously in personality, the social system and culture, is the most important single element that causes these three systems to display structural congruency, and which makes their functional interdependence possible, while stabilising this interconnectedness at the same time.

Essentially, the above-mentioned propositions concerning values represent the theoretical contribution of this Anthropological study. On the grounds of the stated propositions – which comprise the result of this study's total analysis of value conceptions – the concept of a *"value"* could thus be defined as follows for the purposes of the theory of Anthropology: A value is a conception of the desirable, which exists in culture as a criterion for the selection of orientations, while simultaneously being institutionalised within society and its sub-systems and internalised within the personalities of the members of these social systems, thereby orientating these persons in such a way as to effect commitment in respect of desirable actions.

The two key concepts throughout this study are *"value"* and the *"theory of Anthropology"*. The foregoing analysis, in its entirety, was aimed at determining the precise meaning of values in Anthropological theory. The theory of Anthropology comprised the particular field within which the analysis of values was conducted, as well as the school of thought that provided the frame of reference for the analysis. This is the only context within which the analysis makes sense. The cultural background against which values were evaluated in terms of the theory of Anthropology was that of the Afrikaner. Therefore a few aspects of the value orientation of Afrikaners will, in fact, be pointed out later on.

In more comprehensive terms, the most important general theoretical premises and implications of the value-concept categories that were developed can be set out as follows:

The value concept is anti-positivistic and anti-behaviouristic, and is located within the Weber tradition of *"Versteben"*. The ultimate definition of value presupposes the simultaneous differentiation and connection, as well as the simultaneous interdependency and reciprocal irreducibility of personality, social systems and culture. This requires the adoption of a conception of personality and a motivational theory, as well as a conception of culture within the theory of Anthropology. The stated value concept requires a precise representation of the linking up of the three systems of action. However, the theoretical standpoint that values themselves are, precisely, the most important binding factors, is itself in turn based on a theory of socialisation that provides a more specific explanation of the interconnectedness between personality and social systems. It is within the context of socialisation theory that the concepts of status roles and leadership are of paramount importance. Ultimately, the stated value concept demonstrates or implies the sterility that results from the maintenance of sacred, traditional boundaries between Sociological, Psychological and Anthropological theory. It also demonstrates the fruitful results of the integration of these three aspects into a theory of action which, similarly, comprises of a comprehensive and incisive social-scientific view of human beings.

1.2.2 <u>VALUES AS IDENTITY</u>[6]

Presently, two equally strong tendencies regarding identity could be acknowledged world-wide (Erasmus 2003:4 and Eriksen 1993:17). On the one hand there is the effect of influences such as globalisation, an information-based occupational culture, larger political regional units and the mobility of persons across borders. Although these events (can) threaten fundamental, unique identity, there is on the other hand, an escalation of distinctive identities and life styles flourishing in the niches of the larger community. This regularly leads present day people to utilize different, occasionally mutually inclusive or exclusive identities, often simultaneously. The last is based on and constructed from universal and/or particular contents and information.

Aside from the abovementioned differing core placements, there is also usually an implied referral to what has been deemed *"values"* in the previous section when taking

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[6] Article two on page 74 deals in depth with *"Values as part of the Afrikaner identity"*. The nature and extent of values on the accomplishment of identity will be discussed there in detail.

appropriate qualities and meaning of identity into account. This is because identity only achieves meaning in an interactional context with other people. The answer to the question: *"Who am I?"* to a large extend evolves in the discourse between the collective consciousness and the individual consciousness. This is where value judgments, stereotyping, and preconceived notions play a deciding role and is imbedded in the individual's perceptions of him-/herself and of others, as well as the values, notions, opinions and practices in regard to personal culture and the physical subsisting environment.

From the previous remarks it may be deducted that identity accentuates a subjective consciousness of underlying similarities and differences between members of the personal group on the one hand, and the broader society on the other (Brass 1976:226). In other words, identity consists of self-crediting, as well as crediting by others. This communal group consciousness can be based on real or perceived/supposed differences in regard to socio-culturally acquired and defined characteristics, and inborn characteristics which can act as an indicator of communal decent (Banton 1966:1; Barth 1969:14; De Beer 1998:37 and Vincent 1974:376). Jenkins (1996:76) maintains that in cases where ethniticity demonstrates a strong relationship to race, colour and culture which are often incorrectly understood and defined in terms of each other.

Advantaging the cultural content of ethnicity can count as a goal in itself, or it can be applied on a rational basis as a strategy to attain specific socio-cultural, economic or political goals (Barth 1969:33-34; Despres 1975:7 and Glazer & Moynihan 1975:171). This means that ethnic identity is fluid and situational, and can be adapted or changed according to circumstances and need. Ethnic identity often is most intensely experienced/lived in situations of strong opposition and competition. Where ethnicity is accepted as a natural primordial force, it need not be declared any further, and ethnic groups can be celebrated. In contrast, ethnic identity can be subordinated for political and economic benefit, or the existence thereof can even be explained as a form of false consciousness (Van der Waal 1998:24).

Two forms of ethnisation can be identified: the formation of a non-political ethnic consciousness, and ethnic mobilisation for political goals. The first is a spontaneous process, which does not necessarily lead to conflict, and takes place where people

become conscious of their communal difference (more correctly: category) in regard to other similar groups, for example during urbanization. The last takes place when an elite group forms a split community and guard their ethnic borders (Van der Waal 1998:25). The specific ethnic identity that is mostly benefited is often challenged. During the process of ethnic mobilisation, a contiguous and unique identity is created, if not already in existence. Where necessary, traditional clothing is fabricated, traditional tales presented as unique to the culture, and a selective history developed to support the claims of the group.

Under certain circumstances, nationalism and ethnicity can be seen as manifestations of the same phenomenon (Jenkins 1997:170 and Kasfir 1979:367). Modern societies seem to aspire to developing a single identity in the social order. The need for homogeneity in a society fits the requirements of modern industry, wherein workers must be exchangeable. This is the result of the dissemination of standardised knowledge through the mass media (Gellner, as quoted by Eriksen 1993:121 and Van der Waal 1998:25). Most modern societies are so-called "*plural*" states however, with large identity differences in the population. Attempts at nation building sometimes drive an ethnic minority to the same aspiration – an individual nation state through division (Van der Waal 1998:26).

Ethniticity is an important and often decisive determining factor for political conflict in situations where value judgments of real or alleged discrimination, and/or unjust treatment on grounds of ethnic diversity takes place (Slabbert & Welsh 1979:29 and Van den Berghe 1970:28). Thus, the institutionalisation of ethniticity has exceptional governmental implications. Balancing identities and the national unity with sufficient room for unique cultural expression allows an opportunity for polarizing ethnic tendencies. Thus, national symbols, national processes and loyalty need not exclude other identities, for example in regard to language, culture and education (Geldenhuys in http://www.vryeafrikaan.co.za - 2005 :1-5).

The value-orientation of an individual, as well as members of an ethnic group in regard to identity is made tangible, constructed, publicised, and conveyed through narrative. Narrative thus has a definite value-content, as described in the following section.

1.2.3   VALUES AS NARRATIVES

According to Webb-Mitchell (1995:219), man is born with the *"ability and desire to express and receive stories"*. One of the most basic human actions in the existence of man is to willingly tell, interpret, and retell that interpretation in words in the form of stories. This is a continuous unending, spiralling and socially constructed process. *"Narrative is crucial in understanding human life for all that we are, and all that we do, and all that we think and feel is based upon stories; both of our personal stories and the stories of our significant community"* (Webb-Mitchell 1995:215). Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995:6) are convinced that humans of all periods and cultures used narrative as a basic method to organise their experiences and give meaning to their lives. The metaphor of *"the person as a motivated storyteller"* is used in this regard. Hearne (1984:33) explains *"story"* as *"just something we tell ... the way things happen and the way we grasp them in some kind of pattern."* Sarbin (1986:9) describes this as *"a way of organizing episodes, action and accounts of action in time and space"*.

From the literature concerning narrative it is firstly clear that the motivation is always the retelling of the story. There is no once-off verbalisation - Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995:111) refer to *"essentially unfinished stories"*. In this regard, Müller (1996:30) maintains that the telling of a story can only be renewing and constructive if the preceding account and the future account are congruent. According to Müller (1998:9) the theme: *"telling a past, dreaming a future"* is an entire description of human existence - in other words the link between past, present and future. The larger the gap between the *"telling"* and the *"dreaming"* becomes, the higher the strain and the bigger the possibility of pathological behaviour (Müller 1998:9). On the other hand, where there is harmony between yesterday, today and tomorrow, integrity, well-being and maturity is found (Mead 1978:17-18). Thus, an intense seeking of values lies at the core of narrative - that which is seen as meaningful. When applied to the present study, it means there will be a focus on Afrikaner narrative in order to expose Afrikaner values and ideals. There is no interest in entertainment or information values in such narrative.

A second aspect of narrative that must be emphasised, is the transformational power of the evoking tale which becomes a personal account that is told, told again and retold, perhaps nuanced differently, internalised and experienced (Bruner 1986:25 and Combs

1996:88). In different places, times and under different circumstances, certain people, affairs, or things made such an impression on an individual, that he thought it important enough to make it part of his personal chronicle. This core legend of a person is of the utmost importance – especially where the self is seen as an organizing process of values.

Thirdly, myths or the mythical plays an essential role in narrative. Campbell (1972:8) argues that myths illustrate man's search for the truth, meaning and sense through the centuries. Malan (1978:39) agrees that myths are man's way of explaining the significance, relationship, aims, ancestry and termination of the cosmos though simple tales. An important aspect of myths is that there is an *"evasive core"* to each myth that cannot be explained rationally (Conradie 1964:10). This *"beyond-reason"* aspect of myths is one of the critical factors that must be taken into account when values and identity are explored by way of narrative. A myth may be purely fictional in nature, but the power behind is an irrefutable reality that may even change the course of history, for example. The point is that a myth needn't necessarily be about the truth or what we know, but about what we believe or accept as the truth. Thus the fundamental aspect of a myth is not its truth. Even if it is not possible to prove the contents empirically, people accept myths because they do not dare question them, or because it affects the significance of their existence.

Central to the discourse on myths is man's belief in the very authenticity of those myths he grew up with. Though myths can alter with time, be adjusted, or become obsolete and disappear under certain circumstances, the de-mything or even re-mything of myths does not take place in one generation. Campbell (1972:8) states that myth formation through socializing and shared historical veracity takes place in the collective subconscious of a group over a relative long period of time, before being acknowledged as the truth and internalised by the group. Thus myths are not created overnight, which is why an artificially created legend never attains the *"truth-quality"* of a true myth.

Though lifeless objects such as photos or a house form part of human narrative, the narrative approach of this study focuses on the exploring of the *"master story"* or master narrative of a person, family or culture group. Narrative is only account-less, as long as the story around it remains untold (Webb-Mitchell 1995:218).

Religion forms an essential part of the narratives and myths of the Afrikaner, especially in their interpretation of the Word of God. The impact of religion values on identity will therefore subsequently be looked into.

1.2.4 <u>RELIGION VALUES AS PART OF AFRIKANER IDENTITY</u>

The religious influence that played a role in the coming to being of the Afrikaner nation is often not fully understood or appreciated, and sometimes even overlooked. According to Émile Durkheim (1912), spirituality makes an important contribution to the development of a nation's way of thinking and acting.

With regard to the relationship between the church and the Afrikaner, as early as 1947, renowned Afrikaner and theologian A.H. Murray, wrote that the Afrikaners' experience and theories relating to local government were derived from their experience of church management, rather than from the example of public administration that came from the Castle (the Cape government of the time) and the relevant environment. This intimate relationship between church government and the government of a country was further reinforced by the northern Boer Republics' attainment of independence, as well as the furtherance of the Nederduitsch *"Hervormde"* Church (1854) and the Dutch Reformed Church (1859) in that region. Given the reality of the two churches, it soon became evident that specific theological (and, by implication, philosophical) differences existed between these churches and the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony. In particular, the Dutch Reformed synod that was held in the Cape in 1862 made an important contribution to the development of an intrinsic philosophical religious approach. The issue that was at stake here concerned the differences between a conservative (orthodox) group on the one hand, and a liberal (progressive) group on the other. In particular, the point in dispute pertained to a more orthodox view of the Bible as the infallible word of God (supported by those who advocated orthodoxy), as compared to the incorporation of reason and modern methods of interpreting the Bible (supported by the liberals). The relevant role and attitude with regard to racial relationships comprised a fundamental factor underlying the above-mentioned arguments, according to Murray (1947:168).

As a result of the church's enormous share in the evolution of apartheid, firstly as a religious precept and later, as a political ideology in South Africa, many white Afrikaners today feel that their religious and church history is contaminated. Article four in Chapter Three of this study, will focus primarily on the impact of the Afrikaners' apartheid religion on their value system and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Durheim (1912:6); Treurnicht (1975:77); Van der Waal (1998:2-3) and Feuerbach (1841:2-5) morality, like religion, forms a vital part of a nation's value system and because of this morality will subsequently be discussed as part of the study on values.

1.2.5   VALUES AS MORALITY[7]

What is morality? The *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* describes it as: *"That which relates to the sense of what is good and right (moral)". "Moral"* is further defined as: *"According to good mores: virtuous."*

The question that arises is: Who or what decides what is good and right, or what is virtuous? For example, according to Stewart (2004:184), there is a Khoi-San saying that goes: *"Good is when I steal other people's wives and cattle; bad is when they steal mine."*

From the point of view of a variety of human-scientific articles (Hofstede 1980:20; McFarland 2001:73; Shermer 2004:24-26 and Tamarin 1966:49-50), it seems that the social group's morality is at times dictated by God, the church, the government and/or the ethnic group. And now, it seems, by the secular community as well, with its post-modernistic perspectives. It also seems that perceptions regarding morality and virtuousness are relative in nature, because different social groups have different value-orientations at various times.

In Nietzsche's framework of thought, value is relative, provisional and time-bound. Nietzsche (1917:87) does not interpret the human being as a static, secluded substance.

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[7] Article five on page 134 deals in particular with *"Morality as part of Afrikaner values"*.

Moreover, the essence of human life does not lie embedded within the notion of self-preservation. It is contained in self-conquest and the realisation of the potential that is inherent within oneself. Thus, Nietzsche also refers to the human being as a creator. In the light of these convictions, values are nothing more than perspectives that stimulate and direct the self-transcending triumph of the human being, according to Nietzsche. In this sense, values comprise the conditions for the self-transcendent acts that are possible on the part of the human being. The existence of value lies in the fact that it guides the human being in his/her self-conquest. Values are not given objectively to human beings; rather, they originate from the subjective character of human life itself. This means that value is not an isolatable entity that exists independently of the human being. What manifests itself as value, is that which stimulates the self-transcendence of human life within a functional context (Menchken 1920:14-25 and Pitcher 1966:34-37).

1.2.6 <u>CULTURE AND IDENTIFICATION</u>

Much has been written in anthropology about the meaning, value and place of culture (cf. Barth 1969; Shweder 1995; Sahlins 1999; Sökefeld 1999 and Sharp 2006). In this regard Brown (1997:31) maintains that although anthropologists may differ over the nature and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the allocation of a certain culture or cultural characteristics to a group for the sake of identifying it as such, is a common phenomenon in anthropology.

In the early twentieth century the German romantic tradition played a dominant role in anthropology in America in particular – so much so that the dominant stance in terms of culture developed accordingly (cf. Kuper 1974:539; Thornton 1988:20 and Wolf 1994:5). Seen in this light, culture was regarded as the organic product of a group of people with language as the only representative symbol of its character (Edwards 1985:23; Urciuoli 1995:527; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994:60 and Woolard 1998:16). This attitude was, and is, relativistically orientated: it defined culture as a clear, unique, separate, historic force. It was accepted that specific cultural attributes were founded and flourished in a specific geographical area (cf. Thornton 1988 and 2000 for more details). In her well-known *Patterns of Culture*, Benedict (1934) maintained that culture contained a complete life style and that each culture controlled its own particular configuration of values, including its own language.

The implications of the aforementioned view of culture are, amongst others, that culture is whatever makes people behave differently; that the function of culture is to sustain society (Thornton 1988:23 and Whiteley 1971:121); that society can be ordered in terms of basic cultural contrasts (for example: civilised versus uncivilised and developed versus undeveloped) (Thomas 2006:54-55); and lastly, that culture has specific institutionalised ways for the creation and transfer of identity at its disposal (Roosens 1989:151 and Timmerman 2000:97). Seen in this light, identity becomes closely related to culture (De Beer 1998:34).

However, by highlighting the transactional nature of identity and emphasising the deliberate decisions of the social actors, the Scandinavian anthropologist, F. Barth (1969), has made us understand that identity cannot be explained/understood in terms of a unilateral, exaggerated emphasis on the meaning of culture only. In this regard, he firstly emphasised the particular role of the individual. For example, Collier (1998:123), states that individuals continually negotiate and construct their identities in contexts such as conversations, relationships, contacts, the development of social histories, language, wordplay, and interpersonal and inter-group dynamics involving power, control, the bonds created by class, gender, religion, convictions, affiliations and regional differences. Authors such as Banton (1994:2); Bates and Rassam (1983:85-88); Bekker (1993:12-13); Martin (1995:14) and Sharp (1988:80), agree that freedom of association determines the uniqueness of any person, his relationships with others and the resulting groups that form. When initial relationship patterns between two people change for some or other reason, the person's connectedness changes as well. The person is then placed in a causative and a marginal position relative to the group. Membership of a group and the degree to which an individual member identifies with the group are changeable and negotiable. Each person chooses, be it subconsciously or consciously, between alternative sources for identification when social and economic situations are identified or manipulated. During his lifetime, a person is confronted with an infinite number of possibilities where he has to decide about how he identifies with different values and groups. He has to relate these different identities to each other as well as reconcile the contradictions between identities. Logically speaking, the individual has to conceive the meaning attached to the concept of identity. Identification is a personal matter and is the result of multiple choices that are being made continually.

Secondly, opinion has been mooted against the idea that identity is a fixed composite of objective cultural characteristics that can be added up in order to identify somebody's identity (Roosens 1989:151). The fact that identity is produced and identified positionally means that the criteria for allocating an identity to a group and endorsing it are variable, according to circumstances during social intercourse that may take place within, or over the boundaries of the group. Some writers (cf. Barth 1969; Bates & Rassam 1983:85-88; Banton 1994:2; Collier 1998:131; Dominguez 1994:333; Martin 1995:15; Peoples & Bailey 2000:307-309; Sharp 1988:80; Webster 1991:245 and Wolf 1994:7) agree that ethnic groups, boundaries and identities are not permanent and are fundamentally a construction of the human ability to imagine things or situations and that this does not have any practical, concrete existence on its own merit. Rather, it is an idea within the human mind, the meaning of which is determined by the people who share the same idea. For this reason, one cannot identify its true characteristics, as only those who think the same way and believe in it, behave accordingly.

In summary, one needs to point out that despite the prediction by many social scientists that cultural differences will eventually disappear due to modernisation, globalisation, and westernisation (Cattell 2001:13), people in widely separate parts of the world are reclaiming their cultural identity (Eriksen 2001:42-43). The significance of cultural perspectives in human affairs can partly be attributed to our desire for meaning and order, and our fundamental need for a sense of stability, continuity and belonging. When cultural perspectives are being used in this study, it is with the clear understanding that:

- culture is to a large extend what people perceive it to be;
- culture is not free from hegemonic and political overtones;
- culture can be (mis-)used as a conservative force by marginalised groups to mobilise against transformation;
- power determines culture; and
- culture is often inappropriately regarded as the only construct to express identity.

It is, for example, possible to articulate the criteria that are necessary for self-identification by means of identity narratives. These criteria may include the following:

language, religion, history[8], living space[9], race, occupation, social position, age or a combination of these aspects.

1.3   VALUE OF THE STUDY

The value of the study primarily centres around the following four aspects. Firstly the study highlights the present process of (re)defining the Afrikaner in the context of their total existence. Secondly, the research results emphasize the impact and extent of the concept *"values"* on the Afrikaner identity, culture, morality, religion and narratives. Thirdly, the study addresses the lack of anthropological knowledge on the Afrikaner, especially with regard to:

- contemporary insights and perspectives on the Afrikaner values, culture and identity; and
- one of the most extensive and radical present-day culture and identity change.

The research fourthly, provides a contribution to indigenous anthropology as research methodology/epistemology and explains how story telling and narratives play an important role in the insider perspective as research method. The research practice will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[8] The historical construction of identity is, generally speaking, very highly regarded (Cattell 2001:13-15 and Stanton 1996:173). However, some writers (Brown 1997:36 and 41; Martin 1995:12 and 15; Peoples & Bailey 2000:308 and Van Staden 1997:30) warn against the overemphasis of the presumed importance of precise historical events because the creation of identities is more concerned with the subjective interpretation of history than with *"real"* historical facts. Degenaar (in Cattell 2001:15) maintains that the inherent instability of identity goes together with the fluidity of the historical context because of its continual reinterpretation.

[9] In narratives, space is proposed as the locality where the necessities of life are available; where the community can sustain itself and multiply; where people believe they belong because it is where their ancestors were buried; where particular forms of social interaction occur; where particular customs are considered an indispensable ingredient of a good life; and where power is controlled in a particular way by specific people. It must, however, be pointed out that space is often inappropriately regarded (Owens 2002:271) as a cultural construct where social relationships are expressed through their own rules of combination and articulation. As a result, homologies between spatial categories and categories of distinctive socio-cultural practice are easily taken for granted, while the distinctiveness of societies, nations and cultures is based upon a seemingly unproblematic division of space on the grounds of the claim that people *"naturally"* occupy discontinuous spaces (Gupta & Ferguson 1992:6).

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH PRACTICE

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Currently, one of the more contemporary anthropological trends is that the anthropologist researches his own people, as was done in this study: An Afrikaner studied his own people. This type of anthropological study of the *"self"* is known as *"indigenous anthropology"*. Myer (http://www.nuffic.nl - 2006:1-6) supports this research approach and states: *"It is a more holistic approach, with better contextualisation."* (This echoes the comments of Escobar 1994:62 and Milton 1993:111). Myer's arguments are supported by the fact that a researcher would know and understand his own people, their way of life, language, history, values and the expectations of the future better than any outsider. The anthropologist in such a situation is thus better able to report scientifically in regard to his own people. Watkins (2005:429) says: *"The anthropologist tries to understand the culture the way the members understand it, to learn the concepts they use and to try to see the world the way they do. The goal is to penetrate as deeply as possible into the culture and gain the greatest insight. That is why indigenous anthropology with an insider approach is highly recommended"*.

Notwithstanding the positive remark noted above, research among an own group embraces unique problems (Kanaaneh 1997:2). The danger of this approach lies in the fact that the researcher might tend to present his own subjective opinion as scientific detail. The risk lies in the fact that the researcher may tend toward providing his own opinion as scientifically sound information (Dhillion 2004:227-228). As a researcher, I was aware of the potential risk, and took precautions in the form of a group session, interviews with different leaders from the Afrikaner community, as well as from cultural and religious groups. This was primarily done for reasons of cross validation (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:80), as well as to ensure that the principles of validity of indigenous anthropology are guaranteed (Heelas & Lock 1981:4). The basic principles and guidelines of qualitative research were also vigilantly applied (Babbie & Mouton 2001:53-55).

Insider perspective is an important dimension of this study, because it is an integral part of indigenous anthropological research. It also meets basic requirements for qualitative research. As the basic principles of indigenous anthropological research and insider perspective go hand-in-hand, attention will firstly be paid to the last.

2.2 <u>INSIDER PERSPECTIVE</u>

Thompson (http://www.coe.uga.edu/ - 2006:2-8) explains that the insider perspective approach allows the researcher to start with his research immediately, especially *"close up"* scrutiny that is aimed at detail. This is possible because the researcher already knows and understands his research environment. Kanaaneh (1997:20) maintains: *"The indigenous anthropologist (insider) is in the society more than in the field. He lives with the people and spontaneously, habitually plays his role as an involved part in 'the real play of social activities' "*.

Bourdieus, as quoted by Dwyer (1982:41), argues that the insider perspective is actually a more ideal form of research outline. Both Bourdieus and Dwyer are sceptical about the classic *"outsider"*-approach. In regard to this, it is clear that an insider perspective does not only supply scientifically acceptable results, but is often highly recommended as anthropological research outline.

On order to form an impression of the informants' world, values and identity, the researcher had to scrutinize the Afrikaner *"from the inside"* (Jackson 1989:239; and Jansen van Rensburg & Van der Waal 1999:113-139). Cresswell (1998:19) indicates that the researcher must assume the role of *"active student"* when data is collected. This implies a frank withdrawal from the role of the expert researcher (power relationship). The researcher had to learn how to become part of the informant's world in order to give a reliable description thereof. This also necessitated the fact that the researcher ensured he did not to harbour any preconceived ideas about the results during data collection, but that he explored rather than examined, at all times (Coertze 1999:23 and Marais 1993:66).

In this study, I, Jan van der Merwe, as a born and bred Afrikaner, am the agent/researcher who wants to describe the insider perspective of the Afrikaner to the

reader. As background perspective, I shortly provide a brief resume of myself:

I was born on the 1st February 1963 in Pretoria. I grew up on a typically Afrikaner ancestral farm in the Thabazimbi district (presently the Limpopo Province). My parents were supporters of the National Party and members of the Dutch Reformed Church. My father and most of his family later became passionate supporters of the Conservative Party. They also left the Dutch Reformed Church and joined the Afrikaans Protestant Church (APC). My parents divorced when I was twelve years old. My mother, however, supported the National Party (NP) and remained a member of the Dutch Reformed Church.

In high school I was elected head boy. During my school days I was occupied with religious and cultural activities. I attended NP youth conferences and often joined Church Youth Action (CYA) camps.

From 1982 to 1986 I was a fulltime student at the previously Rand Afrikaans University (now the University of Johannesburg). During this time I entered the ambience of liberal politics. I was an active member of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and POLSTU (a left-liberal political student organization).

After my university training I performed compulsory military service, as did all other male white South Africans of that era. I completed my military service in the South African Police. I worked as an Occupational Social worker in Soweto (Gauteng) for four years. My primary task at that time was to assist black police officials with housing. This was the time during which black police officials could purchase houses in South Africa for the first time in history.

After my military service in the Police, I worked as an occupational employment officer in the corporate world for seven years. I also obtained a masters' degree in occupational psychology from RAU during this time.

From 1998 to the present (2006) I have been active in politics. At present I am a fulltime Council Member of the Mangaung Municipality, (Bloemfontein). I represent the ANC (African National Congress) in the Mangaung Council, and also serve on the Free State

Provincial Executive Management. I had previously been the Provincial Secretary of both the DA (Democratic Alliance) and the NNP (New National Party) in the Free State. During the past eight years I have served on various executive committees inside the Afrikaner cultural household. For example, I was Chairperson of the Friendship Club of the National Afrikaans Literature Museum in Bloemfontein, Chairperson of the Bloemfontein Afrikaner Club, Executive Council member of the Afrikaner Bond and executive member of the Commemorative Committee for the Anglo-Boer war centenary celebrations. Previously I had also served as an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church, Hugenote congregation, in Bloemfontein.

I would describe myself as a community leader who is culturally active in Afrikaner affairs. My whole family is culturally involved. My wife and children are active members of the Voortrekker (Pioneer) movement. Afrikaner culture in all its facets is our passion.

2.3 SCIENTIFIC-PHILOSOPHICAL GROUNDING OF THE STUDY

According to Strauss (1989:1), research is a facet of science and research methodology is a branch of scientific learning. In order to understand the epistemological grounding of this study within scientific practice, it is important to understand the development of science philosophy.

The development of science philosophy underwent different phases. The concepts *"pre-modern", "modern"* and *"post-modern"* are usually associated with the history of Western scientific practice. Broadly speaking, this development went as follows: Evolution from blind faith in religion during the pre-modern era, before the sixteenth century, preceded the blind faith in science and human rationality of the modern era since the sixteenth century, and was followed by the increasing scepticism about the value of science and human rationality of the post-modern era, at the end of the twentieth century (Foucault 1998:486 and Strauss 1989:1-3).

Pre-modern philosophers attached significant value to the benefit of the organic community (also called the *"common good"*) in contrast to, and beyond the specific interest of the individual. Pre-modern theorists relied heavily on the metaphysical to

explain or affirm the character and fabric of the cosmos, which included man and his cultural creations (Moore 1996:179). Pre-modern thought was dedicated to the community and enrichment of a specific religious world vision. This blind dedication to a specific ontology that was beleaguered by the church, and restricted the freedom and enterprise of human thought, confining it to a frightening, dark, shadowy *"Lebenswelt"* (Denzin & Lincoln 2000:157).

Enlightenment represented the dawn of human rational (scientific) thought. Attempts were made to free man's spirit and thoughts from dogmatic speculation concerning what should be. Literally no restraints were placed on the development of the natural sciences (Kühn 1973:23). Human scientists of the pre-modern era believed that, by using and applying similar suppositions, methods and techniques as was done by the natural scientists, the human sciences might be reprogrammed into a science without values, based on the empirical assessment of facts, attaining the same heights as the natural sciences. Formalism, positivism and utilitarism were emphasised as outlines of conclusion, and the outlook of early modern human scientists especially focused on the interests and role of the individual (Foucault 1986:12-14).

By the end of the twentieth century it became clear that man was being threatened by that which it had brought into being itself, namely technology and science: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Chernobyl, nuclear weapons of mass destruction, chemical warfare, the hole in the ozone layer, acid rain, ecological disasters, genetic manipulation and human cloning are some examples thereof. Scientific rationality threatened to disintegrate into irrationality. Man's scientific capacity seems to have outstripped his existing ethical and moral norms, values and traditions. The scientific emphasis of objectivity and neutrality has left no room for the question of understanding in regard to ethical values, inter-subjectivity, empathy and charity – factors which have definitely contributed to the moral and cultural disasters in Western civilization (Babbie & Mouton 2001:49-52 and Bruyn 1966:1-4).

The scientific-philosophical basis of this study can be linked to postmodernism. Postmodernism has brought about a radical change in research methodology, in terms of the way in which things are understood and interpreted. This radical change applies to all domains in which the attainment of understanding is, or can be, pursued. The meaning

of a word (or a concept) no longer indicates the timeless essence of that word, but rather the use of a particular word (or concept) within a specific context.

Post-modernism acknowledges that the modernistic concept of an intellectual as a person who concerns him- or herself with the essential, universal or eternal values, makes an important contribution in focusing attention on the problem of standards, which are needed as a criterion in order to pass judgments; on the problem of objectivism and relativism; and on the problem of the historical relationship between the universal and the particular – for example, between a regulative ideal and the particular forms in which this ideal is manifested in practice.

One could say, with regard to the use of a specific concept or definition, that the universal needs a particular embodiment, such as a discourse within a paradigm; but that the universal cannot necessarily always be identified with such an embodiment or discourse – and nor is it imperative that it should be equated to any particular paradigm.

Post-modern theorists share this feeling of existential crisis. The implications/dangers of unlimited scientific rationality (technology) and avaricious individualism cannot be rectified by an ostensibly rational set of shared values and principles such as human rights (Lyotard 1984:18-24). For example, universally held rational rules and principles have not been successful in reducing or regulating conflict between plural communities, due to the fact that irrational thought patterns and behaviour is an fundamental part of human conduct. More, each challenge at universal rationality has the effect of cancelling out and silencing the various minority perspectives that exist. Rationality is often nothing more than an effective smoke screen that camouflages the application of power and domination (Horkheimer 1972:43 and Reason & Rowan 1981:489).

Given the emphasis on discourse within a post-modernistic background, and the connection that this study has with dialogue, it is imperative to indicate that discourse represents the essence of a paradigm (Foucault 1986:12-14). Foucault states that a paradigm is the conceptual framework or manifestation through which the complexity of reality is made assessable (after the definitions of Cresswell 1994:18; Denzin & Lincoln 2000:157; Erasmus 1996:16-18; Mason 1995:34; Moore 1996:179 and Stanage 1987:11, for more particulars as well). Thus, it now becomes necessary to introduce the research

paradigm of this study.

2.4 <u>RESEARCH PARADIGM</u>

Literature distinguishes between the following three research paradigms: quantitative, qualitative and action paradigms. Because the qualitative paradigm embraces this study, only this will be explored. Babbie and Mouton (2001:53) describe the qualitative paradigm as follows: *"it refers to that generic research in social research according to which research takes its departure point as the insider perspective on social action."* Hassard (1994:141) and Leedy (1997:109) assert that the qualitative paradigm is a more appropriate choice if the research problem is exploratory and illuminating in character. Fieldwork techniques such as participative observation, in-depth interviewing and narrative recording are central to this paradigm (Fouche & Delport 2002:89; Jackson 1989:239 and Schurink 1989:240). For Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:47), it means: *"The very nature of the in-depth, detailed descriptions of events, interviews, and the like is what makes qualitative research so powerful. The richness of data permits a fuller understanding of what is being studied than could be derived from experimental research methods ..."*

The following qualities of paradigms can be noted in connection with the preceding observations:

- Attempts are made to provide holistic descriptions of current situations (Creswell 1994:18; Jackson 1989:239 and Wiersma 1991:27).

- According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992:29), qualitative research is characterised by the fact that data collection takes place in the natural setting, in other words, field work takes place wherever the researcher studies the situation as it exists and changes (Jackson 1989:239). This natural environment is considered to be a direct source of information (Hassard 1994:141 and Leedy 1997:106), because human behaviour is influenced by the context in which it takes place (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:30 and Marais & Mouton 1992:166).

The framework of the paradigm in this study is as follows: In all five of the articles, it is argued that, during the pre-apartheid era, Afrikaners had a dominant value system and a meta-narrative. Their dominant value system during the apartheid era was based on Christian-Nationalist principles. Further on in the study, it is postulated, on the basis of Jean Francois Loytard's philosophy, that during the post-apartheid era, the Afrikaners' dominant value judgement became fragmented; and that currently, Afrikaners no longer have a single, dominant value judgement or meta-narrative.

As noted, the envisaged study is qualitative, which in anthropological terms means that it is an ethnographic study. An important feature of ethnographic research is the direct and personal collection of data (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:30). The researcher usually enters the field of research and describes what is observed. All observed information is valuable and nothing is seen as meaningless or not applicable (Marais & Mouton 1992:166). The opinion of each informant is perceived to be significant and important, and is dealt with as such in this study. The quality of an opinion or observation is valuable, not necessarily the frequency thereof. The identification and investigation of relationships that lead to new insights and understanding is vital, given the inductive character of ethnographic research and the timeframe connected to it (for example the painstaking and slow analysis and interpretation, based on inter-subjective assistance and understanding). Jackson (1989:239) explains it as follows: *"Simultaneously, the discoveries frequently come as a natural by-product of the ethnographer's quest for understanding the meaning of the culture or phenomenon."*

2.5. **RESEARCH PROCESS**

2.5.1 **DATA COLLECTION**

In the first place, data collection took place by way of a literature study with reference to different subjects, such as Afrikaner religion (Kinghorn 1986 and Treurnicht 1975); political reform (Esterhuize 2005; Giliomee 2004 and Slabbert 1999); economic transformation and the accompanying labour implications (affirmative action) (Botha 2005; Buys 2005 and Hermans 2005); mother-tongue education (Giliomee 2005 and Goosen 2005a); emigration (Bornman 2005); Afrikaner identity (Erasmus 2003 and Roodt 2005); and transformation (Venter 2004). The sources that were accessed included

personal, as well as published and unpublished documents.

Secondly, open and in-depth interviews were conducted. Informants[10] were selected in respect of age and region. Secondary information such as gender and qualification was also taken into account in order to ensure that the participants represent the broader Afrikaner community. Before interviews were conducted, the informants were fully informed regarding the aim of the study, as well as the manner in which the results would be handled. Confidentiality was resolutely emphasized.

Boyd (2001:96) is of the opinion that between two and ten informants is sufficient to attain a point of saturation and form an illustrative impression – a viewpoint shared by Cresswell (1998:65 and 113). For the benefit of this study, seventeen informants were interviewed. Besides the individual interviews, a group discussion and interviews were conducted with various community, religious, political and cultural leaders. During the group session, the researcher relied strongly on observation of the intervention process, so that accurate descriptions of the progress and development thereof could be supplied. Data collected during this group session greatly contributed to verifying the conclusions and suggestions regarding the validity of the research. The fact that three different categories of informants (individuals, groups and cultural leaders) were interviewed, represents a form of cross validation (triangulation). The list of cultural, religious and political leaders who were interviewed is to be found in Annexure 3.

In the third instance, data collection took place by way of participating observation, and was aimed both at gathering and verifying information.

The fact that I, myself, am an Afrikaner, as well as the actuality that I could relate to the informants in their own language, understood their idioms, lived the same history as they had, and represented no threat to them, increased their spontaneity and freedom of speech. For example, I would make a controversial statement during the interview and then ask the informant to respond to it. A classic example of such a statement was: *"What do you think of former minister Adriaan Vlok washing the feet of reverend Frank Chikane? Don't you think all Afrikaners should do something likewise?"*

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[10] In Annexure 1, you will find a profile of all the informants.

Or I would hold myself up to the informant as an example and then ask a question in relation to this. For example, I would say the following: *"The driving ability of black taxi drivers often makes me the hell in, and when this happens, I turn blatantly and shamelessly into a racist. Has something similar ever happened to you? What turns you into a racist?"*

The interactive participation in the semi-structured interviews definitely gave momentum to the conversation. Without a doubt, the fact that I could share my own narrative with the informants from time to time gave substance to the process of participative observation.

Fourthly, life histories and narrative were documented. The decision to use narrative in this study was taken because it is an important method to collect the views/opinions of young Afrikaners. Both Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:47), as well as Hassard (1994:141), emphasises the value of narrative in qualitative research.

2.5.2 <u>DATA CAPTURING</u>

All the interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the informants. A code was given to each interview, for example *"Participant-A, 21 May 2006"*. When more than one interview was conducted on one day, a letter of the alphabet was awarded to the different interviews (for example *"Participant-B, 18 June 2006").* Each interview was stored on computer and compact disk (CD). Attempts were made to listen to the interviews as soon after recording as possible, and to take notes. Key words, phrases and statements were transcribed. The information was considered and analysed the same day. These processes of evolvement (Hychner 1999:161) lead to five steps or phases, which were applied meticulously. The five steps are discussed fully in the following section (chapter 5.3), under the heading *"Unfolding and interpretation of data"*.

From the transcriptions, four types of field notes were created:

- Observational notes (ON) – *"What-happened"* notes, which were incidences which were significant enough for the researcher to note.

- Theoretical notes (TN) – *"Attempts to deduce the meaning",* when the researcher reflected on and contemplated on experiences.

- Methodological notes (MN) – *"Reminiscences, instructions or critique"* of the self, with regard to the process.

- Analytical memoranda (AM) – *"Daily fieldwork summary"* or progress reports.

It is important to note that the field notes already represent a step in the process of *"data-analysis"* (Morgan 1997:57-58). As the researcher, I had a need to prevent data as far as possible from being categorised prematurely, or *"forced"* into the research's frame of reference/possible preconceived notions.

In regard to each interview, a file was created with the following subdivisions:

- The informed consent agreement.
- Notes taken during the interview.
- The notes taken after each interview.
- Any notes or sketches the participant made during the interview, which were handed over to the researcher.
- Any additional information that the participant offered during the interview, for example personal documents.
- Any notes made during data-analysis process, for example the grouping of meanings into themes.
- The concept transcription and analysis of the interview offered to participants for validation purposes.
- The confirmation of accuracy and/or comments by participants later about the transcription and analysis of their interview.
- Any additional communication between the participants and the researcher.
- Observations made during the interview.

2.5.3 <u>UNFOLDING AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA</u>

The heading *"data-analysis"* is deliberately avoided here. Hychner (1999:161) warns that the term *"analysis"* holds dangerous connotations for qualitative research

methodology. According to him, it means *"breaking into parts",* which often leads to a loss of the global picture. On the other hand*, "unfolding"* means taking the contents of the situation into consideration, whereby the context of the whole is retained. A simplified rendering of the unfolding process by Hychner (1999:111)*,* as applied to this study, included the following five steps:

- *"Placing in brackets"* **and phenomenological reduction:** Placing in brackets refers to the researcher's personal opinions or assumptions without any reflection on the participant's unique experiential world (Miller & Crabtree 1992:47). In accord with the suggestion of Holloway (1997:202) and Hychner (1999:111), the researcher repeatedly listened to the audio-recording of each interview to become accustomed to the phrases, words and expressions (including the ideas and assumptions linked to them) used by each participant, in order to build up a holistic insight or "*gestalt*" of the informant's message.

- **Setting borders for units of consequence:** This was a critical phase in the development of the data, in the sense that the researcher had to undertake a substantive number of decisive follow-up of the data, but at the same time had to ensure that his own preconceived ideas were placed in brackets so that inappropriate subjective judgements could be avoided as far as possible. To do this, the number of times a value was mentioned or discussed, as well as the non-verbal or paralinguistic indications were noted. Any apparently similar concepts or ideas that differed in weight and chronological proceeding was also indicated and discussed.

- **Grouping of units of significance into themes:** The researcher identified meaningful themes (also called units of significance) in each interview by listening to each interview on multiple occasions. By investigating the significance of the different groupings, which indicated the essential emphasis of the interviews, central themes were identified.

- **Summary of interviews, validity testing and modification:** The holistic striving of the research was heightened by summarising the central themes. A validity test was done at this stage, which meant that each informant was re-approached to ensure that

the essence of the interview was understood correctly. Where necessary, modifications were applied in accordance with the results of the validity test.

- **General and unique themes from all the interviews and cumulative summary:** After completion of the process, as sketched above from point 1 to 4, the researcher identified the themes that appeared most regularly in the interviews, as well as the individual variations thereof. The last contained important, uniquely contrasting perspectives and arguments. A cumulative summary was compiled which reflected the context in which the themes appeared. At this stage, in compliance with the requirements of Sadala and Adorno (2001:289), the researcher changed the participants' general remarks into more appropriate scientific discourse, supported by the research. Preliminary theorising, irrespective of how limited, was applied to the qualitative data. This enabled the researcher to generate ideas, identify relationships and insights, as well as construct data (as described by Coffey & Atkinson 1996:139).

The interviews were conducted by way of an interview agenda. Most questions were assembled from information gathered during the preliminary investigation. The primary goal of setting the questions was to focus on authentic points of discussion within the Afrikaner community. The questions would thus be actual and relevant, and reflect the informant's opinions, value judgments and state of mind.

2.5.4 **TRUSTWORTHINESS AND VALIDITY**

In qualitative research trustworthiness refers to the accuracy and validity by which participation is described, as well as the interpretation thereof (Cresswell & Miller 2000:124). According to Marais and Mouton (1992:81) trustworthiness is dependent on the researcher, the individual participants studied, the measurement instruments and the research context. Guba (1981:215-216) maintains that the following four criteria increase the validity of qualitative research:

- **Truth values:** Truth values are demonstrated: (i) when the situation or research is described as accurately as possible; (ii) by asking appropriate questions; and (iii) by

phrasing or structuring questions so that ambiguity is limited (Hassard 1994:141). In this study it was attempted to increase the truth value by testing questions beforehand; by verifying empirical results with theoretic findings; by comparing the answers of different questions with one another; by using monitoring questions; and by applying cross validation, as remarked before. Where results collected in this manner differed dramatically from those of the researcher, it was indicated in the analysis of the data.

- **Applicability:** This indicates that the results are applicable in different contexts.

- **Stability:** This refers to the collection of similar results by using the same informants in comparable context, but a different researcher. Alternatively, the term indicates the internal validity of the research.

- **Neutrality:** In this context, neutrality does not mean the same as in the natural sciences, but rather whether the researcher is aware of his preconceived notions and whether he could limit this in his analysis and interpretations. LeCompte (2000:152) states that it is important that the data is seen to be trustworthy and valid. The following question must be asked continually to ensure this: *"Do I, the researcher, really understand and described what I am studying in the same way that the people who live it, do it? Did I really get it right?"* For this study, this question has been applied constantly throughout the analysis of the data.

2.5.5   PRESENTATION OF DATA

Placement of *"values", "culture", "identity"* and *"narrative"* within the context of discourse, represents a frank methodological attempt by the researcher to address the hegemonic imbalance that exists in traditional fieldwork situations. For example, using narrative requires genuine personal involvement, sincere listening and intense humane empathy by the researcher (according to the commentary of Ember & Ember 1977:51-52; Haviland 1999:16-17 and Rapapport 1999:10 in this regard). On the other hand, it assumes that there is an active inventor/storyteller. During the mutual interaction, the researcher and storyteller build the narrative together. Both contribute to the process and

both stand complementary to one another. The informant is the expert regarding the information on his life story. The researcher must therefore allow him to be drawn across the threshold into the world of the teller's life and thoughts. In terms of the professional reference outline, the researcher is the expert who plays an important role in the reformulation of information. At the moment of reformulation it is essential that the researcher and informant find each other and that reconstruction starts to take place.

In my opinion it is impossible to speak about Afrikaner narrative without drawing on the issue of creating myths. When concentrating on myths, it does not matter whether the specific myth is true or not – or which myths are true and which are false – but rather what the impact of that myth is on the culture, identity and narrative of the Afrikaner. Further more, this study does not examine the relatively superficial present-day myth building that makes life interesting and pleasing for some people (e.g. the Cheetah rugby jersey, McDonald's- advert-boards, and the more than life-sized advertisements for favourite types of beer). The significance of the myths, which this study pays attention to, lies deeper than those of bobotie, beer and boerewors. This point of departure, as elucidated by a quote from Adam Small (*Nuwe Verse* 1994:12), is that the *"'essentials' of the things"* and the *"memories"* linger and at long last are reduced to a *"story"* – and within this discourse, then changed to a myth. Myths that will be examined include:

- The creation myths of the Afrikaner, as well as myths regarding his heroes. In other words, myths aimed at instigating self-respect and a feeling of self-worth. These myths are/will be passed on as bedtime stories or lullabies by grandparents in children's rooms or around campfires (as every Afrikaner's grandfather was a hero during the Anglo-Boer war!)

- Radical myths, especially those in regard to political myth building, aimed at de-mything the other group's myths, or even demonising them. (To most Afrikaners, the Zulu king Dingaan was an arch villain and criminal).

- The myth concerning the *"liberation"* of Afrikaans from the albatross around its neck, which was proclaimed post 1994.

In the discussion of the myths around Afrikaans, factual events will be examined anecdotally and through example. Facts are often the *"fabric"* from which myths are feed and grow. The legend regarding the Afrikaner nation, for example, has developed and grown over a long period of time, but gained momentum and grew to mythical dimensions as result of the traumatic events of the Anglo-Boer war. The myth of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor had a long expansion in the colonial history of South Africa, but in actuality gained real impetus after events such as the uprisings in Sharpeville (1960) and Soweto (1976), and especially due to the death of Hector Peterson on 16 June 1976.

The aim of working by example is to show that myth building around Afrikaans as language has taken place from different angles; and secondly, to expand on the impact of the specific myth as part of the *"story of Afrikaners"*, which gives a person a clear indication of Afrikaner values.

The point of focus of this discourse however, will not be the events themselves, but the commencement and impact of the exact myth. The goal of this is to illustrate the degree to which myths regarding Afrikaans and the Afrikaner culture explain and illuminate the origins of the value systems of individuals and groups. It is important to note that, due to the extent of the legion of other myths which developed simultaneously to the main myth, it is not possible to investigate, or even list, all the myths and mythical figures which constitute part of the *"story of Afrikaners"*.

2.6 <u>GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF RESEARCH</u>

The empirical research was done in the Southern Free State. Geographically spoken, this area consists of the Motheo and Xhariep districts' municipalities. The area of research thus stretched from Bethulie and Philippolis in the Southern Free State, to Ladybrand and Bloemfontein in the North, a region of 48 081,73 km², and roughly 38% of the total surface area of the Free State (refer to Chart 1, on the next page):

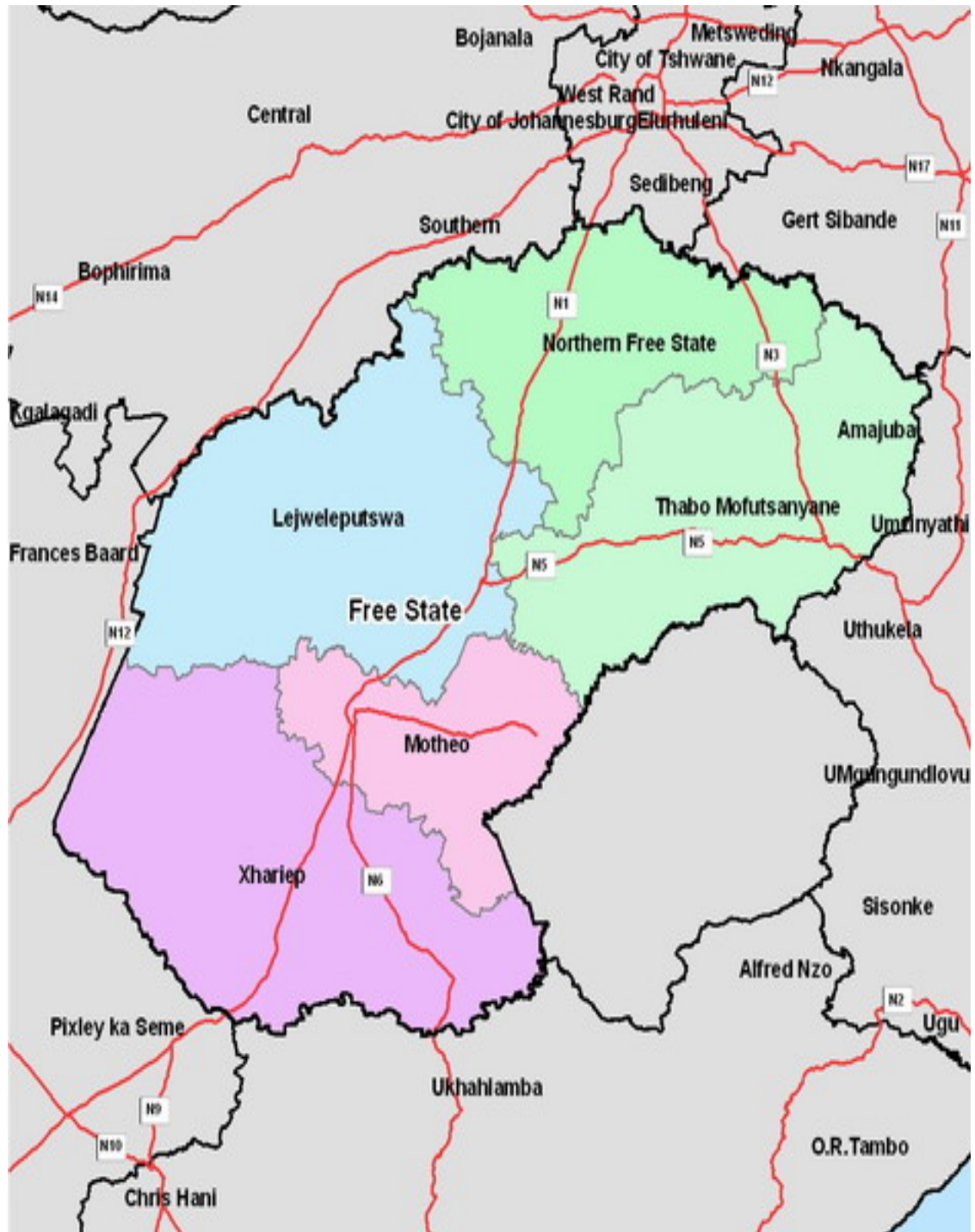**Chart 1**: Map of the Free State, that includes the Motheo and Xhariep district's municipalities

Chart 2: Map of the Free State and Xhariep district's municipality

Chart 3: Map of the Free State and Motheo districts municipality

These maps indicate the different towns in the Motheo and Xhariep district municipalities. After the Northern Cape, the Free State is the second most poorly settled and developed province in South Africa. Excluding Bloemfontein (and the rest of the Mangaung municipal area) that already has city standing, the rest of the Southern Free State has a typical rural character. Farming is the primary source of income in this region.

Demographically spoken, around 1 088 036 people live in the Southern Free State, of whom 896 969 are black (primary South-Sotho, Xhosa and Tswana speaking), 48 448 are Coloureds and a small number are Asians (the Asians comprise about 2 000 Chinese and 100 Indians). Ninety percent of the Coloureds are Afrikaans speaking. There are 12 146 English speaking whites in this area, while the Afrikaans speaking whites number 130 469 (*The Integrated Development Plan 2006/2007 for Xhariep and Motheo District Municipalities.)*

The demographic distribution of the Southern Free State is indicated in table 1, 2 and 3. Table 1 shows the population distribution on grounds of ethnicity per municipality in the Southern Free State. Table 2 indicates the Afrikaner distribution in rural versus urban habitation per municipality in the Southern Free State. Table 3 shows the age distribution among Afrikaners per municipality in the Southern Free State. Lastly, table 4 indicates the population dispersal according to the unemployment numbers and income distribution per municipality in the Southern Free State. (All the information, as noted, was put together from *The Integrated Development Plan for 2006/2007 for the Xhariep and the Motheo District Municipalities).* The most noteworthy tendencies deducted from the established demographic information, includes:

- Whites in the two research areas comprise 10,54% of the total population composition. This corresponds with the national population composition in South Africa. During 2001 the whites comprised 9,6% of the total population of South Africa (*South African Central Statistical Service* 2001:12). The only noteworthy difference is the larger number of white Afrikaners compared to English speaking whites in this research area.

- The overpowering numerical dissemination of black population groups in these two research areas, namely 82,44%, again concurs with the national census statistics of 2001. In 2001, black population groups represented 79% of the total population distribution in South Africa (*South African Central Statistical Service* 2001: 13).

- The Afrikaner urbanisation figures in the two research areas again significantly corresponds to that of the rest of South Africa. More than 83% of the Afrikaners in these areas are urbanised, or live in a town. According to the Department of Demography of the University of the Witwatersrand, 84,27% of all Afrikaners were urbanized in 2004 (Roberts, as quoted in Trienda and others 2006:84).

- Basically, the population composition of Afrikaners according to age category in the two research areas is basically the only tendency that differs from national trends. From the 2001 census statistics, nationally 20,89% of Afrikaners are older than 50 years (*South African Central Statistics Service* 2001:33). The demographic statistics in the two research areas indicate that 24,67% of Afrikaners are older than 50 years. The reason for the higher number of older people in the noted research areas is due to the large number of retirement resorts and old age homes in the region. In Bloemfontein alone there are 14 retirement resorts, and each town in the Southern Free State features a large, established old age home. Good medical services and the availability of hospitals are the primary reasons for the large number of retirement resorts in Bloemfontein.

- The unemployment and income of Afrikaners in the two research areas again correspond with the national demographic statistics. According to the Solidarity Union, the unemployment figure among Afrikaners is 23,12% at present (Herman in *Rapport* 12 February 2006:14). Unemployment among Afrikaners in the two research areas was 22,86%.

Following, the indicated tables and graphs are presented on the next page:

TABLE 1: Population composition in the Southern Free state, according to ethnic origin

Municipalities	MOTHEO DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			XHARIEP DISTRICTS MUNICIPALITY			
	Mangaung	Naledi	Mantsopa	Mohokare	Kopanong	Letsemeng	
TOWNS	Bloemfontein Mangaung Botshabelo Thaba Nchu	Dewetsdorp Wepener Van Stadensrus	Ladybrand Hobhouse Thaba Phatswa Tweespruit Excelsior	Zastron Smithfield Rouxville	Edenburg Trompsburg Springfontein Bethulie Philippolis Jagersfontein Fauresmith Gariepdam	Luckhoff Petrusburg Koffiefontein Jacobsdal	TOTAL
TOTAL POPULATION	**864,429**	**27,471**	**57,899**	**39,316**	**55,942**	**42,975**	**1,088,032**
Blacks	**729,153**	**23,748**	**47,215**	**28,686**	**37,961**	**30,206**	**896,969**
% of total population	84,35%	86,45%	81,55%	72,96%	67,86%	70,29%	82,44%
Coloureds & Asians	**33,752**	**1,089**	**3,840**	**2,121**	**4,095**	**3,551**	**48,448**
% of total population	3,90%	3,96%	6,63%	5,39%	7,32%	8,26%	4,45%
Afrikaans-speaking Whites	**91,095**	**2,506**	**5,766**	**8,322**	**13,688**	**9,092**	**130,469**
% of total population	10,54%	9,12%	9,96%	21,17%	24,47%	21,16%	11,99%
White English speaking persons	**10,429**	**128**	**1,078**	**187**	**198**	**126**	**12,146**
% of total population	1,21%	0,47%	1,86%	0,48%	0,35%	0,29%	1,12%

T*he Integrated Development Plan 2006/2007 for the Xhariep and Motheo District Municipalities.*

Graph 1: Population in the Southern Free State, according to ethnic origin
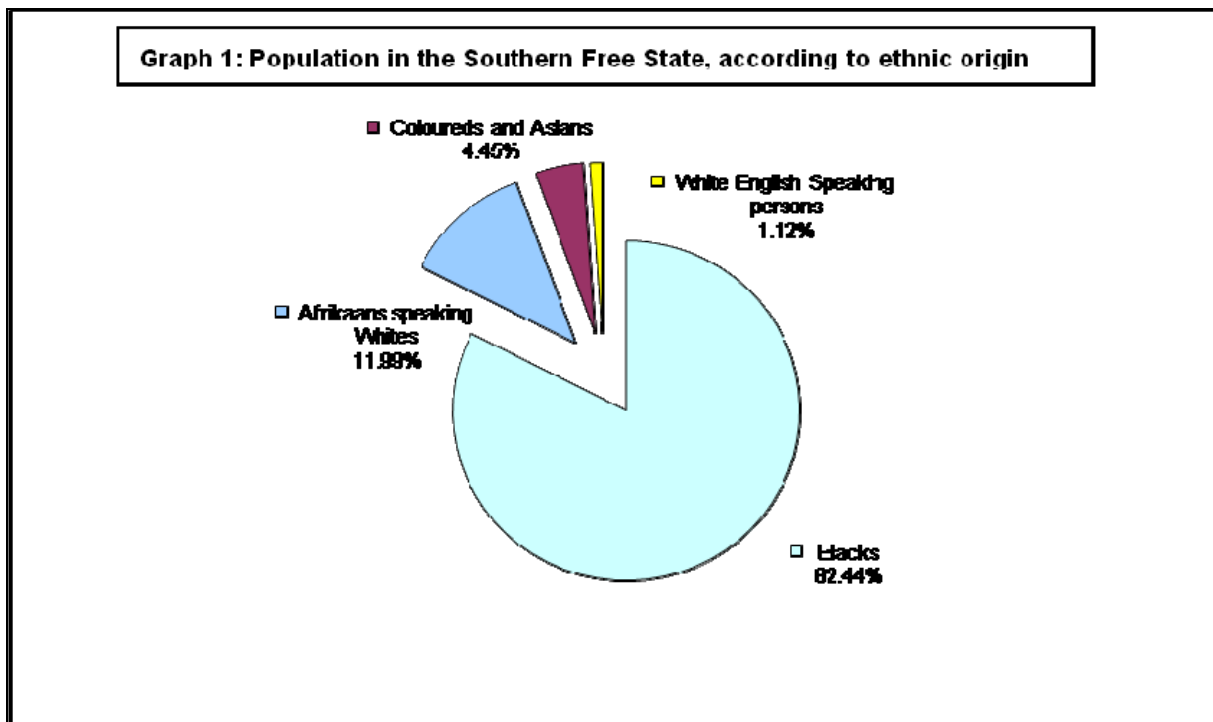
TABLE 2: Afrikaners in the Southern Free State, according to urban and rural distribution

Municipality	MOTHEO DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			XHARIEP DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			
Municipality	Mangaung	Naledi	Mantsopa	Mohokare	Kopanong	Letsemeng	
TOWNS	Bloemfontein Mangaung Botshabelo Thaba Nchu	Dewetsdorp Wepener Van Stadensrus	Ladybrand Hobhouse Thaba Phatswa Tweespruit Excelsior	Zastron Smithfield Rouxville	Edenburg Trompsburg Springfontein Bethulie Philippolis Jagersfontein Fauresmith Gariepdam	Luckhoff Petrusburg Koffiefontein Jacobsdal	TOTAL
TOTAL AFRIKANER POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN FREE STATE	**91,095**	**2,506**	**5,766**	**8,322**	**13,688**	**9,092**	**130,469**
Afrikaner population urban areas in the Southern Free State	**89,558**	**1,309**	**3,688**	**4,215**	**6,289**	**4,011**	**109,070**
% In urban areas	98,31%	52,23%	63,96%	50,65%	45,95%	44,12%	83,60%
Afrikaner population in rural areas in the Southern Free Sate	**1,537**	**1,197**	**2,078**	**4,107**	**7,399**	**5,081**	**21,399**
% In rural areas	1,69%	47,77%	36,40%	49,35%	54,05%	55,88%	16,40%

The Integrated Development Plan 2006/2007 for the Xhariep and Motheo District Municipalities.
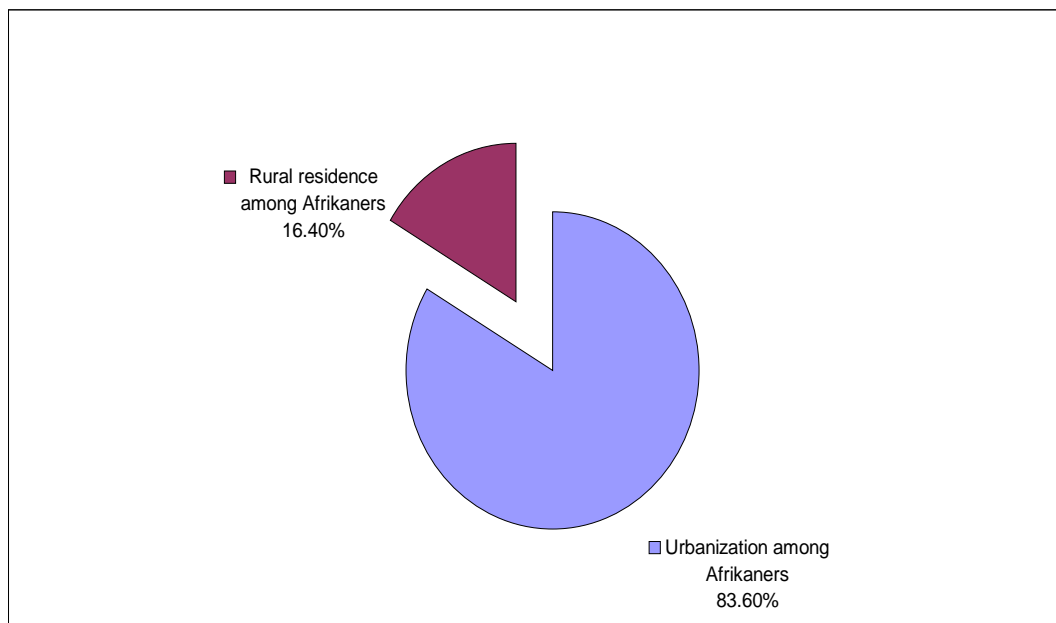
TABLE 3: Population composition of Afrikaners in the Southern Free State according to age
category

	MOTHEO DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			XHARIEP DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			
Municipality	Mangaung	Naledi	Mantsopa	Mohokare	Kopanong	Letsemeng	
TOWNS	Bloemfontein Mangaung Botshabelo Thaba Nchu	Dewetsdorp Wepener Van Stadensrus	Ladybrand Hobhouse Thaba Phatswa Tweespruit Excelsior	Zastron Smithfield Rouxville	Edenburg Trompsburg Springfontein Bethulie Philippolis Jagersfontein Fauresmith Gariepdam	Luckhoff Petrusburg Koffiefontein Jacobsdal	TOTAL
TOTAL AFRIKANERS PER MUNICIPALITY IN THE SOUTHERN FREE STATE	**91,095**	**2,508**	**5,766**	**8,322**	**13,688**	**9,092**	**130,469**
White Afrikaners younger than 20 years in the Southern Free State	**31,791**	**391**	**1,619**	**795**	**1,437**	**2,044**	**38,077**
%	34,90%	15,60%	28,08%	9,55%	10,50%	22,48%	29,18%
White Afrikaners between 20-30 years in the Southern Free State	**21,568**	**382**	**1,201**	**2,513**	**2,608**	**1,194**	**29,466**
%	23,68%	15,24%	20,83%	30,20%	19,05%	13,13%	22,58%
White Afrikaners between 30-50 years in the Southern Free State	**22,722**	**1,008**	**1,954**	**3,373**	**2,611**	**2,074**	**33,742**
%	24,94%	40,22%	33,89%	40,53%	19,08%	22,81%	25,86%
White Afrikaners over 50 years over 50 years in the Southern Free State	**18,014**	**725**	**992**	**1,641**	**7,032**	**3,780**	**32,184**
%	19,77%	28,93%	17,20%	19,72%	15,37%	41,58%	24,67%

*The Integrated Development Plan 2006/2007 for the Xhariep and Motheo District
Municipalities.*

White Afrikaners between the age of 20 and 30 years 22.58%

White Afrikaners aged 50 years and older 24.67%

White Afrikaners 20 years and younger 29.18%

White Afrikaners between 30 and 50 years 25.86%
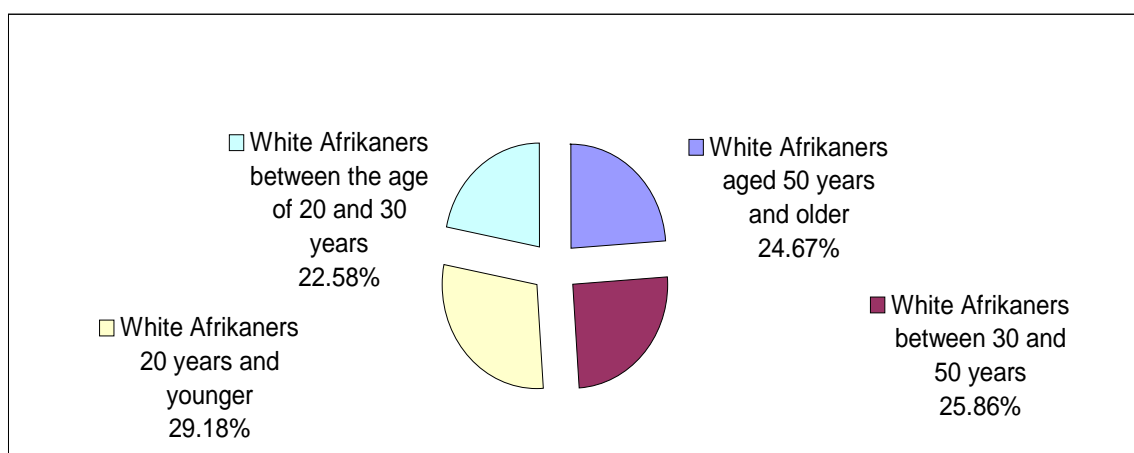
Table 4: Afrikaners in the Southern Free State according to unemployment and income

	MOTHEO DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			XHARIEP DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY			
Municipality	Mangaung	Naledi	Mantsopa	Mohokare	Kopanong	Letsemeng	
TOWNS	Bloemfontein Mangaung Botshabelo Thaba Nchu	Dewetsdorp Wepener Van Stadensrus	Ladybrand Hobhouse Thaba Phatswa Tweespruit Excelsior	Zastron Smithfield Rouxville	Edenburg Trompsburg Springfontein Bethulie Philippolis Jagersfontein Fauresmith Gariepdam	Luckhoff Petrusburg Koffiefontein Jacobsdal	TOTAL
TOTAL AFRIKANER POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN FREE STATE	**91,095**	**2,506**	**5,766**	**8,322**	**13,688**	**9,092**	**130,469**
Unemployment under Afrikaners	**18,794**	**611**	**1,659**	**2,201**	**3,459**	**3,105**	**29,829**
%	20,63%	24,38%	28,77%	26,45%	25,27%	34,15%	22,86%
Afrikaners who earn R100–R13,000 p.m.	**51,643**	**1,641**	**2,993**	**5,922**	**9,63**	**5,677**	**77,507**
%	56,69%	65,48%	51,91%	71,16%	70,36%	62,44%	59,41%
Afrikaners who earn more than R13,000 p.m.	**20,658**	**254**	**1,114**	**199**	**598**	**312**	**23,135**
%	22,68%	10,14%	19,32%	2,39%	4,37%	3,43%	17,73%

The Integrated Development Plan 2006/2007 for the Xhariep and Motheo District Municipalities.
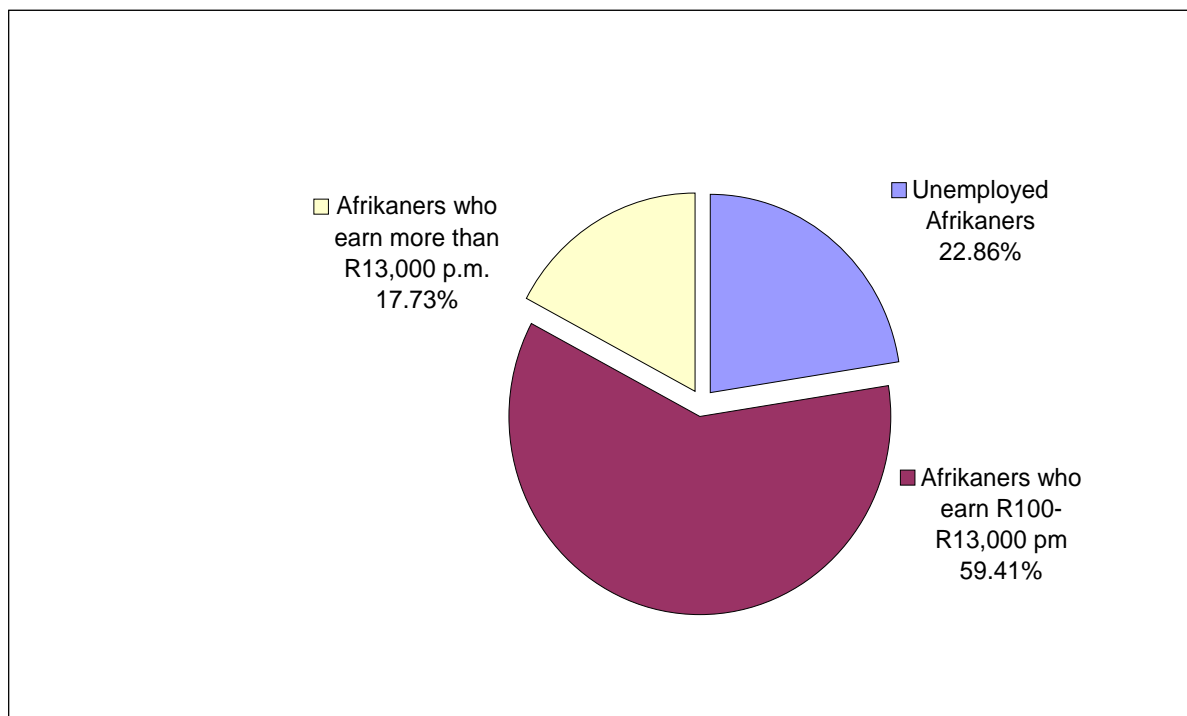
2.7 THE RESEARCH GROUP

In the Motheo municipality area eleven interviews were conducted with Afrikaners between the ages of 18 and 30 years. The corresponding number of informants in the Xhariep municipal area was six. Nine of the informants were female, and eight male. Five of the informants had tertiary education, while the rest, excluding one, had matriculation certificates. Eight informants had been overseas, of who four worked abroad for longer than a year. Although not one of the individually interviewed informants was unemployed, three did a menial or alternative job other than that for which they had been trained, or had hoped for. From the group sessions category, two informants were unemployed. According to this information, the research group (informants) was divers and typical. In other words, the group was a representative cross section of the broader Afrikaans community, aged 18 to 30 years.

In Annexure 1, a short background sketch of each informant is provided. These background sketches were done in order to place the narrative in context. This ensures a holistic perspective for the reader regarding whose narrative is being discussed, the origin thereof, and how each narrative is actually an analogue of his/her own experiential life, as well as his/her outlook regarding life and world values. It is important to keep in mind that all the names employed to identify informants in this empirical study are pseudonyms. The individual informants each chose their pseudonym themselves, to protect their true identities and to ensure that they narrate their personal stories honesty and openly, without any inhibition.

2.8 ETHICS

Ethical research was ensured by obtaining informed consent from the informants. For this goal, a specific consent agreement was developed. The following exact items were included in the agreement, namely:

- Individually written consent to take part in the research;
- The goal of the research (without stating the central research question);
- The method of work during the research;

- The risks and benefits of the research;
- The measures applied to ensure confidentiality.

Strydom (1989:24-33) as well as Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002:66) state that specific ethical fundamentals lie at the core of research. These fundamentals were identified, and their application in this study is set out as follows:

- **Informants may not be jeopardized**. It can be stated with absolute conviction that no participant was in any way put at risk, injured or threatened. The identity of each informant has been kept confidential and no opinion expressed in the final report has been associated with a person or even a specific group.

- **Informed consent regarding participation.** All informants were fully informed, both verbally as well as in writing, in regard to what the aim of the research was, as well as what their involvement and contribution would be. No person was placed under any kind of obligation to take part in the research. In order to protect participants' privacy, their comments and opinions were examined anonymously and kept confidential.

- **Worthiness of the researcher.** The researcher only attempted the empirical research after a thorough exploration of qualitative research techniques, as well as a meticulous literature study and source analysis.

- **Publication of the findings.** The research findings will be freely available, without reserve, as agreed upon by all participants.

2.9   NATURE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The nature of the research results have been formulated through inductive argumentation. In this case, the premise boasts a proportion of inductive support to the conclusion, therefore it may be argued that the conclusion is most probably true (Salmon 1973:14). This however means that the possibility still remains (however improbable it may sound) that new empirical evidence to the contrary may be obtained. The conclusion

by inductive argument is therefore not logically inevitable (Mouton and others 1988:13).

To a large extent the research results can be inferred to the rest of Afrikaners in South Africa, even though the study is about the experience of post-apartheid South Africa of young Afrikaners in the Southern Free State. Gertenbach (Afrikaner Bond Newsletter, September 2000:11-14) as well as Aucamp and Swanepoel (2005:14) maintain that the Southern Free State has always been regarded as a reliable barometer for the cultural, religious and political perspective of the Afrikaner psyche. In other words, to a larger or lesser extent the results of this research study can be made applicable to the Afrikaner in general.

2.10 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

In the daily life of the Afrikaner, there is her/his *"private living space"* on the one hand, where Afrikaner values, culture, identity and morality is designed and played out. On the opposite side, there is the broader, inter-subjective South African context, which is shared by all the residents of South Africa. The last represents the transactional space (as created and maintained by the Constitution), in which the Afrikaner experiences the post-apartheid South Africa.

The epistemological grounding of this study, and the selected and described methodology and systematic method of research, was chosen taking into account the unique challenges created by the two mentioned *"living spaces"*. Narrative is mainly used as an instrument to unveil, develop and sketch the experience of Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa, using their own words. In-depth interviews, group sessions, observation and literature studies illustrate Afrikaners' experiences of their own culture, values and identity. The results that were obtained with application of the selected methods and techniques are presented in the articles in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE: PUBLISHED ARTICLES

INTRODUCTION

Article 1 deals with *"Values as a cultural aspect of the Afrikaner",* where it is argued that although anthropologists differ regarding the character and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the idea that culture is based on and integrated by shared, fundamental values is a common anthropological assumption. Therefore, the *main aim* of this article is to enquire into how values (as well as which ones) contributed to Afrikaner culture.

Article 2 covers *"Values as part of the Afrikaner Identity".* The restructuring and transformation of the broader South African society, and the inevitable effects of the forces of the twenty-first century's globalisation and post-modernism have indeed heralded an advent of the era of nihilism for the Afrikaner identity and placed their dominant values under pressure. De Klerk's (1979:115) remark that, if everything associated with Christianity is rejected, watered down or pushed aside, the core of the Afrikaner's outlook on life will be endangered, has been verified. The impact of the disintegration of the Afrikaner's dominant value is clearly visible on all sides.

This disintegration, as well as the concomitant change in the Afrikaner's judgment of values in a post-apartheid and globalised South Africa will be discussed in depth in this article. Contrary to the first article, this one specifically covers aspects of Afrikaner identity.

Article 3 focuses on *"An Anthropological Perspective on Afrikaner Narratives and Myths"*. The line of argumentation in this article is as follows: Firstly, man is born with the ability and desire to express and receive stories; secondly, up to 1990 a master Afrikaner narrative was constructed around church membership, commitment to political power and party membership, as well as dedication to cultural organizations such as the Broederbond; and lastly, that the disintegration of this master narrative has lead to the question whether alternative, smaller Afrikaner narratives have developed to replace it.

Article 4: The theme of this article is *"Religion as part of Afrikaner Identity"*. The religious influence that played a role in the evolution of the Afrikaner nation is often not fully understood or appreciated, and sometimes is even overlooked. Therefore, this article focuses primarily on the impact of the Afrikaners' apartheid religion on their identity in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Article 5 investigates *"Morality as a part of Afrikaner values"*. On the basis of the assumption that morality has been determined at different times by the Afrikaner group's value judgments in respect of God, as well as by the church, the state, the clan or race (and now, apparently, by secular society with its post-modernist perspectives) it is argued that social groups have different value judgments at different times, and for different reasons. Post-apartheid South Africa, with its liberal constitution, represents such a situation. This article investigates trends in the modern-day Afrikaner's morality.

ARTICLE 1

<u>VALUES AS CULTURAL ASPECT OF AFRIKANERS</u>

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ARTICLE 1

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"In times of crisis, culture is not a luxury, but the highest form of self-defence. This is because culture stands for internal order, and internal order is the foundation of all civilisation."

(Hennie Aucamp 1994:19)

1.1 <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

The attribution of a specific culture, or cultural characteristics, to a group in order to identify that specific group is a common phenomenon in anthropology. In this regard, the crux of the matter lies in the fact that identity is embedded in a unique culture, and that culture is essential for the reproduction of identity. Although anthropologists differ regarding the nature and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the notion that culture and identity are based on, and integrated by, shared fundamental values is a common anthropological assumption (cf. Barth 1969:102; Benedict 1952:43; Despres 1975:40; Geertz 1964:23 and Mönnig 1980:32).

In view of the foregoing, values are used in this article as the point of departure in order to shed light on the culture and identity of Afrikaners, both in a pre-1994 and a post-1994 context.[12] Thus, the concept of *"values",* as well as the way in which this concept is linked to culture and identity will be discussed.

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[11] Notwithstanding the problematical aspects involved in the formulation of definitions, particularly within a post-modernist context, it was decided, for the purposes of this article, to proceed from the point of departure that Afrikaners comprise a white population group with an own culture. Afrikaners are probably one of the most recent examples of ethnogenesis. The definition of the Afrikaner is explained in details in the preamble.

[12] On 27 April 1994, South Africa became a full-fledged democratic state. This date can rightfully be regarded as the end of the Apartheid era. During that era, white Afrikaners had all power at their disposal, and they also created many pieces of legislation that discriminated against South Africans of colour. According to Slabbert (1999:49-51), an official Afrikaner identity existed in the period leading up to and including 1990, which was largely determined by a grand narrative constructed around church membership, commitment to political power and party membership, as well as membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. According to authors such as Vosloo (*Die Burger*, 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (http://www.praag.org/ - 2005:4 of 13), the loss of this official identity after 1994 has left Afrikaners marginalised and plunged them into an existential crisis. In this regard, it should be pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual ties with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and the Afrikaans language are in the process of changing, and are even becoming attenuated, and that many Afrikaners are increasingly pursuing a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

Currently, it can probably be assumed that most anthropological textbooks still refer to the 1871 definition of culture by Edwin Burnett Tylor (1903:3). However, this does not mean that there is unanimity among anthropologists regarding the question as to *what* culture is. Fifty-five years ago Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:114) already referred to the confusion that had arisen as a result of the hundreds of different existing definitions. For the purposes of this article, in concurrence with the views of authors such as Thornton (1990:120) and Timmerman (2000:18), it will be assumed that cultural characteristics and qualities are formalised, selected and transformed into identity emblems through mental constructions. Decisions relating to ideas thus determine which meaning, understandings and value should be attributed to culture. The same is true of ethnic identity. Several authors (Banton 1994:2; Collier 1998:131; Dominquez 1994:333; Sharp 1988:80 and Webster 1991:245) agree that ethnic groups, boundaries and identities are not permanent. Fundamentally, they are rather a construction of the human capacity of portrayal. This construction does not represent an entity with a practical, concrete existence in itself. It is an idea existing within the thoughts of human beings, the meaning of which depends on how many people share that idea. Therefore, one cannot really ask questions about the actual characteristics thereof; one can only enquires as to who believes in this idea and behaves as if it were a reality.

1.2 <u>VALUES AS AN ASPECT OF CULTURE</u>

Because the concept of *"values"* has different meanings in different disciplines, a general definition will be provided before values are discussed as an aspect of culture.

In the philosophy of science in general, according to Joubert (1984:114), the term *"values"* is used to refer to ideal, desirable qualities, or to the criteria that apply to the practice of science. Examples of such values include: truth, logic, empiricity, objectivity, etcetera. In the philosophy of history, values refer to considerations that come into play in the interpretation of historical events (Degenaar 1984b:12). Political values, on the other hand, are criteria and ideals that apply to the exercise of politics (Slabbert 1999:53-54). Judicial values are normative principles in the administration of justice (Degenaar 1984b:14), while religious values are linked to concepts that are often expressed in terms of precepts (*"thou shalt"* and *"thou shalt not"*) that have a transcendental origin, and which indicate the correct attitudes and conduct towards other persons, as prescribed by

a deity (Joubert 1984:115).

As a result of the above-mentioned factors, values are usually defined either in terms of strict disciplinary contexts, or in general terms. Degenaar (1984b:24), for example, defines values as principles; Joubert (1984:119) defines them in terms of interpersonal actions and relationships; while Rokeach (1969:124) defines the concept of *"value"* as follows*: "A type of belief, centrally located within one's total belief system, about how one ought to or ought not to behave, or about some end-state of existence worth or not worth attaining."*

The question regarding the nature and essence of values can be traced far back in the history of philosophical thought. According to Degenaar (1984b:28), Socrates was the first thinker who made a meaningful contribution regarding values. He placed particular emphasis on the objectivity and absoluteness of ethical values. Plato's theory of ideas culminates in his views regarding ethical values (relating to goodness) and aesthetic values (relating to beauty) (Dreyer 1975:31). In Aristotle's theory of morphology, aesthetic values are grounded in cosmic reality. According to him, values therefore have a strongly cosmological character (Dreyer 1975:96). In contrast to Aristotle, Kant transfers values from the cosmic to the personal sphere. In his view that which is good is subject to the reasonable will of human beings. Thus, the will that is disposed towards goodness is the only thing that is good in itself (Bach 1975:66-72). Likewise, according to Kant, beauty is a matter of reasonable judgement, rather than of enjoyment or emotion. The appreciation of beauty does not necessarily imply knowledge of its characteristics but *"…comes about when there is a general harmony between the powers of the human mind and the form and features of the thing whose beauty we take [it upon] ourselves to grasp"* (Bach 1975:75).

In anthropological circles, the first systematic account of the concept of *"values"* is probably found in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* – a study by Thomas and Znaniecki which was first published in the USA during 1927. In this study, which focuses on the organisation of rural Polish groups and the effect of industrialisation on these groups, a value is regarded as any accessible or observable object that has meaning for the members of a cultural and/or social group. In the view of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1927:31-32) such an object comprises a perceptible *"thing",* plus the

significance that it has in respect of a specific type of action. The reservation of the concept *"value"*, for the purpose of referring to objects of orientation, must be understood in terms of the distinction that Thomas and Znaniecki drew between attitude and object. On the basis of this distinction, the rules of society are accorded an objective status. However, rules do not only elicit attitudes; they are also expressions of attitude. By placing values and attitudes opposite to one another, the authors on the one hand attempt to explain the dichotomy between the individual and society, and between personality and social organisation. On the other hand, this enables them to link values and attitudes to the actions of a human being in a society and/or cultural situation. According to the authors, values remains a purely cultural object, while attitudes have a purely psychological content. As a result, in terms of norms, no real insight is reached in respect of the individual's actions and behaviour. Even though, in a later publication, Znaniecki (1952:122) attempted to link the objective to the subjective – in other words, to link values (as norms) to the individual – he never succeeds in providing a satisfactory account of the individual's normative actions.

In contrast to Thomas and Znaniecki, Faris (1937:23) adds the component of subjectivity. Although, in concurrence with the views of Durkheim, Spencer and Sumner (according to Parsons 1951:33), Faris (1937:23) acknowledge the super-organic character of culture – in other words, the fact that culture influences human behaviour in an independent manner – he also recognises personality as the subjective aspect of culture (Faris 1937:27).

G. H. Mead's (1946:128-129) insightful portrayal of the manner in which attitudes become a part of personality comprises a logical follow-up to Faris' general insights in this regard. According to Mead, the notion of *"self"* is essentially a cultural-societal construct that develops during the process of social experience and activity. The unique character of this experience and activity lies in the process of symbolic communication. Mead (1946:181) defines a symbol as a stimulus, the response to which has already been determined or indicated beforehand. Thus, when a person uses symbols in communication, these symbols only have meaning because they evoke the same ideas in the first person as they do in the individual who is being communicated with. During communication, the individual speaks to others and to him-/herself at the same time (Mead 1946:150).

Faris, like Mead, conceptualises values as attitudes. Faris' statement that social attitudes comprise the subjective aspect of objective values, and that personality is the subjective aspect of culture, led to the establishment of a new school of thought regarding values in a cultural-societal context. Mead's account of the way in which prevalent attitudes in society become part of the personality gives substance and specificity to Faris' general principle.

H. Becker (1950:134) defines values as follows: *"Values are any objects of any needs."* He provides the following examples of values: *"Swiss cheese, 'pie in the sky', well-being, misery, concealed pride, a prestigious Cadillac, an enemy soldier, Satan, glory, and ten dollar debts are all objects of needs of some kind, and in our sense, values"* (Becker 1950:134). If values are equated with objects and needs, then even actions can be regarded as values. In fact, Becker does not make a clear distinction between values and actions. In addition to more tangible objects, essential actions, patterns of behaviour and norms also refer to as values (Becker 1950:135). In summary, Becker's viewpoint boils down to the following: Values refer to any objects that are simultaneously known, desired and normed by human beings. The aforementioned process can be summed up in the term *"evaluation"* since values are the result of evaluations. Regarding the question as to how values are expressed in a society, Becker explains that people, in their actions (shortly, people as actors), consciously or unconsciously take account of the greater whole, the comprehensive cultural framework, as well as the value system in which the situation exists.

In the discussion thus far it has been pointed out that Thomas and Znaniecki regarded values primarily as cultural objects; that Faris and Mead also viewed values as elements of personality; and that Becker conceptualised the value system as existing within the human being, while also being linked to society. In turn, Sorokin's contribution formally acknowledges that values exist simultaneously in culture, personality and society.

Although Sorokin does not provide a precise, formal definition of the concept *"value"*, in his treatise entitled *Society, Culture and Personality*, a clear picture of what he means by the term can be obtained on the basis of his views and statements. In the first place, values comprise a specific class of meanings. A meaning must be understood as an idea in the human consciousness, which transcends the biological attributes of a phenomenon.

By virtue thereof, such an idea becomes important in the thoughts and actions of its bearer (Sorokin 1948:40). Sorokin differentiates between cognitive meanings, meaningful values (e.g. economic values) and norms, which in turn refer to standards. However, the listed concepts (meanings, values and norms) are also used interchangeably by Sorokin (1948:47).

Secondly, Sorokin (1948:93) also typifies aspirations and desires as values, which are essentially elements of personality. Goals, interests and foci, as well as the shared characteristics of members of a cultural group or society, are typified in the same way (Sorokin 1948:173). Lastly, he distinguishes between absolute and relative values. Absolute values are equated to, or regarded as a part of God: *"The ultimate nature of the values is another term for what others call God"* (Sorokin 1948:255). In this regard, he refers to *"... the central idea of God as the ultimate true reality and the absolute true value"* (Sorokin 1948:230).

Sorokin (1948:11-16) postulated that meanings, values or norms, as ideas are immaterial, and do not occupy space. Moreover, they are timeless and are objectified and externalised by the actions of human beings. In the determination of values, the actions of people and the products of their interactions must be studied. However, Sorokin attempts to determine more than just the values of separate cultural objects, since his aim is to ultimately designate one central meaning for a society, which can serve as the logical focal point of the integration of all lesser meanings and subordinate systems of meaning. In this regard, he identifies what he calls the *"three great ideas"* of a society, namely the *"Ideational"*, the *"Idealistic"* and the *"Sensate"* – which jointly typify and distinguish the value systems of a society.

In Sorokin's (1948:70) view, meanings/values/norms are of crucial importance in defining a cultural group, since they impart a distinguishable identity to the group in question. Thus, the maintenance of the central system of meanings/values/norms comprises the most important prerequisite for the continuity of a group.

In contrast to a general distinction usually drawn between expectations in respect of the operation of natural processes, and expectations that are linked to human aspirations and ideals. Kluckhohn (1960:116-117) is of the opinion that a division should be made

between that which is believed (the existential), that which is desired (the desired), and that which should be desired (the desirable). That which is *desirable* must be clearly differentiated from that which is *desired*, since values do not only represent what people want or desire, but also what they believe or think they should desire or strive for. Against this background, Kluckhohn defines a *"value"* as *"...a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."*

The components of the definition above is explained by Kluckhohn (1960:295-310) as follows: The definition accentuates the inter-relationship between culture, the social system and personality. The components of the threefold division, namely affective, cognitive and conative aspects, can respectively be related back to the concepts of *"the desirable", "conception"* and *"selection"*. In Kluckhohn's (1960:295-310) view, this means that all three the mentioned modes play a role in respect of values; while the notion of a *"conception"* identifies values as a cognisant or mental construct. The latter element distinguishes values from sentiments, emotions, cravings, urges and needs. Values as conceptions of the desirable are functionally essential for the predictability of actions. This predictability is indispensable for a person's security, as well as for the purposes of social and cultural order.

The concept *"desirable"* is a product of culture, which manifests itself in the life of a society. When this is internalised by an individual, it plays a decisive role in his/her life. Values motivate the bearer's actions, but cannot be equated with motivation. In fact, values channel motivation (Kluckhohn 1960:400).

Kluckhohn (1960:403) uses the concept of *"value-orientation"* as a conception of value that is general and organised, and which contains a definite existential judgement or proposition. When it is formulated as a statement, it represents the individual's or the group's definition of philosophy on the meaning of life, which includes views on the nature of the universe, as well as the relationship between human beings and the natural (as well as the supernatural) universe, and the relationship between human beings. Thus, according to Kluckhohn (1960:411-415), a value-orientation is more comprehensive than a value. He identifies patterns or systems of value-orientation. These patterns or systems invest culture with coherence, integration and uniqueness.

In the opinion of P.J. Coertze (1979:33), values are the most directional element in a culture. He makes no mention of values within the context of the individual (personality) or the social system. According to Coertze, a value system is one of fifteen universal aspects of culture. Coertze (1979:32) thus defines values as a cultural aspect that is related to the mental processes of a human being, and which are closely bound up with his/her attempts to ensure a happy existence for him-/herself. Values originate through cohabitation, cooperation, suffering and striving together. Over the course of time, they develop into a conventional system.

Coertze (1979:34) further differentiates between truth-related or logical values (logos), moral or ethical values (ethos), values relating to beauty (aesthesis, which are known as aesthetic values or aesthetics), and pragmatic values (pragmatics), which are related to usefulness. Logical values have a bearing on the factual and logical evaluation of phenomena in reality. As soon as a person begins to evaluate, he/she has begun to build a personal value system (Coertze 1979:34).

The existence of **truth-related or logical values** is linked to the categorisation of phenomena according to a factual and logical evaluation; the classification of phenomena and categories in accordance with the above-mentioned evaluation; the linking together of status' and categories of phenomena in accordance with the classification; and the presence of behavioural patterns in respect of the categories of phenomena in coherence with the status hierarchy that has been established according to the classification.

Moral or ethical values have a bearing on the evaluation of conscious and willed behaviour, specifically with regard to judgements in respect of what is good or bad, or what is right or wrong about such behaviour. The value judgements that are passed in this regard are thus concerned with the essence and nature of the behaviour, and not with the behaviour itself, as such. According to Coertze (1979:37), that which an ethos regards as being good and right – along with that which it does *not* regard as being so – does not comprise a given norm; rather, it is based on the judgement, insights and knowledge of earlier generations, which are passed on as a cultural heritage. The ethical norm is thus corroborated by the supposed truth thereof.

With regard to **aesthetic or beauty-related values**, Coertze (1979:38) differentiates between the judgement of aesthetic values in modern cultures, and the corresponding judgement as applied in *"primitive"* cultures. He alleges that, amongst the stereotyped cultural conditions that are characteristic of so-called primitive cultures, a stronger cultural attachment, and thus a higher degree of stereotyping of aesthetic utterances can be discerned.

According to Coertze (1979:38), pragmatic values have a bearing on the evaluation of the usefulness of people, things, and the unseen, with a view to ensuring survival and continued well-being. Such evaluations are made on the basis of certain logical or truth-related values on phenomena, which may be useful in the practical lives of human beings (Coertze 1979:38).

Thus far, values can be generally conceptualised in summary as comprising of:

- A component of human action which is manifested in the culture of an ethnos;

- A component of action that lies within the normative dimension of behaviour;

- A conception of the desirable – which simultaneously becomes internalised in culture, society, people who are bearers of a specific culture, and in the personalities of individual members. Thus, it is possible for a value system to bring about structural congruence and create the necessary conditions for functional interdependence;

- A criterion for the selection of cultural orientations;

- The scientific, but highly controversial view on ethnicity as a given factor, linked to a homogeneous population with a demarcated and unalterable cultural pattern;

- A norm within social establishments which specifies the desirable orientations and the concomitant actions applicable to specific status roles;

- An individual's orientation regarding the cultural criteria and the norms that apply to status roles, motivating him/her to maintain these criteria and norms in role-related behaviour; and

- An element in the orientation of individuals in relation to situations.

On the grounds of the above mentioned propositions and for the purpose of this article, the concept, value, can be defined, for the purposes of this article, as a conception of the desirable, which exists simultaneously in identity, morality and culture as a criterion for the selection of orientation, and which, owing to the relevant narratives, is institutionalised in a societal context and internalised by the members thereof; and through which these individuals are orientated regarding the question as to which actions are deemed to be desirable.

1.3 THE AFRIKANER OF THE PRE-1994 CONTEXT

1.3.1 THE ORIGIN OF THE AFRIKANERS

Authors often tend to identify a single, drastic quantum leap in relation to the origin and development of Afrikaners. Giliomee (1999:14), for example, suggests that the announcement made by Hendrik Biebouw in 1707 – *"Ik ben een Africaander"* – should be regarded as the expression of an identity-related or existential choice. In contrast, Degenaar (1987:233) is of the opinion that it is incorrect to project the development of Afrikaner nationalism onto the history of seventeenth-century Afrikaners. In turn, Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) asserts that the awakening of a national consciousness only began to occur as from 1877, a view shared by Steyn (1980:135). Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) refers to the annexation of the Transvaal and the Transvaal War as *"electric shocks"* that *"pierced the heart of all Afrikaners"* and led to the development of *"a system of thought"* in which the Afrikaner nation *"occupied a central place as a united spiritual whole"*.

Giliomee (1999:13-20) states that a growing consciousness of common interest, which differed from the interests of those who wielded authority, came into play amongst

Afrikaners during the British occupation, and particularly after the arrival of the British settlers in 1820. A sense of an own identity developed as a result. Moreover, there was the perception that this own identity was being threatened in numerous domains. This perception was accompanied by a desire to maintain this identity, and an awareness that it could only be maintained in fact by virtue of the ability to determine one's own destiny. A strong sense of individuality, as well as objective of self-preservation, arose as a result culminating in a striving for self-determination.

According to Van der Merwe (1975:69), the self-determination that was achieved during the period from 1838 to 1910 was both incomplete and of short duration. From an early stage, Britain, who maintained a powerful presence in the Cape, imposed all kinds of judicial and *de facto* restrictions on the independence of the Boer republics in the interior. The republics were forced to make concessions to Britain in respect of the regulation of internal affairs. These concessions were not reconcilable with self-determination. By the end of the nineteenth century, the dream of self-determination had been finally and irrevocably shattered (Van der Merwe 1975:69). In addition, a new threat faced Afrikaners in the form of a renewed policy of Anglicisation that was implemented by the government, along with a policy regarding racial affairs that was too liberal in the view of the Afrikaners.

Before and during the Anglo-Boer War, the term *"Afrikaner"* did not yet have a nuanced significance, probably because it was used interchangeably with the word *"Boer"*, referring to a *"Hollandsch sprekende kolonist van Zuid-Afrika, inzonderheid die van de Transvaal en de Oranje-Vrystaat"* (according to Van Dale's *Handwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* of 1915). The use of the word *"Boer"* during the Anglo-Boer War, particularly in newspaper reports, was an all-too-familiar factor. The word *"Afrikaner"* also did not appear in the comprehensive standard dictionary of the Dutch language (WNT) that was published in 1895. In 1915, it did feature in Van Dale's dictionary, which defines an Afrikaner as: *"in Zuid-Afrika geboren blanke van Europeeschen oorsprong"*. According to Naudé and others (1969:98), the word *"Afrikaner"* in contrast to the broader concept of a *"South African"* indicates a member of a particular part of the white population of South Africa, comprising of the descendants of the first colonists or Dutch persons belonging to Calvinistic houses, as well as the Huguenots, the Germans, and later, particularly the Scots, who intermarried with the Dutch inhabitants.

The language of these people developed mainly from Dutch and they adopted the spiritual legacy of Calvin as their own. For the sake of this article, the term *"Afrikaners"* is concisely defined as a white population group with an own culture and identity.

Further more Van der Merwe (1975:69) states that Afrikaners found themselves in a radically altered world at the end of the second period of British colonisation (1838-1910). Self-preservation through self-determination was a lost dream Afrikaners had to live together, in the same area, with other groups who did not share their particular national interests. Through circumstances, however, a new weapon for self-preservation was placed in the hands of Afrikaners: After South Africa became a Union, the Afrikaners comprised the majority within the *"democratically"* organised political community as this community was limited to the white population of the country. This numerical superiority placed political power and self-preservation within the reach of Afrikaners. A new potential aspiration thus came into being: National unity. After all, it was only through unity that Afrikaners would be able to obtain power.

By December 1912, the apparent initial unity that prevailed amongst the ranks of Afrikaners when South Africa became a Union had already begun to disintegrate due to the breach that had arisen between Botha and Hertzog. There was no question of political power being wielded by Afrikaners for the sake of self-preservation, either before 1912 or immediately after that date.

Van der Merwe (1975:72) states categorically that the government of 1934 to 1939 (and also of the period up to 1948), cannot be viewed as an Afrikaner government, since a significant proportion of the Afrikaners distanced themselves from it, as the government accommodated the major part of the English-speaking population. There was no question of Afrikaner unity in politics.

By 1947, a significant group of Afrikaners regarded Smuts' government as a threat to their self-preservation. By this stage, a large group of Afrikaners had come to identify Smuts with the English-speaking part of the population and with the idea of the British Empire; and secondly, this developed because of Smuts' *"laissez-faire"* policy in respect of *"non-whites"* (Van der Merwe 1975:71). The Afrikaners' language was largely disregarded in the cities and in the public service. As a result, there was a perception that

language equality was, to all intents and purposes, a matter of no consequence to Smuts' government. Afrikaans was rapidly losing ground against English, owing to the latter's cultural dominance. This state of affairs was largely attributed to government actions. The Afrikaners felt themselves to be threatened from all sides.

Furthermore, the realisation slowly dawned on Afrikaners that their primary national interest would not be maintained if they did not have the political power to take care of it themselves (Van der Merwe 1975:72). Particularly during and after the war years, the Afrikaners reaped the bitter fruits of division. The writing was on the wall, particularly as far as language rights and relations with the *"non-whites"* were concerned. All this led to an election agreement between Malan and Havenga in 1947, which led, in turn, to an election victory for the parties that were dominated by Afrikaners in 1948. Although the Afrikaners' majority in the Volksraad was very small (it was based on a minority vote at the polls), Malan's cabinet of 1948 was the first to be completely comprised of Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975:72).

After the realisation of the republican ideal in 1961, Afrikaner politics entered a new epoch. Constitutional ideals were achieved. Afrikaners were in a strong political position. Afrikaans as a language enjoyed greater recognition than ever before, and was firmly entrenched in public institutions. After 1961, the NP believed itself to be so strong that it could afford to extend a hand of co-operation to non-Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975: 72). This time, in contrast to the situation during 1910, 1924 and 1933, the NP did not jeopardise its basic character as an Afrikaans party. As a result of the primarily Afrikaans character of the NP however, it received little active support from other groups up to and including 1980.

In summary, Van der Merwe (1975:73) points out that it can rightfully be said that, on the basis of the history of their origins, Afrikaners realised that their continued existence could only be assured as long as they retained political control over the country. Up to and including 1994, political control for Afrikaners was dependent on national unity.

Racial considerations were another factor that played a role in the origin and development of Afrikaners. Although it is inaccurate to simplistically project the development of Afrikaners onto the history of the seventeenth-century Afrikaner, it is

likewise incorrect to ignore facts, events and utterances dating back to that time (Degenaar 1987:233). In this regard, for example, Dalcanton (1973:305-306); Rhoodie (1969:6-26) and Tatz (1962:1-3) emphasise that, with regard to the original development of the (Cape) Afrikaners, the matter at issue was not the establishment of an independent political system (read: culture), but rather the issue of race. The latter was a complex matter in the Cape of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Degenaar (1984a:52) is of the opinion that one of the distinctive characteristics of Afrikaners is their racial origin. He states the matter as follows: *"These cultural, ethnic and religious differences which coincided with social, political and economic distinctions came to be seen in the popular mind in dominantly racial terms, the racial factor being the most visible and easily conceptualized index of group differentiation."*

Various pronouncements confirm that Afrikaners were/are conscious of race. Swart (1981:77), for example, states categorically: *"Whiteness meant Afrikanership"*. Jooste (1997a:61 and 1997b:102) and Marais (1980:166) confirm that in the view of Afrikaners, it was a matter of biological descent and appearance, as well as of mutual relatedness. Accordingly, interbreeding and assimilation (both culturally and biologically) are rejected (Coertze 1983:52 and Marais 1980:124-130). The unsavoury debate that dealt with the issue of whether the so-called *"coloureds"* comprise part of the Afrikaner nation or not, bears witness to the seriousness with which the racial issue is regarded by Afrikaners (cf. Coertze 1982:138; Botha 1938:1 and Sparks 1990:424).

From the foregoing information, it can firstly be inferred that representatives of different European nations were brought together by circumstances and that the Afrikaners, with their own culture and identity, developed from this amalgamation of peoples. The role of the region at the southernmost tip of Africa, together with a specific historical context, was of particular importance and made a significant contribution to the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaners. Secondly, it should also be pointed out that it cannot simply be unconditionally assumed that higher cultural considerations, including that of language, comprised the exclusive or dominant factor in respect of the ethnogenesis of Afrikaners. The tendency to distinguish *"ourselves"* from *"them"* on the basis of negative racial considerations is a factor that was present from the beginning and imposed a constraint on the values, culture and identity of Afrikaners.

Although it is not possible to link the birth of the Afrikaner nation to a particular moment in time or to a specific event, some authors do, in fact, identify various factors that were of decisive importance in this regard. In all probability, the particular significance of the role played by religious convictions among the founders of the Afrikaner nation can be regarded as the most important factor. In 1652, the Dutch newcomers to the southernmost tip of Africa brought with them their own religious dogma, namely the Heidelberg Catechism, the Dutch Creed and the Canons of Dort, known as the Three Formulas of Unity, as a compass to direct their thinking and their actions in their new-found fatherland.

1.3.2 <u>VALUE-CHOICES OF AFRIKANERS WITHIN THE PRE- 1994 CONTEXT</u>

According to authors such as De Klerk (1979:115), Marais (1980:12) and Treurnicht (1975:66-76), the Christian-national view of life and the world represents the essential component of the pre-1994 Afrikaner's point of orientation. It is the idea on which all Afrikaner thinking was based, the central binding motif and historical line of continuity. Thus, in their national striving – in all its facets – the Afrikaners looked to their Christian-national world view for guidance and enlightenment. All orientations and values relating to the origin and continued existence of Afrikaners were embedded in this main dominant value. Apartheid, too, was anchored within it. Apartheid was the inevitable result of the Afrikaners' obsessive determination to remain in control, and to create and ensure an own future. Thus, Apartheid not only gave rise to an ideological and political system, it also regulated the Afrikaners' social, collective and cultural life. In this regard, Slabbert (1999:15) points out that *"apartheid told you what the purpose of history was; it dictated your role and place in that history, and told you that you, personally, could do nothing to change it. Yet those who were in command (the Afrikaners) coincidentally enjoyed all the benefits; and it was their 'historical duty' to lead all the other (excluded) groups to 'maturity and knowledge"*.

During this period, the Afrikaners' values and value-orientation were clearly defined and easy to identify. They were basically comprised of the following four dimensions:

• The primordial factor, which was viewed as very important. As mentioned earlier, Afrikaners believed that they had a divine calling (Strydom 1982:59), and their

existence could be justified in terms of Christian principles (Swart 1981:77; Treurnicht 1975:46-55 and Van den Berg 1983:17-27).

- From the very beginning of their permanent settlement in the region, an own territory was regarded by the Afrikaners as a matter of great importance (Jooste 1997a:63 and 1997b:109; Pont 1991:48 and Raath 1991:55-62).

- In addition to their striving to achieve the objective of acquiring an own territory, over a period of centuries Afrikaners also experienced an intense desire for self-government and self-determination (Liebenberg 2000:82 and Thornberry 1989:881-889).

- Afrikaner culture, and particularly the Afrikaans language (Cattell 2001:14-15) and an own history (Giliomee 2004:179 and Van Wyk 1994:300-308), was held in high regard.

1.4 THE INTRINSIC VALUE-CHOICES OF THE AFRIKANER OF THE POST-1994 CONTEXT

It was indeed as a result of the restructuring and transformation of the broader South African society, coupled with the inescapable forces of globalisation and post-modernism of the twenty-first century, that the age of nihilism began to close in on Afrikaners, thereby placing their dominant values under pressure. De Klerk's (1979:115) prophetic observation has been verified: *"If Christian principles are rejected, watered down or pushed aside, the Afrikaners' outlook on life will be threatened to the core"*. The impact of the disintegration of the Afrikaners' dominant values can be clearly observed in all the noted domains.

Even established Afrikaner cultural organisations are experiencing a drastic reduction in membership. For example, the membership of the Afrikaner Bond decreased from 19 709 in 1991 to less than 4 000 in 2006; the Rapportryers diminished in number from 14 000 members in 1988 to only 1 600 in 2006; while the membership of the Voortrekkers dwindled from 55 000 in 1988 to approximately 15 000 in 2006 (personal communication by Doctor Kobus Mostert, former Chief Executive Officer of the

Afrikaner Bond, on 6 July 2006 in Johannesburg).

Given the disintegration of the Afrikaners' dominant values, the question arises as to whether Afrikaners currently share any other dominant value system. Afrikaner academics, such as Professor A. Venter *("Nasionale identiteitsvraagstukke in post-Apartheid Suid-Afrika"* [National identity issues in post-Apartheid South Africa] 1999:37-38) and Professor D. Geldenhuys (*Die Vrye Afrikaan,* 29 October 2004:14), are of the opinion that this is the case, in fact. According to them, the Afrikaner's outlook on life and the world is currently based entirely on the norms of Western civilisation. In other words, Western civilisation has come to the fore as the dominant value. In their arguments, both authors refer to Huntington's *The clash of civilisations and the remaking of world order* (1996)*.* According to Huntington (1996:43), a civilisation is the highest cultural classification of human beings; thus, civilisation is *"culture, written in capital letters".*

The above-mentioned points of view are not completely satisfactory, since they give rise to questions such as: *"Have Afrikaners not always been part of Western civilisation in any case? What about the fact that South Africa is part of Africa, and that the government is currently constructively engaged in a process of nation-building, in which the African theme occupies a central position?"*

Although Sorokin (1948:70) is of the opinion that the direction in which a value system can change is limited, the situation with regard to Afrikaners is somewhat different. In the case of Afrikaners, no single new or alternative dominant value system has come to the fore. After the analogy of Lyotard's views (1984:18-24), it would be more accurate to speak of a multiplicity of splintered value systems. These splintered value systems have created polarisation and a concomitant identity crisis for Afrikaners, according to authors such as Gouws (2005:7) and Marais (1980:12). It is this polarisation, along with the lack of a dominant value system that lies at the core of the Afrikaners' survival crisis.

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that, after 1994, Afrikaners lost their central, dominant values. This has created a challenge, for those who wish to be Afrikaners to undertake a new, communal, internal identification of values, which would contribute to a new, external attribution of relevant qualities and characteristics relating to

Afrikanership. However, it is not clear whether the dominant values have been replaced by other dominant values, or whether these are still in the process of being replaced. From the available literature on the subject, it seems that it would be more accurate to speak of several smaller, splintered value-orientations.

1.5 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

The overall conclusion in respect of the findings of this article is that a shared, dominant judgement of values, or a typical Afrikaner culture, identity or narrative, no longer exists. The Afrikaners' value system and established cultural customs and practices are in the process of changing and eroding. It is clear, on the basis of the study, that appeals to old traditions and uncritical devotion to the so-called Afrikaner cause, are simply no longer valid. This state of affairs can partially be attributed to an increasing indifference, as well as to a lack of involvement in own cultural activities. In short, this means that the identity, culture, values and narratives of Afrikaners, as traditionally known, preserved and maintained, have already changed irrevocably. What has replaced them – or what is in the process of replacing them – is still not clear at this stage, since the relevant process is still under way, and more research relating to this aspect will be required in future. Tendencies that have been observed and identified in this regard include the following:

- Afrikaner identity currently displays a strong dialectic ambivalence. One could speak of an idealistic, as opposed to a realistic quality, while the element of synthesis is often lacking. In idealistic terms, for example, the Afrikaans language and the Afrikaner culture, values, and identity are still important to Afrikaners. In practice, however, Afrikaners are doing very little to promote or reinforce their culture and identity, or to formulate their own realistic cultural expectations. An important reason for this lack of involvement among Afrikaners is the unreliable, often clumsy and inept leadership within the ranks of Afrikaners. To an increasing degree, Afrikaners are currently obliged to fall back on entertainment artists such as Steve Hofmeyr, Koos Kombuis and Bok van Blerk as role models, opinion-formers and interpreters of Afrikaner history.

- Among Afrikaners there is an increased realisation and acknowledgement that they are not (and never were) a homogeneous group – *"we aren't all like that!"* Although an underlying sense of group cohesion and a common destiny can still be discerned, there is no indication that there is any likelihood of strong ethnic mobilisation. The lack of leadership referred to above is also of concern here. Another reason is related to the fact that white and *"coloured"* people are, in general, in the same predicament. They share the same concerns and frustrations with regard to crime, affirmative action, employment opportunities and the declining standards of, *inter alia*, education and service delivery by municipalities. In other words, Afrikaners cannot claim that *"we"* alone are affected by these factors, and that therefore *"we"* need to stand together.

- The Afrikaners' prioritisation of their values has changed drastically. Economic prosperity accompanied by material success, rather than the former Christian-national outlook on life and the world, is the dominant priority. In this regard, one could speak of a typical consumer culture, with a concomitant mentality and individualistic focus (each one for himself).

- It is crucially important for Afrikaners in post-Apartheid South Africa to re-interpret their narratives and retell them in an appropriate way, not only in order to arrive at new perspectives regarding themselves, but also regarding their fellow South Africans.

Owing to Apartheid, many Afrikaners feel to a large extent that their history, past and origins are contaminated. As a result, Afrikaners are not prepared, at this stage, to openly express their ethnic loyalties and sentiments in public. Afrikaners, as far as possible, tend to try and conduct themselves in a politically correct manner. As a result, a new, positive, morally defensible ethnic commitment, which would be resistant to the embarrassment of Apartheid, as well as to the international impact and appeal of post-Apartheid South Africa's rainbow-nation ideology, has not yet been properly formulated in Afrikaner ranks. On the other hand, however, it also seems as if the majority of post-Apartheid Afrikaners are not willing to accept the challenges relating to acculturation and transformation with which they are currently confronted in South Africa. Whatever

line of reasoning is followed, the conclusion remains the same: Afrikaners have become passive.

Afrikaner youth give the impression of being ambivalent. On the one hand, everything that is traditionally associated with typical Afrikaner values, markers, culture and identity has largely been rejected. On the other hand, a process of redefining and rediscovering Afrikanership is taking place, in which new contents and meanings are being assigned to the question of what it means to be an Afrikaner. This phenomenon, along with the processes of representation, reproduction and resistance that are related to it, requires future in-depth anthropological research.

In 1954, G.D. Scholtz (1954:170) wrote: *"Currently, there is no other nation whose future is being threatened as seriously as that of this particular nation – the Afrikaans people"* [own translation]. In this regard, Alberts (1956:24) refers to the paralysing fear amongst Afrikaners: Fear of, *inter alia*, the future (1956:24), as well as the fear that Afrikaners have lost their sense of moral values and that they are in the process of becoming churchless (1956:93). These quotations were written more than five decades ago. In fact, it is somewhat alarming to find that similar conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this study: At present, Afrikaners are still undergoing an existential crisis. They feel that their future is threatened, and they are grappling with an anticipatory and paralysing fear that either has the effect of causing them to become passive or, in some cases, induces them to emigrate. On the other hand, the question also arises as to whether this study has generated any new insights, understanding or knowledge regarding Afrikaners.

Anthropologists usually proceed from the point of departure that cultural, social and historical phenomena must be understood and interpreted in relation to the total *"Lebensraum"*. Intellectual, meta-theoretical and ontological conditions represent important aspects thereof, since they influence human behaviour and thinking, as well as the way in which people (re)define and (re)identify themselves in an ever-changing world.

The postmodern world is characterised by openness, positive forbearance and the accommodation of diversity. All of these qualities have contributed to the creation of the

so-called *"global village"*. Finding one's way around this *"village"* is not threatening, strange or unpatriotic. The post-modern person goes about his/her daily life in a more light-hearted manner, and is more willing to take risks in order to experiment with new or different cultural practices, views and ideas, since for him/her, there is no longer a single value, truth or absolutism. Grand narratives are simply deconstructed, making it easier to oppose established traditions, views or even certain courses of action, such as emigration, as being wrong or negative. Owing to the conviction that nothing lasts forever, the uncertainties that are usually associated with the relinquishment of established values, traditions and circumstances are experienced in a less negative or traumatic way. The fluidity, fragmentation and inter-subjectivity of the post-modern world have also given shape to the perception that there are no fixed, essential or permanent boundaries or identities.

It is within the context of the post-modern *"global village"* in which Afrikaners currently find themselves, where they must exercise choices regarding their value judgements, culture, identity and narratives. It is evident, on the basis of this study, that most Afrikaners are probably in the process of finding a balance between that which *was* and that which *is*, albeit that this process is accompanied by struggle and uncertainty. This applies to every level of their lives: Value, culture, the social aspect, religion, sport and recreation, etcetera.

ARTICLE 2

VALUES AS PART OF THE AFRIKANER IDENTITY

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"Identities are so important, and ultimately so powerful in this ever-changing power structure because they build interests, values and projects around experience, and refuse to dissolve by establishing specific connection between nature, history, geography and culture. Identities anchor power in some areas of the social structure, and build from there their resistance of their offensives."

(Castells 1997:360)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In a letter to a well-known Afrikaans daily newspaper (*Die Burger*, 24 May 2005:7), Professor Amanda Gouws of the University of Stellenbosch wrote the following: *"I wonder if there is another ethnic group which is as obsessed with identity politics as the Afrikaner"*. At present, there is little contemporary anthropological information regarding the Afrikaner[13]. To a large extent Afrikaans anthropologists have neglected studies on the changes that the Afrikaner culture and identity have undergone, and is still undergoing, since 1994[14]. This has lead to a situation where Afrikaans speaking anthropologists' contribution to the discourse about modern questions on the Afrikaner (cultural rights, language rights, identity and what the supposedly *"modern"* Afrikaner is like) is relatively limited. The *main aim* of this article is to initiate a proximate enquiry into *current tendencies* in Afrikaner culture and identity. In this regard, Afrikaner values will be used as the point of departure for the enquiry.

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[13] See the preamble for a detailed definition of the Afrikaner.

[14] On 27th April 1994, South Africa became a fully-fledged democratic state, and this date can rightly be seen as the end of the Apartheid Era. During the Apartheid Era, white South Africans held all the power, and legislation was developed that was discriminatory towards South Africans of colour. According to Slabbert (1999:49-51), an official Afrikaner identity existed up to and including 1990, which was mainly constructed around a master narrative based on church membership, support of political power and party membership, as well as membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. According to writers such as Vosloo (*Die Burger,* 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (http://www.praag.org/ - 2005:4 of 13), the loss of this official identity in 1994 marginalised and toppled the Afrikaner into an existence crisis. With regard to this, it must be pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual bonds with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and Afrikaner language is changing, even narrowing, and that they are striving increasingly toward a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

2.2 <u>VALUES AS IDENTITY</u>

The granting of a specific culture or cultural characteristics to a group in order to identify it is a general phenomenon in anthropology. At the heart of the matter is the fact that identity is embedded in a unique culture and that culture is essential for the reproduction of identity. Although anthropologists differ regarding the character and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the idea that culture and identity are based on and integrated by shared, fundamental values is a common anthropological assumption (Barth 1969:102; Benedict 1952:43; Despres 1975:40; Geertz 1964:23 and Mönnig 1980:32).

The concept *"values"* (*waarde, Wert,* etc.*)* is as old as human thought itself. Some of the most influential points of dispute in the recognition of anthropology as a science have been about *"values"*.

According to theorists such as Collins (1989:11); Frow (1995:20-21) and Darrel (2001:9-13), the quality and restraint of values in human or cultural phenomena would make a science of the cultures impossible, or such a science would need to be different in methodology and/or procedure from the natural sciences.

At present, most anthropology textbooks probably still refer to the 1871 definition of culture by Edwin Burnett Tylor (1903:3). This however, does not mean that there is consensus among anthropologists regarding culture. As far back as fifty-five years ago, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:114) referred to a prevailing confusion owing to the existence of hundreds of different definitions. In accordance with the view of authors such as Thornton (1990:120) and Timmerman (2000:18), it is accepted that cultural characteristics and qualities are formalised, selected and transformed into identity problems through thought constructs. Idealised decisions thus determine what meaning, understanding and value is placed on culture. The same can be said of ethnic identity. Authors such as Banton (1994:2); Collier (1998:13); Dominquez (1994:333); Sharp (1988:80) and Webster (1991:245) have reached consensus that ethnic groups, borders and identity are not permanent and are fundamentally constructs of human staging that do not represent a specific entity with a practical, concrete existence. It exists as an idea in the minds of people, the meaning of which depends on how many people share that

idea. This is why the genuine characteristics of it cannot be questioned, only who believes in it and acts as if it is real.

Since ideas are fundamentally divers, imprecise, mutually contrasting, implicit or non-verbalised, and are adjusted from time to time, the question on discourse is central to the understanding of the multitude of images and opinions regarding culture and identity under review. Discourse vigorously influences and determines a person's choices regarding which events and symbols are transformed into culture and identity narratives (Freedman & Combs 1996:43 and Burr 1995:53). For this reason identity narratives are one of the most complete means of expression for Martin (quoted by Erasmus 2003:8). According to Erasmus (2003:9), the narrative articulates the criteria that the group needs for self-identification. The person, as a character in the narrative, cannot be separated from his/her experience, and because the narrative makes provision for the reorganisation of the experience, it is the nature of the narrative which finally determines the identity of the character. Although the content of narrative proclaims individual experiences, identity and social relationships, what the narrative conveys does not just come from he who speaks or writes. It is supported by and derived from the re-interpretation of the collective (group) schemes.

In the present-day world two equally strong tendencies regarding identity can be identified. On the one hand, there is the effect of influences such as globalisation, an information-based occupational culture, larger political regional units and the mobility of persons across borders. Although these events (can) threaten underlying, unique identities, there is, on the other hand, an escalation of distinctive identities and life styles flourishing in the niches of larger communality. This leads present-day people to regularly contract different, often simultaneous, occasionally mutually inclusive or exclusive identities. The last is based on and constructed from universal and/or particular contents and information.

Besides the abovementioned differing core placements, there is also usually an implied referral to what has been deemed *"values"* in the previous section, taking appropriate qualities and meaning of identity into account. This is because identity only achieves meaning in an interactional context with other people. The answer to the question: *"Who am I?"* only evolves in the discourse between the collective consciousness and the

individual consciousness (and this is where value judgments, stereotyping, and preconceived notions play a deciding role), and is imbedded in the individual's perceptions of him-/herself and of others, as well as the values, notions, opinions and practices with regard to personal culture and the physical subsisting environment.

From the previous remarks it may be deducted that ethnicity accentuates a subjective consciousness of underlying similarities and differences between members of the personal group on the one hand, and the broader society on the other (Brass 1976:226). In other words, identity consists of self-crediting, as well as crediting by others. This communal group consciousness can be based on real or perceived or supposed differences with regard to socio-culturally acquired and defined characteristics, and inborn characteristics which can act as an indicator of communal decent (Banton 1966:1; Barth 1969:14; De Beer 1998:37 and Vincent 1974:376). Jenkins (1996:76) maintains that in cases where ethnicity demonstrates a strong relationship to race, colour and culture are often incorrectly understood and defined in terms of each other.

Advantaging the cultural content of ethnicity can count as a goal in itself, or it can be applied on a rational basis as a strategy to attain specific socio-cultural, economic or political goals (Glazer & Moynihan 1975:171; Barth 1969:33-34 and Despres 1975:7). This means that ethnic identity is fluid and situational, and can be adapted or changed according to circumstances and need. Ethnic identity often is most intensely experienced or lived in situations of strong opposition and competition. Where ethnicity is accepted as a natural primordial force, it need not be declared any further, and ethnic groups can be celebrated. In contrast, ethnic identity can be subordinated to political and economic benefit or the existence thereof can even be explained as a form of false consciousness (Van der Waal 1998:24).

Two forms of ethnicity can be identified: the formation of a non-political ethnic consciousness and ethnic mobilisation for political goals. The first is a spontaneous process, which does not necessarily lead to conflict, and takes place where people become conscious of their communal difference (more correctly: category) with regard to other similar groups, for example during urbanization. The last takes place when an elite group forms a split community and these guard the ethnic borders (Van der Waal 1998:25). The specific ethic identity that is benefited is mostly challenged. During the

process of ethnic mobilisation, a contiguous and unique identity is created, if not already in existence. Where necessary, traditional clothing is manufactured, traditional tales presented as unique, and a selective history developed to support the claims of the group.

Under certain circumstances, nationalism and ethnicity can be seen as manifestations of the same phenomenon (Jenkins 1997:170 and Kasfir 1979:367). Modern societies seem to aspire to developing a single identity in the social order. The need for homogeneity in a society fits the requirements of modern industry, wherein workers must be exchangeable. This is the result of the dissemination of standardised knowledge through the mass media (Gellner, as quoted by Van der Waal 1998:25 and Eriksen 1993:121). Most modern societies are so-called *"plural"* states, with large identity differences in the population. Attempts at nation building sometimes drive an ethnic minority to a similar aspiration – an individual nation state through division (Van der Waal 1998:26).

Ethnicity is an important and often decisive determining factor for political conflict in situations where value judgments of real or alleged discrimination, and/or unjust treatment on an ethnic basis take place (Slabbert & Welsh 1979:29 and Van den Berghe 1970:28). Thus, the institutionalisation of ethnicity has exceptional governmental implications. The balancing of identities and the national unity with sufficient room for unique cultural expression, allows an opportunity for polarizing ethnic tendencies. Thus, national symbols, national processes and loyalty need not exclude other identities, for example with regard to language, culture and education (Geldenhuys in http://www.vryeafrikaan.co.za - 2005:1-5).

2.3 WHO IS THE AFRIKANER?

Theorists are often apt to consider the development and progression of the Afrikaner as a single, drastic quantum leap. For example, Giliomee (1999:14) suggests that the 1707 statement of Hendrik Biebouw, *"Ik ben een Africaander"*, must be seen as an expression of an identity- or existential choice. Degenaar (1987:233) disagrees that the development of Afrikaner nationalism can be projected onto the history of seventeenth century Afrikaner. Steyn (1980:135) and Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) agree that national consciousness only evolved since 1877. Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) calls the annexation of the Transvaal and the First World War *"electric shocks"* that *"coursed through the heart*

of all Afrikaners", and allowed a *"mindset"* to develop in which the *"Afrikaner nation was placed centrally, as a spiritual unit".*

Van der Merwe (1975:67) takes the Afrikaner history back to 6 April 1652, when the first whites from Europe landed in South Africa. He maintains that the first free burghers who settled in the Cape in 1654 were the introduction of the Afrikaner nation. The move of resigning from the *"Vereenighde Oost-Indische Compagnie"* (VOC) and settling on South African soil was the first (perhaps unconscious) step in the direction of accepting South Africa as motherland. Before the end of the seventeenth century some of the free burghers were already indicating that they were not planning on leaving the country again (Van der Merwe 1975:67).

Very soon the free burghers realised that their concerns differed from that of the administration (the Kompanjie). They clashed with the authorities sporadically. Initially, the clashes were mainly about economics, but gradually the burghers realised that political action was required to protect their concerns. The activities of the Cape Patriots (1779) demonstrated a high level of political sophistication and had a measurably wider impact (Van Jaarsveld 1980:218). By this time the VOC was already an aged and ineffectual company, with a crumbling Cape administration. The uprisings in Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam (1795) were symptoms of a growing feeling among the burghers that their welfare was no longer to be found in the Cape administration, which was administered from far away. They would rather see to their own concerns. The isolated and independent life of the border farmers contributed to this feeling of self-resourcefulness.

Under British rule a new element of discontent with the administration developed, especially after the arrival of the British Settlers in 1820. The policy of Anglicisation now threatened not only economic welfare, but also the general culture, especially with regard to language and religion.

Giliomee (1999:13-20) argues that, during this period, there were signs of a growing consciousness of communal interest, which differed from that of the administration, and therefore an own identity. Furthermore, there was an impression that this personal identity was being threatened on a multitude of levels; a need to preserve this identity;

and a sense that identity could only be preserved by shaping their own destiny. A sense of self-realization and a striving for self-preservation thus developed, and resolved into a need for self-dispensation.

Van der Merwe (1975:69) maintains that the level of self-determination reached from 1838 to 1910 was incomplete and of short duration. Britain maintained a powerful presence in the Cape, and from early on placed legal and *de facto* restrictions on the independence of the Boer republics in the interior. The republics had to defer to Britain with regards to internal matters, which was incompatible with self-determination. By the end of the nineteenth century the dream of self-determination was irrevocably and finally shattered (Van der Merwe 1975:69). With this, a new threat against the Afrikaner emerged: The renewed policy of Anglicisation by the government and (for the Afrikaner) a too-liberal strategy with regard to racial affairs.

Before and during the Second War of Independence the term *"Afrikaner"* had no nuanced significance, probably because it was used as an alternative to the word *"Boer"*, by which was meant a *"Hollandsch sprekende kolonist van Zuid-Afrika, inzonderheid die van de Transvaal and de Oranje-Vrystaat"* (Van Dale 1915, *Handwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*).

The use of the word *"Boer"* during the Second War of Independence, especially in newsprint, is familiar. Furthermore, the word *"Afrikaner"* does not appear in the 1895 edition of the comprehensive standard dictionary of the Dutch Language (*WNT*). From 1915 it features in Van Dale, where an Afrikaner was defined as: *"in Zuid-Afrika geboren blanke van Europeeschen oorsprong"*. For Naudé and others (1969:98), the word *"Afrikaner"* *"in opposition to the broader designation 'South African'"*, means *"indicative of the white population of South Africa who are descendants from the first colonists. This means Dutch from Calvinistic families, as well as Huguenots, Germans, and later especially the Scots, who intermarried with the Dutch – people whose language mainly developed from Dutch and who accepted the spiritual inheritance of Calvin as their own"*. In this article, the Afrikaner is shortly defined as a white population group with an own culture and identity.

Even though it is not possible to associate the birth of the Afrikaner with a single moment or event in history, authors do distinguish various significant factors in this regard. The main factor is probably the significant impact that religious principles had on the builders of the Afrikaner nation. In 1652, the Dutch settlers on the southern tip of Africa brought their own religious dogma with them, namely the Heidelberg Catechism, the Confessio Belgica and the Canon of Dordt – collectively known as the Three Formularies of Accord, to guide their thinking and behaviour in their new-found motherland.

During the synod in Dordrecht in 1618, the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of the United Netherlands laid down the explicit rules for the religious life and faith of all the Protestant-Reformed devout in the Netherlands. The synod in Dordrecht was primarily about choice. Those who believed as prescribed by the church in the Formularies were sure of their eternal selection by God – a selection that was irrevocable, as described in the Formularies. God's choice could never be recalled or declared invalid. Whoever did not believe as prescribed, was doomed to eternal judgement by the God of the Reformers, which was also binding. Thus, whoever was not selected, was doomed to hell. They did not stand any chance of a blessed eternal life (Albertyn and others 1947:38-40 and Akenson 1992:104-110).

With this belief and certainty of their Godly predestination, the first Dutch immigrants settled themselves on African soil (Elphrick & Giliomee 1988:27-31). As the chosen of God, they were certain that God had accompanied them, and that they were in this far-off land because God wanted it so (Albertyn and others 1947:57-59). This was the binding foundation of the first Europeans who settled themselves as Reformed Protestants in the Cape, and this remained the foundation on which their descendants, the Afrikaners, would build their destiny in the far-off southerly land. According to this perception, the Colonists (and later the Afrikaners) were placed in South Africa to maintain justice and bring the light of the Gospel and civilisation to Africa.

Professor F.J.M. Potgieter, previously Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the Seminary of Stellenbosch, summed up the impact of the Synod of Dordrecht on the settlement of the Afrikaner as follows: *"It must be considered that the settlement at the Cape took place only decades after the famous Synod of Dordrecht. At that Synod it had been*

decided that a new translation of the Bible must be undertaken. This was published in 1637, and on the 6 April 1652 the flagships, the 'Drommedaris', 'Reyger' and 'De Goede Hoop' sailed into Table Bay with this edition on board. The Dutch Authorised Edition ('Statebybel') is without a doubt the most precious possession of the Afrikaner nation. From inception, it was the guide for the life and doctrine of our ancestors. It shaped them: the child had to read from it and be spiritually fed; adults accepted the authority without question. So inextricably is the nation's founding, its being and existence interwoven with the Word of God, that the soul of the nation and nature of Afrikanership can never be calculated without it" (Naudé and others 1969:98).

Taking the above-mentioned into account, Van Jaarsveld (1981:47-48) and Du Preez (2005a:2) argue that the conscious and subconscious knowledge that the Afrikaner was placed in Africa by God runs like a golden thread through the founding and developmental process of the Afrikaner. Reformational Protestantism can indeed be known to ground the cultural configuration of the Afrikaner.

The awareness of a historical vocation and the reconstruction of Afrikaner history is a second, central factor with regard to ethnogenesis, which can be distinguished in the Afrikaner. Especially Marais (1980:12) is an outspoken exponent in this regard. The meaning of the history, with regard to ethnogenesis, can be illustrated in different ways. Cattell (2001:14-15), for example, focuses on the mythical role of national heroes, while Van der Merwe (1975:66-72) concentrates on central themes. To him, the struggle for self-determination is the golden thread which runs through the Afrikaner's history. He differentiates the following four time periods in the Afrikaner history:

(i)   1652 to 1838, where the premise of self-preservation becomes evident in a struggle for self-determination;

(ii)   1838 tot 1910, where the premise of self-preservation becomes obvious as an understanding of the necessity of national unity;

(iii)   1910 tot 1961, where national unity as a requirement of self-preservation was mostly achieved; and

(iv)   a period starting around 1961, when the concern was the preservation of national unity.

According to Van der Merwe (1975:69), at the end of the second period (1838-1910) the Afrikaner found himself in a radically changing world. Self-preservation through self-determination was a bygone dream – the Afrikaner had to share the same constituency with other nations who were not participants in his unique national interests. Through circumstances, a new weapon for self-preservation was placed in his hands, however. After unification, the Afrikaner was in the majority according to the *"democratically"* organised political unity, because it was confined to the white population of the country. This majority placed the grasp of political power and self-preservation within the reach of the Afrikaner. A new potential struggle was thus born: national unity. Only through accord could the Afrikaner achieve power.

Van der Merwe (1975:70-71) maintains that the beginning of the third period was characterised by everything but unity. There was no consensus among leaders as to the need for, or benefit of sequestering political power with the Afrikaner as an exclusive group. Prime Minister Louis Botha saw the advantage for the Afrikaner in conciliation with the English-speaking population and the overpowering authority of Britain, and the construction of a new South African nation. General Jan Smuts saw progressive benefit in the amalgamation of the Afrikaner nation into the greater unity of the British Empire – thus relinquishing own identity. General J.B.M. Hertzog, supported by former president M.T. Steyn, saw a threat to the Afrikaner identity and concerns in Botha's reconciliation policy (Van der Merwe 1975:71). Especially the English-speaking faction of the white population was in a strong economic and cultural position. Hertzog believed that conciliation would mean capitulation by the Afrikaner. For him the opinions of Smuts and Botha had the same end result – the disappearance of the Afrikaner.

The apparent initial unity in the Afrikaner ranks had started to crumble by December 1912, due to the break between Botha and Hertzog. Of political determination for the sake of self-preservation there was little chance before and immediately after 1912.

The events after 1912 (the Rebellion of 1914, the South West Campaign, the strikes of 1912 to 1922) alienated more Afrikaners from Smuts, and encouraged them to Hertzog's point of view. During the elections of 1924, Hertzog took over the government in coalition with the Labour Party (LP) of Creswell. From 1924 to 1929 the Afrikaners played a dominant political role, but they had to make important concessions to their

Labour partners. From 1929 to 1933 Hertzog held an all-out majority, but decided to carry on in the spirit of the coalition.

Van der Merwe (1975:72) maintains that from 1934 to 1939 (and up to 1948) the government cannot be seen as an Afrikaner administration, because a significant proportion of Afrikaners distanced themselves from it, and the government included a major portion of the English speaking population. There was no indication of Afrikaner unity in politics.

As did the First World War, the Second World War increased the division within Afrikaner ranks. Some Afrikaners enlisted in the armed forces, others joined the *"Ossewa-Brandwag",* while others distanced themselves from both. General Hertzog left the United Party (UP) to join Malan in the United National Party (UNP). Between Hertzog and Malan there were deep-seated divergences however, and soon Hertzog resigned from politics.

According to Van der Merwe (1975:71), by 1947 an important group of Afrikaners saw the Smuts government as a threat to their self-preservation, partly because many Afrikaners associated Smuts with the English-speaking population and the vision of the British Empire, as well as Smuts' *"let-it-be"* policy with regard to *"non-whites"*. The Afrikaners' language was marginalized in the cities and in government, and it was felt that the Smuts' government paid no consideration to language equality. Afrikaans was loosing ground against the far more culture-compelling English. This was largely attributed to government actions. The Afrikaners felt threatened on all sides.

The realisation slowly dawned that Afrikaners' primary national concerns would not be maintained if they did not have the political power to ensure these themselves (Van der Merwe 1975:72). They also picked the bitter fruits of earlier division during and after the war years. The writing was on the wall, especially with regard to language rights and the relationship with *"non-whites"*. This gave rise to an agreement in 1947 between Malan and Havenga, which lead to an election victory in 1948 for the parties in which Afrikaners were predominant. The 1948 victory was unexpected and from all sides the belief was expressed that Malan's government would not last long – probably no longer than one term. Even though the Afrikaner's majority in the House of Assembly was very

small (it was based on a minority of votes at the poll), the Malan cabinet of 1948 was the first that was totally represented by Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975:72).

In 1951 the UP and the LP merged to form the former National Party (NP). The NP gradually began to gain ground, and up to 1966 won each subsequent election under different prime ministers. It managed to gain more votes at the ballot box and enlarge its majority in the House of Assembly. Only in 1961, after 13 years of rule, could the NP announce an outright majority (even if small) at the poll for the first time. Owing to the overwhelming support the NP received from Afrikaner ranks in 1961, argues Van der Merwe (1975:72), was the ideal of gaining political power to ensure self-preservation achieved.

After achievement of the republican ideal in 1961, Afrikaner politics entered a new time frame. Constitutional ideals were attained. The Afrikaner was in a strong political position. Afrikaans as language achieved higher levels of acceptance than ever before, and was firmly entrenched in public service. From 1961 onwards the Afrikaner felt strong enough to extend a hand of cooperation to non-Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975:72). This time, contrary to 1910, 1924 or 1933, the NP did not place its basic character as an Afrikaans party on the line. Up to 1980 it had gained little active support from members of other groups owing to its primary Afrikaans character.

In summary, Van der Merwe (1975:73) states that it can be argued that through their developmental history, the Afrikaners realised that their survival could only be assured as long as they retained political control of the country. Van der Merwe claims that Afrikaner political control was dependent upon national unity until 1994.

Racial concern was the third factor that played a role in the foundation and development of the Afrikaner. Although Degenaar (1987:233) states that it would be incorrect to project the development of the Afrikaner purely on the history of the seventeenth century Afrikaner, it would also not be acceptable to disregard the facts, events and declarations of that time. In this regard Dalcanton (1973:305-306); Rhoodie (1969:6-26) and Tatz (1962:1-3) emphasize that the initial foundation of the (Cape) Afrikaner was not about settlement of an independent political system (read culture), but rather racial questions. This was a complex issue in the eighteenth century Cape. Even so, Degenaar (1984a:52)

is of the opinion that one of the major characteristics of the Afrikaners is their descent. He expresses it as follows: *"These cultural, ethnic and religious differences which coincided with social, political and economic distinctions came to be seen in dominantly racial terms in the popular mind; the racial factor being the most visible and easily conceptualised index of group differentiation."*

Various statements confirm that the Afrikaner was racially aware. For example, Swart (1981:77) states unequivocally: *"Afrikanership meant white."* Jooste (1997a:61 and 1997b:102) and Marais (1980:166) confirm that the Afrikaner was concerned with biological heritage and appearance, as well as mutual relationships. Thus inbreeding and assimilation (culturally or biological) was rejected (Coertze 1983:52 and Marais 1980:124-130). The unsavoury debate about whether the so-called Coloureds are part of the Afrikaner or not, is evidence of the severity with which the Afrikaner saw the racial question (according to Botha 1938:1; Coertze 1982:13 and Sparks 1990:424).

From the preceding information it can firstly be deduced that representatives from different European nations were marshalled, and that the Afrikaners, with their own culture and identity developed from this combination. The role and environment (the southern tip of Africa), as well as a definite historical context were of particular importance, and played a significant role in the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaner. Secondly, it must be noted that it cannot be assumed without question that higher cultural considerations, including language, were the only or most significant factor with regard to the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaner. The inclination to distinguish *"us"* from *"them"* on the grounds of negative racial considerations is a factor that was present from the beginning, and one that has left a mark on the values, culture and identity of the Afrikaner.

2.4 THE AFRIKANER'S VALUE-CHOICES WITHIN THE PRE-1994 CONTEXT

According to writers such as De Klerk (1979:115), Marais (1980:12) and Treurnicht (1975:66-76) the Christian-national approach to life and the world represents the essence of the pre-1994 Afrikaner's point of reference; it is his/her sentinel idea, the central bonding motif and historical line. It thus means that the Afrikaner placed the national

struggle, in all its facets, under the guidance and release of Christianity. All value-orientation and values regarding the development and progress of the Afrikaner are imbedded in this master value. Within this master value, Apartheid is anchored as well. Apartheid was the inexorable result of the drive of the Afrikaners to ensure self-determination and to sculpt and guarantee an own future. Apartheid not only shaped an ideological government system, but also ordained the Afrikaner's social, collective and cultural life. With regard to this, Slabbert (1999:15) states: *"Apartheid told you what the aim of history was, what your role and place in it was and that you personally could do nothing about it. But those who were in command (the Afrikaner), incidentally benefited and it was their 'historical duty' to lead all the other excluded groups to 'maturity and wisdom'"*.

During the period, the Afrikaner's values and value-orientation were clearly described and easily identifiable. They basically consisted of the following dimensions:

- The primordial factor was important: As described, the Afrikaner had a Godly calling (Strydom 1982:59) and his existence was Christian-principle defensible (Swart 1981:77; Treurnicht 1975:46-55 and Van den Berg 1983:17-27).

- From the moment of national settlement, an individual territory was essential to the Afrikaner (Jooste 1997a:63 and 1997b:109; Pont 1991:48 and Raath 1991:55-62).

- Together with the drive for an own territory, the Afrikaner also experienced an intense need for self-preservation and self-determination (Liebenberg 2000:82 and Thornberry 1989:881-889).

- Afrikaner culture, especially the Afrikaans language (Cattell 2001:14-15) and a personal history (Giliomee 2004:179 and Van Wyk 1994:300-308), is exceptionally highly regarded.

2.5 THE AFRIKANER'S IDENTITY WITHIN THE PRE-1994 CONTEXT

During this period Afrikaner nationalism, imbedded in the context of Christian-nationalism, was probably the single factor that had the biggest influence on the development of the Afrikaner identity. According to Taylor's description of the frame of reference (1995:87 and 89), it could be stated that Afrikaner nationalism represented the configuration of culture-based conventions, judgments and knowledge, which defined the Afrikaner identity.

Within the outline of Afrikanership, various conceptual domains about being an Afrikaner developed, especially in the Apartheid era. The defining characteristics of a *"true or pure"* Afrikaner – characteristics against which the prototypical status of an individual could be calculated at that time - was determined in particular by political and cultural membership. During the Apartheid era, these denotation domains enabled Afrikaners to gauge their degree of Afrikanership. Some Afrikaner exponents were often gauged as prototypes in accordance with the conceptual domain characteristics – characteristics that contributed many Afrikaner heroes and their accounts to the prototype scheme of Afrikanership. This scheme is not static, however. In its simplest form, this scheme probably already had its foundation in the words of religious minister S.J. du Toit: *"There are Afrikaners with English hearts, and there are Afrikaners with Dutch hearts. And then there are Afrikaners with Afrikaner hearts. The last we call True Afrikaners"* (*WAT Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal,* 1956:90). In its most extreme form, this proto-scheme was developed into a hyper-scheme within exact ideological contexts, to such an extent that the term Afrikaner could also include Afrikaner caricature. Attenuating the proto-scheme led to stereotyping, *"a conventional idea associated with a word, which might well be inaccurate"* (Lakoff 1987:168).

Some typical identity characteristics (prototypes) which the Afrikaners of the pre-1994-era attributed to themselves include, among others.

• Colour. An Afrikaner could only be white (Leach 1989:53).

• Afrikaans speaking (Giliomee & Schlemmer 2006:17).

- Religion/Christianity. Afrikaners believed that they were a chosen people of God and that they had a Godly mission of leadership to implement at the southern tip of Africa. Afrikaners therefore mainly belonged to one of the three Afrikaans Sister Churches (Treurnicht 1975:11).

- Bound by culture. An Afrikaner was someone who felt him-/herself strongly attracted to Afrikaner cultural organisations (Slabbert 1999:27). There was also the perception that, as an Afrikaner, a person could only observe Afrikanership within such an organisation. Membership usually bestowed a particular status and stature on Afrikaners in the community, as explained by Strauss (Van der Merwe 1975:134).

- Political awareness. Afrikaners were mainly people with a conservative national political character (Coetzee 1953:54). Routinely, Afrikaners voted for the National Party (Van der Merwe 1975:68). According to Leach (1989:251), they totally disapproved of liberalism and renounced any form of permissiveness.

- Conservative. In general, Afrikaners demonstrated and engaged in conservative life- and world perspectives. They were antagonistic towards all forms of novel, liberating and / or popular ideas and elements (Coetzee 1953:25).

The study revealed a very important manifestation regarding the Afrikaner identity as referred to above, which conflicts directly with the historical theme of unity and self-preservation, in that with the passing of time various different perceptions were attached to concepts such as *"Afrikanership"* (meaning the Afrikaner identity) and *"Afrikanerdom"*. Through this the Afrikaners' measure of identity was judged, and *"better"* and *"poorer"* categories of Afrikaners were created. Increasing resistance against this narrow manner of conceptualising the Afrikaner identity started to develop. Protests on various levels in Afrikaner ranks surfaced. There was the controversial *"Voëlvry"*-tour of Koos Kombuis (then known as André Letoit), Johannes Kerkorrel and his Reformed Blues Band; Doctor Van Zyl Slabbert and 50 selected Afrikaners who negotiated with the *"ANC-terrorists"* in Dakar; and Max du Preez's popular *"Die Vrye Weekblad"* saw the light. Afrikaners thus began thus to redefine themselves.

2.6 THE AFRIKANER'S VALUE-CHOICES WITHIN THE POST-1994 CONTEXT

The restructuring and transformation of the broader South African society, plus the relentless twenty-first century influence of globalisation and post-modernism, heralded the dawning of the era of nihilism for the Afrikaner and placed its master-values under pressure. A statement of De Klerk (1979:115) was realised: *"If that which is Christian is rejected, pushed aside or diluted, the core of the Afrikaner's approach to life is threatened"*. The impact of the disintegration of the Afrikaner's master–value is clearly to be seen everywhere.

Even established Afrikaner cultural organisations are experiencing a drastic reduction in membership. The membership of the Afrikaner Bond declined from 19 709 in 1991, to less than 4 000 in 2006; the *"Rapport Riders"* decreased from 14 000 members in 1988 to only 1 600 in 2006; and the Voortrekkers dropped from 55 000 in 1988 to only 15 000 members in 2006 (personal communication by Doctor Kobus Mostert, Chief Executive Officer of the Afrikaner Bond, on 6 Julie 2006 in Johannesburg).

Given the disintegration of the Afrikaner master-value, the question arises as to whether Afrikaners presently share another dominant value-system. Afrikaner academics such as Professor A. Venter (*"National identity enquiries in post-Apartheid South Africa"* 1999:37-38) and Professor D. Geldenhuys (*Die Vrye Afrikaan,* 29 October 2004:4) are of the opinion that this is the case. According to them, the Afrikaner's outlook on life and the world is presently based on the norms of Western civilization. In other words, Western civilization has come forward as the master-value. Both authors base their argument on Huntington's (1996) *The clash of civilisations and the remaking of world order.* According to Huntington (1996:43), a civilization is the highest cultural classification of human beings – civilization is thus "culture" in capital letters.

The abovementioned points of view are not completely satisfactory and allow questions to surface, such as*: "Hasn't the Afrikaner in any case always been part of Western civilization? What about the fact that South Africa is part of Africa, and that the government is presently constructively busy with a process of nation building in which the African theme stands central?"*

Even though Sorokin (1948:70) is of the opinion that the direction in which a value-system can change is limited, the situation with regard to the Afrikaner is different. In the case of the Afrikaner, no single new or alternative master-value system has come forward. In the opinion of Lyotard (1984:18-24), there is rather the viewpoint of a multitude of splintered value-systems. These splintered value-systems create polarisation and a simultaneous identity crisis for the Afrikaner (Gouws 2005:7 and Marais 1980:12). It is in this polarisation and lack of a master-value system that the Afrikaner's survival crisis lies.

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that after 1994 the Afrikaner lost his central master-value. This creates a challenge for those who would be Afrikaners to set a method of new, communal internal value identification in place, which would contribute to a new external attribution of Afrikanership. There is some doubt as to whether the master-value has been replaced with another master-value, or is in the process of being replaced. From literature consulted in this investigation it seems that there is rather a multitude of smaller splintered value-orientations.

2.7 AFRIKANER IDENTITY WITHIN THE POST-1994 CONTEXT

In the period after 1994 many Afrikaners are confused about their identity and they feel that they are involved in a struggle for survival. On the one hand, borders between people are being lifted legally, leading to the perception that a new communality has developed. The *"me or us"* and *"you or they"* have moved nearer to one another, in some cases there is even mention of integration, to form the so-called rainbow nation. Buys (2005:18) answers the question: *"Tell me what is an Afrikaner?",* with the conclusion that the concept Afrikaner should not be exclusive: *"Democratic maturity means you can be an Afrikaner, or a South African, an African or an Afrikaans speaking person, or any combination of these and other concepts, or all together"*.

The ANC government regularly accepts policy and legislation that in effect is race-driven (e.g. with affirmative action) and torpedoes the ideal of the rainbow nation. Afrikaners are continuously reminded of their tainted past which that has to be rectified. Emotions of anger, resentment and injustice are generated (Slabbert 2006:57) that have a direct, strengthening influence on the process of (re)defining by individuals and groups.

The extremely popular song by Bok van Blerk, *"De la Rey"*, illustrates and emphasises the drive among especially the younger generation of Afrikaners to demand their identity, to tell their own story and emphasise the importance of a historical communality.

Seen against the preceding background, Botha (in http://www.general.rau.ac.za - 2000:1-5) is of the opinion that Afrikaner identity is in a process of adaptation, redefinement and conceptualisation. What the end result of the process will be is unsure - in other words, what the Afrikaner would be like in a decade or two. In all probability there will be a greater fluidity regarding the demarcation of the Afrikaners, and it will be impossible to define them according to rigid criteria and structures, as was done in the past.

2.8 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

From the information presented in this article, it is clear in the first place that since 1994, Afrikaners have been undergoing extensive changes in culture, values, identity, and narrative. This is mainly owing to the change in the environment in which the Afrikaners find themselves, namely the so-called *"new"* South Africa, which has greatly changed since the scheduled date, and is still doing so. In anthropology (and more precisely cultural ecology) it is accepted that culture is the result of adaptation to a definite environment. If the contemporary Afrikaner wants to be anthropologically understood, attention will have to be given to the context in which the Afrikaner exists and functions, namely the *"new"* South Africa, and what influence this has (had) on the Afrikaner. This then, this is the theme of the next chapter.

A second comment is that the process of adaptation, re-examination and redefining of the Afrikaner is in full swing. It has not yet been completed, thus no final answers can be given about the outcome. The fact that the Afrikaner is caught in a fluid situation leads to uncertainty, which is reflected in the multitude of dialogues that rage within Afrikaner ranks.

ARTICLE 3

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON AFRIKANER NARRATIVES AND MYTHS

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**AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON AFRIKANER NARRATIVE
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"It is an illusion to seek a totally culturally independent analytical starting point from where I can confirm the truth and moral validity of all culturally relative positions, my own included. That is cultural arrogance. It is therefore without a doubt a fact that I, from a perpetually renewing cultural position, confess that I am responsible for my own judgement and actions, and that nobody but I, myself, am to blame. This is how it is for me, and this is how I want to be judged."

(Slabbert 1999:71)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Slabbert (1999:49-51) states that an official Afrikaner identity[1] existed up to 1990, which was mainly due to a master narrative constructed around church membership, commitment to political power and party membership, as well as dedication to cultural organizations such as the Broederbond. According to Vosloo (*Die Burger,* 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (http://www.praag.org/.html - 2005:4-13) after 1994, the loss of this official identity marginalised and toppled the Afrikaner into an existential crisis. With regard to this, it must be pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual bonds with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and Afrikaner language are changing, even narrowing, and that they are striving increasingly toward a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

Other commentators, such as Du Preez, do not hold the same point of view (Du Preez 2005b:15). Du Preez is of the opinion that *"Afrikaans is experiencing a blossoming period with regard to rock music and publishing, and more Afrikaans books, newspapers and magazines have been released in the past two decades than in any other native language in Africa"*.

Even though commentators differ over what influence the post-Apartheid system had on the Afrikaner, and still has, it is a fact that the extensive political and social transformation in South Africa since 1994 has caught most Afrikaners off balance. Afrikaners clearly were not prepared for the changes, with the result that after twelve

years they urgently need to reflect on their values, common purpose, identity, role and place in the new South Africa. On the one hand, Afrikaner core groups are now more likely to initiate overt activities (as observed on certain university campuses not long ago), and are also more prone to openly defend their language and Afrikaner identity. There is an inclination among the core Afrikaner youth to move towards international norms, practices, preferences and attitudes for career opportunities and wider exposure. The argument is more or less as follows: Due to the fact that there are fewer public organizations with an explicit Afrikaans character, identity and calling left, and because Afrikaners are being offered more positioning choices with regard to identity, language and culture, Afrikaner culture and identity are starting to lose their traditional meaning.

In summary it can be stated that the Afrikaner[2] has lost his master narrative with regard to Afrikaner identity, and that a number of approaches to Afrikaner identity are being followed within Afrikaner ranks. As indicated, the disintegration of the Afrikaner master narrative has lead to promotion of the question whether alternative, smaller Afrikaner narratives have developed, as exposed by Lyotard (1984:3-16). From the literature it seems the answer is *"Yes"*. Two specific goals of this article include exploring Afrikaner narratives further, as well as the opinions and categorizations that have been fashioned with regard to or about the Afrikaner.

3.2 <u>VALUES AS NARRATIVE</u>

According to Webb-Mitchell (1995:219), man is born with the *"ability and desire to express and receive stories"*. One of the most basic human actions in the existence of man is to tell, interpret, and retell the interpretation in words, willingly, in the form of stories. This is an never-ending, spiralling and socially constructed process. *"Narrative is crucial in understanding human life for all that we are, and all that we do, and all that we think and feel is based upon stories; both of our personal stories and the stories of our significant community"* (Webb-Mitchell 1995:215). Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995:6) are convinced that humans of all times and culture used narrative as a basic method to organise their experiences and give meaning to their lives. They use the metaphor of *"the person as a motivated storyteller"* in this regard. Hearne (1984:33) explains *"story"* as *"just something we tell ... the way things happen and the way we grasp them in some kind of pattern."* Sarbin (1986:9) describes this as *"a way of*

organizing episodes, action and accounts of action in time and space".

From the literature concerning narrative it is clear that, in the first place, it is always about the retelling. There is no once-off telling, Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995:111) refer to *"essentially unfinished stories".* In this regard, Müller (1996:30) maintains that the telling of a story can only be renewing and constructive if the future account and the preceding account are in congruence. According to Müller (1998:9) the theme: *"telling a past, dreaming a future"* contains the whole description of human existence, in other words the link between past, present and future. The larger the gap between the *"telling"* and the *"dreaming"* becomes, the higher the strain and the bigger the possibility of pathological behaviour (Müller 1998:9). On the other hand, where there is harmony between yesterday, today and tomorrow, integrity, well-being and maturity is found (Mead 1978:17-18). Thus, an intense seeking of values lies at the core of all narrative - that which is seen as meaningful. When applied to the present article, it means there will be a focus on Afrikaner narrative in order to expose Afrikaner values and ideals. Such narrative contains no interest in entertainment or information value.

A second aspect of narrative that must be emphasised, is the transformational powers contained within the evoking tale, which becomes a personal account that is told, told again and retold, nuanced differently, internalised and experienced (Bruner 1986:25 and Combs 1996:88). In different places, times and under different circumstances, certain people, affairs, or things made such an impression on an individual, that he/she thought it important enough to make them part of his/her personal chronicle. This core legend of a person is of utmost importance, especially where the self is seen as an organizing process of values.

Thirdly, myths or the mythical plays an essential role in narrative. Campbell (1972:8) argues that myths illustrate man's search for truth, meaning and sense through the centuries. Malan (1978:39) agrees that myths are man's way of explaining the significance, relationship, aims, ancestry and the termination of the cosmos though simple tales. An important aspect of myths is that there is an *"evasive core"* to each myth that cannot be explained rationally (Conradie 1964:10). This *"beyond-reason"* aspect of myths is one of the critical factors that must be taken into account when values and identity are explored by way of narrative. A myth may be purely fictional in nature,

but the power behind it is an irrefutable reality that, for example, may change the course of history. The point is that a myth needn't necessarily be about what the truth is, or what we know, but about what we believe or accept as the truth. The fundamental aspect of a myth is thus not the truth thereof. Even if it is not possible to prove the contents empirically, people accept myths because they do not dare question them because they affect the significance of their existence.

Central to the discourse on myths is man's belief in the very authenticity of those myths he grew up with. Though myths can alter with time, be adjusted, or under certain circumstances become obsolete and disappear, the de-mythologizing or even re-mythologizing of myths does not take place in one generation. Campbell (1972:8) states that myth formation through socializing and shared historical veracity takes place over a relative long period of time in the collective subconscious of a group, before being acknowledged as the truth and before being internalised by the group. Thus myths are not created overnight, which is why an artificially created legend never attains the *"truth-quality"* of a true myth.

3.3 <u>MYTHS AS PART OF THE AFRIKANER NARRATIVE</u>

In my opinion it is impossible to speak about Afrikaner narrative without drawing on the issue of creating myths. It does not matter whether the specific myth is true or not – or which myths are true and which are false – but rather what the impact of that myth is on the culture, identity and narrative of the Afrikaner. Furthermore, this article does not examine the relatively superficial present-day myth building that makes life interesting and pleasing for some people (e.g. the Cheetah rugby jersey; McDonald's billboards; and the more than life-sized advertisements for favourite types of beer). The significance of the myths which this article pays attention to, lies deeper than those of bobotie, beer and boerewors. This point of departure, as elucidated by a quote from Adam Small (*Nuwe Verse* 1994:12), is that the *: "'essentials' of the things"* and the *"memories"* linger and at long last are reduced to a *"story"* which are then morphed onto a myth within this discourse. Some myths that will be examined include:

- The creation myths of the Afrikaner, as well as myths with regard his/her heroes. In other words, myths aimed at instigating self-respect and a feeling of self-worth.

These myths are or will be passed on as bedtime stories or lullabies by grandparents in children's rooms or around campfires (as every Afrikaner's grandfather was a hero during the Anglo-Boer war!)

- Radical myths, especially those with regard to political myth building which are aimed at de-mythologizing the other group's myths, or even demonising them. (To most Afrikaners, the Zulu king Dingaan was an arch villain and criminal).

- The myth concerning the *"liberation"* of Afrikaans from the albatross around its neck, which was proclaimed post 1994.

- The myth of the rainbow nation – with English as the language of national unity, which directly contradicts one of the myths concerning Afrikaans, which is addressed in this article and for which people in some cases literally, and in other cases metaphorically, were willing to die.

In the discussion of the myths surrounding Afrikaans, factual events will be examined anecdotally and through example. Facts are often the *"fabric"* from which myths feed and grow. The myth regarding the Afrikaner nation, for example, developed and grew over a long period of time, but gained momentum and grew to mythical proportions as result of the traumatic events of the Anglo-Boer War. The myth of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor had a long expansion in the colonial history of South Africa, but in actuality gained real impetus after events such as the uprisings in Sharpeville (1960) and Soweto (1976), and especially due to the death of Hector Peterson on 16 June 1976.

The aim of working by example is to show that myth building around Afrikaans as language took place from different angles; and secondly, to expand on the impact of the specific myth as part of the *"story of Afrikaners"*.

The focus of this discourse will however, not be the events themselves however, but the commencement and impact of the exact myth. The aim of this approach is to illustrate the degree to which myths regarding Afrikaans and the Afrikaner culture explain and

illuminate their origins to individuals and groups. Because of the legion of other myths which developed simultaneously to the main myth, it is not possible to investigate, or even list all the extensive myths and mythical figures which constitute part of the *"story of Afrikaners"*.

3.4 <u>DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRIKANER</u>

Writers are often quick to consider the development and progression of the Afrikaner as a single, drastic quantum leap. For example, Giliomee (1999:14) suggests that the 1707 statement of Hendrik Biebouw, *"Ik ben een Africaander"*, must be seen as an expression of an identity- or existential choice. Degenaar (1987:233) disagrees that the development of Afrikaner nationalism can be projected onto the history of seventeenth century Afrikaner. Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) and Steyn (1980:135) agree that national consciousness only evolved since 1877. Van Jaarsveld (1980:222) calls the annexation of the Transvaal and the First World War *"electric shocks"* that *"coursed through the heart of all Afrikaners"*, and allowed a *"mindset"* to develop in which the *"Afrikaner nation was placed centrally, as a spiritual unit"*.

Van der Merwe (1975:67) takes the Afrikaner history back to 6 April 1652, when the first whites from Europe landed in Southern Africa. He maintains that the first free burghers who settled in the Cape in 1654 were the introduction [beginnings] of the Afrikaner nation. The move of resigning from the *"Vereenighde Oost-Indische Compagnie"* (VOC) and settling on South African soil was the first (perhaps unconscious) step in the direction of accepting South Africa as fatherland. Before the end of the seventeenth century some of the free burghers were already indicating that they were not planning on leaving the country again (Van der Merwe 1975:67).

Very soon the free burghers realised that their concerns differed from that of the administration (the Kompanjie). They sporadically clashed with the authorities. Initially, the clashes were mainly about economics, but gradually the burghers realised that political action was required to protect their concerns. The activities of the Cape Patriots (1779) demonstrated a high level of political sophistication and had a measurably wider impact (Van Jaarsveld 1980:218). By this time the VOC was already an aged and ineffectual company, with a crumbling Cape administration. The uprisings in Graaff-

Reinet and Swellendam (1795) were symptoms of a growing feeling among the burghers that their welfare was no longer being tended to by the Cape administration, which was administered from far away. They would rather tend to their own concerns. The isolated and independent life of the border farmers contributed to this feeling of self-resourcefulness.

Under British rule, a new element of discontent with the administration came into being, especially after the arrival of the British Settlers in 1820. The policy of Anglicisation now threatened not only economic welfare, but also their culture, especially with regard to language and religion.

Giliomee (1999:13-20) argues that during this period there were signs of a growing consciousness of communal interest, which differed from that of the administration, and therefore an own identity. Furthermore, there was the impression that this personal identity was being threatened on a multitude of levels; a need to preserve this identity; and a sense that identity could only be preserved by shaping their own destiny. A sense of self-realization and a striving for self-preservation thus developed, and resolved into a need for self-dispensation.

Van der Merwe (1975:69) maintains that the level of self-dispensation reached from 1838 to 1910 was incomplete and of short duration. Britain maintained a powerful presence in the Cape, and from early on placed legal and *de facto* restrictions on the independence of the Boer republics in the interior. The republics had to defer to Britain with regards to internal matters, which was incompatible with self-determination. By the end of the nineteenth century the dream of self-determination was irrevocably and finally shattered (Van der Merwe 1975:69). With this, a new threat against the Afrikaner emerged: a renewed policy of Anglicisation by the government and (for the Afrikaner) a too-liberal strategy with regard to racial affairs.

Before and during the Second War of Independence the term *"Afrikaner"* had no nuanced significance, probably because it was used as an alternative to the word *"Boer"*, by which was meant a *"Hollandsch sprekende kolonist van Zuid-Afrika, inzonderheid die van de Transvaal and de Oranje-Vrystaat"* (Van Dale 1915, *Handwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*).

The use of the word *"Boer"* during the Second War of Independence, especially in newsprint, is familiar. Furthermore, the word *"Afrikaner"* does not appear in the 1895 edition of the comprehensive standard dictionary of the Dutch Language (*WNT*). From 1915 onwards it features in Van Dale, where an Afrikaner was defined as: *"in Zuid-Afrika geboren blanke van Europeeschen oorsprong"*. For Naudé and others (1969:98), the word *"Afrikaner"* *"in opposition to the broader designation 'South African'"*, means *"indicative of the white population of South Africa who are descendants from the first colonists. This means Dutch from Calvinistic families, as well as Huguenots, Germans, and later especially the Scots, who intermarried with the Dutch – people whose language mainly developed from Dutch and who accepted the spiritual inheritance of Calvin as their own"*. In this study the Afrikaner is shortly defined as a white population group with an own culture and identity.

Even though it is not possible to associate the birth of the Afrikaner with a single moment or event in history, authors do distinguish various significant factors in this regard. The main factor is probably the significant impact that religious principles had on the builders of the Afrikaner nation. In 1652, the Dutch settlers on the southern tip of Africa brought their own religious dogma with them, namely the *Heidelberg Catechism, the Confessio Belgica and the Canon of Dordt* – collectively known as the Three Formularies of Accord, to guide their thinking and behaviour in their new-found fatherland.

During the synod in Dordrecht in 1618/1619, the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of the United Netherlands laid down explicit rules for the religious life and faith of all the Protestant-Reformed devout in the Netherlands. The synod in Dordrecht was primarily about choice. Those who believed as prescribed by the church in the Formularies were sure of their eternal selection by God – a selection that was irrevocable, as described in the Formularies. God's choice could never be recalled or declared invalid. Whoever did not believe as prescribed, was doomed to eternal judgement by the God of the Reformers – which was also binding. Thus, whoever was not selected was doomed to hell. They did not stand any chance of a blessed eternal life (Albertyn and others 1947:38-40 and Akenson 1992:104-110).

With this belief and certainty of their Godly predestination, the *first Dutch immigrants* settled themselves on African soil (Elphrick & Giliomee 1988:27-31). As the chosen of God, they were certain that God had accompanied them, and that they were in this far-off land because God wanted it so (Albertyn and others 1947:57-59). This was the binding foundation of the first Europeans who settled themselves as Reformed Protestants in the Cape, and this remained the foundation on which their descendants, the Afrikaners, would build their destiny in the far-off southerly land. According to this perception, the Colonists (and later the Afrikaners) were placed in South Africa to maintain justice and bring the light of the Gospel and civilisation to Africa.

Professor F.J.M. Potgieter, previously Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the Seminary of Stellenbosch, summed up the impact of the Synod of Dordrecht on the settlement of the Afrikaner as follows: *"It must be considered that the settlement at the Cape took place only decades after the famous Synod of Dordrecht. At that Synod it had been decided that a new translation of the Bible must be undertaken. This was published in 1637, and on the 6 April 1652 the flagships, the 'Drommedaris', 'Reyger' and 'De Goede Hoop' sailed into Table Bay with this edition on board. The Dutch Authorised Edition ('Statebybel') is without a doubt the most precious possession of the Afrikaner nation. From inception, it was the guide for the life and doctrine of our ancestors. It shaped them: the child had to read from it and be spiritually fed; adults accepted the authority without question. So inextricably is the nation's founding, its being and existence interwoven with the Word of God, that the soul of the nation and nature of Afrikanership can never be calculated without it"* (Naudé and others 1969:98).

Taking the abovementioned into account, Van Jaarsveld (1981:47-48) and Du Preez (2005a:2) argue that the conscious and subconscious knowledge that the Afrikaner was placed in Africa by God runs like a golden thread through the founding and developmental process of the Afrikaner. Reformational Protestantism can indeed be known to ground the cultural configuration of the Afrikaner.

The awareness of a historical vocation and the reconstruction of Afrikaner history is a second, central factor with regard to ethnogenesis which can be distinguished in the Afrikaner. Especially Marais (1980:12) is an outspoken exponent in this regard. The meaning of the history, with regard to ethnogenesis, can be illustrated in different ways.

Cattell (2001:14-15) for example, focuses on the mythical role of national heroes, while Van der Merwe (1975:66-72) concentrates on central themes. To him, the struggle for self-determination is the golden thread which weaves through the Afrikaner's history. He differentiates the following four time periods in the Afrikaner history:

(i)   1652 to 1838, when the premise of self-preservation becomes evident in a struggle for self-determination;

(ii)   1838 tot 1910, when the premise of self-preservation becomes obvious as an understanding of the necessity of national unity;

(iii)   1910 tot 1961, when national unity as a requirement of self-preservation was mostly achieved; and

(iv)   a period starting around 1961, that concerned the preservation of national unity.

According to Van der Merwe (1975:69) at the end of the second period (1838-1910) the Afrikaner found himself in a radically changing world. Self-preservation through self-determination was a bygone dream – the Afrikaner had to share the same constituency with other nations who were not participants in his unique national interests. Through circumstances, a new weapon for self-preservation was placed in his hands, however. After unification, the Afrikaner was in the majority according to the "democratically" organised political unity (because it was confined to the white population of the country). This majority placed the grasp of political power and self-preservation within the reach of the Afrikaner. A new potential struggle was thus born: national unity. Only through accord could the Afrikaner achieve power.

Van der Merwe (1975:70-71) maintains that the start of the third period was characterised by everything but unity. There was no consensus among leaders as to the need or benefit of sequestering political power with the Afrikaner as an exclusive group. Prime Minister Louis Botha saw the advantage for the Afrikaner in conciliation with the English speaking population and the overpowering authority of Britain, and the construction of a new South African nation. General Jan Smuts saw progressive benefit in the amalgamation of the Afrikaner nation into the greater unity of the British Empire – thus relinquishing own identity. General J.B.M. Hertzog, supported by former president M.T. Steyn, saw a threat to the Afrikaner identity and concerns in Botha's reconciliation policy (Van der Merwe 1975:71). Especially the English-speaking faction of the white

population was in a strong economic and cultural position. Hertzog believed that conciliation would mean capitulation by the Afrikaner. For him the opinions of Smuts and Botha had the same end result – disappearance of the Afrikaner.

The apparent initial unity in the Afrikaner ranks started to crumble by December 1912, during the break between Botha and Hertzog. Of political determination for the sake of self-preservation there was little chance before and immediately after 1912.

The events after 1912 (the Rebellion of 1914, the South West Campaign, the strikes of 1912 to 1922) alienated more Afrikaners from Smuts, and encouraged them to adhere to Hertzog's point of view. During the elections of 1924, Hertzog took over the government in coalition with the Labour Party (LP) of Creswell. From 1924 tot 1929 the Afrikaners played a dominant political role, but they had to make important concessions to their Labour partners. From 1929 to 1933 Hertzog held an all-out majority, but decided to carry on in the spirit of the coalition.

Van der Merwe (1975:72) maintains that from 1934 to 1939 (and up to 1948) the government cannot be seen as an Afrikaner administration, because a significant proportion of Afrikaners distanced themselves from it, and the government included a major portion of the English speaking population. There was no indication of Afrikaner unity in politics.

As did the First World War, the Second World War increased the divide within the Afrikaner ranks. Some Afrikaners enlisted in the armed forces, others joined the *"Ossewa-Brandwag"*, while others distanced themselves from both. General Hertzog left the United Party (UP) to join Malan in the United National Party (UNP). Between Hertzog and Malan there were deep-seated divergences however, and soon Hertzog resigned from politics.

According to Van der Merwe (1975:71), by 1947 an important group of Afrikaners saw the Smuts government as a threat to their self-preservation, partly because many Afrikaners associated Smuts with the English speaking population and the vision of the British Empire, as well as Smuts' *"let-it-be"* policy with regard to *"non-whites"*. The Afrikaners' language was marginalized in the cities and in government, and it was felt

that the Smuts government paid no attention to language equality. Afrikaans was losing ground against the far more culture-compelling English. This was largely attributed to government actions. The Afrikaners felt threatened on all sides.

The realisation slowly dawned that Afrikaners' primary national concerns would not be maintained if they did not have the political power to ensure this for themselves (Van der Merwe 1975:72). They also picked the bitter fruits of earlier division during and after the war years. The writing was on the wall, especially with regard to language rights and the relationship with *"non-whites"*. This gave rise to an agreement in 1947 between Malan and Havenga, which lead to an election victory in 1948 for the parties in which Afrikaners were predominant. The 1948 victory was unexpected and from all sides the belief was expressed that Malan's government would not last long, probably no longer than one term. Even though the Afrikaners majority in the House of Assembly was very small (it was based on a minority of votes at the poll), the Malan cabinet of 1948 was the first that was totally represented by Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975:72).

In 1951 the UP and the LP merged to form the former National Party (NP). The NP gradually began to gain ground, and up to 1966 won each subsequent election under different prime ministers, managing to gain more votes at the ballot-box and enlarge their majority in the House of Assembly. Only in 1961, after 13 years of rule, could the NP announce an outright majority (even if small) at the poll for the first time. Owing to the overwhelming support the NP received from Afrikaner ranks in 1961, Van der Merwe (1975:72) argues that the ideal of gaining political power to ensure self-preservation was achieved.

After achievement of the republican ideal in 1961, Afrikaner politics entered a new time frame. Constitutional ideals were attained. The Afrikaner was in a strong political position. Afrikaans as language achieved higher levels of acceptance than ever before, and was firmly entrenched in public service. From 1961 the Afrikaner felt strong enough to afford stretching out a hand of cooperation to non-Afrikaners (Van der Merwe 1975:72). This time, contrary to 1910, 1924 or 1933, the NP did not place its basic character as an Afrikaans party on the line. Up to 1980 it had gained little active support from members of other groups owing to its primary Afrikaans character.

In summary, Van der Merwe (1975:73) states that it can be argued that through their developmental history, Afrikaners realised that their survival could only be assured as long as they retained political control of the country. This writer maintains that Afrikaner political control was dependent upon national unity until 1994.

Racial concern was the third factor that played a role in the foundation and development of the Afrikaner. Although Degenaar (1987:233) states that it would be incorrect to project the development of the Afrikaner purely on the history of the seventeenth-century Afrikaner, it would also be unacceptable to disregard the facts, events and declarations of that time. In this regard Dalcanton (1973:305-306). Rhoodie (1969:6-26) and Tatz (1962:1-3) emphasize that the initial foundation of the (Cape) Afrikaner was not about settlement of an independent political system (read culture), but rather racial questions. This was a complex issue in the eighteenth-century Cape. Even so, Degenaar (1984a:52) is of the opinion that one of the marginal characteristics of the Afrikaners is their descent. He expresses it as follows: *"These cultural, ethnic and religious differences which coincided with social, political and economic distinctions came to be seen in dominantly racial terms in the popular mind; the racial factor being the most visible and easily conceptualised index of group differentiation."*

Various statements confirm that the Afrikaner was/is racially aware. For example, Swart (1981:77) states unequivocally: *"Afrikanership meant white."* Jooste (1997a:61 and 1997b:102) and Marais (1980:166) confirm that the Afrikaner was concerned with biological heritage and appearance, as well as mutual relationship. Thus inbreeding and assimilation (culturally or biological) was rejected (Coertze 1983:52 and Marais 1980:124-130). The unsavoury debate about whether the so-called Coloureds are part of the Afrikaner or not, is evidence of the severity with which the Afrikaner saw the racial question, according to Botha (1938:1); Coertze (1982:138) and Sparks (1990:424).

From the preceding information it can firstly be deduced that representatives from different European nations were marshalled, and that the Afrikaners with their own culture and identity developed from this combination. The role of the environment (the southern tip of Africa), as well as a definite historical context were of particular importance, and played a significant role in the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaner. Secondly, it must be noted that it cannot be assumed without question that higher cultural

considerations, such as language was the only, or even most significant factor with regard to the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaner. The inclination to distinguish *"us"* from *"them"* on the grounds of negative racial considerations is a factor that was present from the beginning, and has left a mark on the values, culture and identity of the Afrikaner.

3.5 AFRIKANER NARRATIVE AND MYTHS IN THE PRE-1994 ERA

In connection with Van der Merwe's (1975) typifying of Afrikaner history as a push for self-preservation, it is understandable that themes such as national unity and political control over a region would feature prominently in Afrikaner narratives. For example, Van Wyk (1994:305) emphasises that Afrikaner narrative contains characteristic epic material, especially with regard to the scattering and large-scale migration to the South African interior, battles with indigenous peoples, the commandos, strong leadership figures, as well as the perception of the protection and intervention of God. The continual narrative interpretation and reiteration of this past – in the form of political rhetoric and literature – did not only sharpen the Afrikaner's historical awareness, but also strengthened the bond of the nation to the national place of origin (Cattell 2001:13). In connection with the narrative integration of the present with the past, the adoption of history in the present in the form of national symbols, for example, the erection of monuments and rituals, of which the most important according to Moodie (1975:20-21), was the celebration of the Day of the Covenant, led to a general dedication of the Afrikaner past. Pienaar (1964:235) maintains that the sentiments that were conjured up by the continuity of the mythical origin of the nation come to the forefront in statements such as that of D.F. Malan in 1937. Malan described the Afrikaner history as the *"greatest artwork of the century"* and *"a miracle"*.

3.6 AFRIKANER NARRATIVE AND MYTHS IN THE POST –1994 ERA

André P. Brink (2000:117) describes that there has been a near obsessive fixation with the past in Afrikaans literature during the last decade. He says that the story of the Afrikaner is repeatedly re-examined and re-told. Where there used to be a large measure of analogy around the shared tale (e.g. the path that *"we"* travelled up to now, with a Jan van Riebeeck, the Free Burghers, the Great Trek, Boer Republics, the Boer War and

the Rebellion), this has come under pressure and there are progressively more Afrikaners who do not feel that this saga is *"our story"* any longer.

Professor Nico Smith's interpretation of the Afrikaner's origin legend (http://www.litnet.co.za – 2005:1-23) is an example of a new type of Afrikaner narrathology. For obvious reasons, not all Afrikaners agree with his version. The point however, is that for various reasons, progressively more Afrikaners may begin to accept it, and thus award it the status of truth.

Smith (http://www.litnet.co.za – 2005:2-23) is of the opinion that the Afrikaners' ancestors made themselves at home on the African soil without the invitation: No negotiations were entered into with whoever had birth-right in the region, and thus they settled without permission. To him, they were squatters in the true sense of the word, and they would have remained so if they had kept to the original goal of why they came here. Their lords, of whom there were seventeen in the Netherlands, and with that their LORD, which was Traid, sent them to establish a refreshment post (a "Hamburger Hut", as Casper de Vries called it) here at the southern tip of Africa, and at the same time to expand the kingdom of their LORD. Under the leadership of their *"chief-induna"*, Jan van Riebeeck, they squatted here in order to accumulate profit for their lords and their LORD; to enrich their motherland the, Netherlands; and to subjugate the *"wild"* and *"brutal"* people in Africa to their LORD.

Smith explains that the first whites (the ancestors of the Afrikaners) initially lived in informal settlements, but then immediately started to build a fort – an indication that their stay would be permanent. He continues*: "... that the first permanent structure which was built was a fort, was an indication that they felt threatened because they knew that they had committed an illegality and they had to defend themselves against those against which they had misbehaved – the legal inhabitants of the land. They therefore knew well that their squatting was not acceptable to the original owners of the land and had to defend their uninvited presence. And when the legal owners had been driven off the farm or tamed, the fort became a castle in which the kings (or in African terms: indunas) of the squatters could reside. And kings (indunas) want to create subjects and rule. That is why a simple refreshment station was soon no longer sufficient. The refreshment post had to be extended. So Van Riebeeck gave permission for some of the*

squatters to start occupying farms. From squatting status the squatters progressed to a new status – that of farm occupancy" (http://www.litnet.co.za – 2005:3-23).

Smith refers to the settling of the whites at the Cape in 1652 as the establishment of the squatting. He says: *"The humble start in 1652, as Giliomee calls the commencement of the squatting, progressed after only five years of squatting in the refreshment post, to brutal farm occupancy. The nine squatters to who Van Riebeeck gave the right to go and occupy farms in 1657, were rightly called free burghers, 'free' farmers – free to work out an own living on their gratis acquired property. Ten years later there were 35 free farmers and another 20 years later, 260. At the start of the eighteenth century there were 2 000 free farm occupiers and at the end of the eighteenth century 25 000. When the farm occupancy eventually came to an end, 87% of the land belonged to the free farmers and only 13% to the original owners of South Africa. Indeed a freedom in squatting that knew no bounds. There were also no bounds to their crusade to invade and occupy, because 'God's goodness' towards them, as they saw it and sang in one of their church hymns, knew no bounds. When bounds were justly placed on the free farmers, they simply packed up and moved – northwards. Dat vrije volk zijn wij! They wanted to be free and accepted no Property Limited. They wanted to be a free company, which could privately and limitlessly work out a living of their own choice and contemplation..."*

"But in the end history caught up with the Afrikaners and their appointment to reign was withdrawn. What an irony. God placed the Afrikaners in Africa to reign, appointed them to maintain right and order, and Christianise the wild and rude people, and when they had done all this, and built up the land with offerings of blood and goods, God took the reign away from them and gave the land back to the wild and rude people from whom they had taken it." According to Smith, history is indeed a cruel judge who rightly decides the destiny of nations and people in the end. Or rather, history only fulfils the judgement which people construct for themselves.

Previously it was indicated that identification contains an element of self-ascribing, as well as ascribing by *"others"*. Applied to this study, it means that the narrative of other culture groups regarding their experiences, opinions and perceptions of the Afrikaners become important if the Afrikaners want to understand their own identity. It is only when the Afrikaners take note of this narrative that they can make a sensible re-assessment of

their own evaluation and identity. The story of Tiro is a narrative that tells how the *"others"* experienced the Afrikaner in the Apartheid era:

"5 Februarie 1974 ...
daar was 'n swart man sy naam was Tiro
(en Tiro lê in sy eie bloed)
wou mos geleerdheid gaan haal by 'n 'universiteit'
(en Tiro lê in sy eie bloed)
waar hy hardegat getrek het om sy opvoeding tóé te pás
(en Tiro lê in sy eie bloed)
toe voor hy nog verban kon word tot die staat van leefdooies
het hy sy geboortegrond se stof afgeskud
vir 'n dorp met die naam Gaberone in 'n land
met die naam van Botswana in die woestyn
met oral vlammetjies van 'n stryd-om-vryheid
wat sy woorde laat ontbrand het ...
en die baas moes toon dat 'n windgat kaffer
sy plek moet ken, of so nié ...
en die baas het vir Tiro 'n slim boek gepos
en Tiro lê in sy eie bloed
en Tiro lê in sy eie bloed
en Tiro is die binnevlam binne die rooi
('boeke is bomme, vir my dooie broer, Abraham')"

(Breytenbach 1981:19)

[Free translation for the sake of this study:

"5 February 1974 ...
there was a black man his name was Tiro
(and Tiro lies in his own blood)
wanted to get a learning from a 'university'
(and Tiro lies in his own blood)
where he took a hard line to apply his learning
(and Tiro lies in his own blood)
then before he could even be banned to the status of living-death
he shook off the dust of his fatherland
for a town with the name Gaberone in a land
with the name Botswana in the desert
with flames of a struggle-for-freedom all around
that caught his words on fire ...
and the boss had to show that a windbag kaffir
must know his place, or else ....
and the boss posted a clever book to Tiro
and Tiro lies in his own blood
and Tiro lies in his own blood
and Tiro is the inner flame inside the scarlet
('books are bombs, for my dead brother, Abraham')"

(Breytenbach 1981:19)]

In a sense, the narrative of Tiro can be seen as *"lesser history",* because it never gained as much attention in the *"official"* (white) historical account as that of Steve Biko for example, or because the full saga of his life and death was unknown or even suppressed. Figures such as Abraham Tiro count among the many black people who died under questionable conditions during the hegemony of the Apartheid government. Their names were never made known or were forgotten with the passage of time. Sometimes such lesser history and narrative is utilised in fictional format: Tiro, as (among others) Ephraim Tiro in Jeanette Ferreira's (1985:64) *Citation of a revolution.* In Breytenbach's poem, the fictionalising process is forestalled, not only by the date at the top and the footnote below the verse, but also by the compound method of storytelling.

From the preceding information it is clear that standard, traditional narrative can no longer be accepted as the only adequate narrative of the Afrikaner. Among Afrikaners, the need has arisen to re-shape their narrative, as well as to take note of the narrative about them from other countrymen.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Since 1994, the Afrikaners have been undergoing extensive changes in culture, values, identity, and narrative. This is mainly owing to the change in the environment in which the Afrikaners find themselves, namely the so-called *"new"* South Africa, which has greatly changed since the scheduled date, and is still doing so. In anthropology (or more precisely, cultural ecology) it is accepted that culture is the result of adaptation to a definite environment. If the contemporary Afrikaner wants to be anthropologically understood, attention will have to be paid to the context in which the Afrikaner exists and functions, namely the *"new"* South Africa, and what influence this has (had) on the Afrikaner.

A second comment is that the process of adaptation, re-examination and redefining of the Afrikaner is in full swing. It has not yet been completed, thus no final answers can be given about the outcome. The fact that the Afrikaner is caught in a fluid situation leads to uncertainty, which is reflected in the multitude of dialogues that rage within Afrikaner ranks. Given these realities, it is understandable that the former Afrikaner narratives have

become obsolete, and that an urgent need has arisen for new narratives for the Afrikaner in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Notwithstanding the problems in constructing definitions, especially in a post modernistic context, it was decided that the departure point of this article would be that the Afrikaner is a white population group with an own culture. Afrikaners are probably one of the most recent examples of ethnogenesis. Representatives of different nations from Europe were unified in a defined context, in a definite setting developed an own identity. The role of the locality (the southern most tip of Africa), is of special importance and has contributed specifically to the Afrikaner identity.

[2] In this article the male form has been applied consistently, although the meaning is inclusive.

ARTICLE 4

<u>RELIGION AS PART OF AFRIKANER IDENTITY</u>

This article will be published in 2010 in the Journal *Modern Africa*.

ARTICLE 4

RELIGION AS PART OF AFRIKANER IDENTITY

"What yesterday was religion is no longer such today; and what today is atheism, tomorrow will be religion."

(Feuerbach 1941)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The attribution of a specific culture or cultural characteristics to a group, in order to identify it, is a common phenomenon in anthropology. In short, the crux of the matter is that identity is embedded in a distinctive culture, and that culture is essential for the reproduction of identity. Although anthropologists differ regarding the nature and meaning of culture and cultural boundaries, the notion that culture and identity are based on, and integrated by shared fundamental values, represents a general anthropological assumption (cf. Barth 1969:102; Benedict 1952:43; Despres 1975:40; Geertz 1964:23 and Mönnig 1980:32). With reference to the foregoing, religion will be used as the point of departure in this article, in order to shed light on the culture and identity of Afrikaners. Consequently, the concept of *"religion",* and the linking of this concept with identity, will be discussed.

4.2 RELIGION AS IDENTITY

In the modern world, two tendencies of almost equal strength can be distinguished in respect of identity. On the one hand, there is the influence of factors such as globalisation, an information-based business culture, larger political regional units and the mobility of people across boundaries. Although these developments (may) pose a threat to underlying, distinctive identities, there is a revival of unique identities and lifestyles, which are flourishing in the recesses of the greater community. As result the the people of today have different; often concurrent; sometimes mutually compatible or mutually exclusive identities. These identities are based on, and constructed from, universal and/or particular details, as well as the ascribing of content (Erasmus 2003:4). Apart from the above-mentioned differences in emphasis, when applicable qualities and

meanings of identity are considered, there is usually an implicit reference to that which has been perceive as being religion. The reason for this is that identity only acquires meaning in an interactional context with other people. The answering of the question: *"Who am I?"* only takes place with due consideration of the discourse between the collective consciousness and the individual consciousness. It is here that religion, value judgements, stereotypes and prejudices play a decisive role – embedded in the individual's perceptions of him-/herself and others, as well as the religions, opinions, views, approaches and customs that are linked to the own cultural and physical environment where a particular way of life is pursued (Van der Waal 1998:2).

Ludwig Feuerbach, in his work *Das Wesen des Christetums* (1841), translated into English by George Eliot under the title *The Essence of Christianity* in 1853, states that *"religion is consciousness of the infinite. Religion therefore is nothing else than the consciousness of the infinity of the consciousness; or, in the consciousness of the infinite, the conscious subject has for this object the infinity of his own nature. Thus God is nothing else than man: he is, so to speak, the outward projection of man's inward nature."*

In other words, the question that Feuerbach is asking is: Did God create human beings, or did human beings create God? Did God create the Afrikaners who supported Apartheid and separation on the basis of race; or did the Afrikaners create for themselves a God and a religion that justified Apartheid and segregation on the basis of scripture?

According to Dr Andries Treurnicht (1975:77-78), a well-known Afrikaner theologian and later, Apartheid politician, the strength of the Afrikaners as a nation lay in the role of the church. He stated that the history of the Afrikaner could not be written without the history of the Afrikaans churches. *"No-one would allege that our churches have never failed our people, or that our people have always displayed proper appreciation for, and loyalty to, the church. But our people have never been without the church.*

To mention but one example, think of the significance that our churches' reflections on the relationships between nations, in the light of Scripture, held for the regulation of our political system. The fact that our Afrikaans churches declared themselves to be against integration and miscegenation between white and non-white, was of great moral support

to the Afrikaner nation. Incidentally, the petition bearing the greatest number of signatures ever handed in to our (i.e. the South African) Parliament – namely a petition submitted in 1939 bearing almost a quarter of a million signatures – requested separation between white and non-white, as well as a prohibition on mixed marriages. And a 'churchman' – Father Kestell – was at the forefront of the petitioners."[15]

The British theologian Christopher Dawson (1948:4), points out that one can only understand a cultural community if one grasps its religious origins, as well as the fundamental principles of its religion. He insists that such understanding is essential if one wishes to comprehend the original formation and the subsequent transformation of any human culture. He asserts: *"In all ages the first creative works of a culture are due to a religious inspiration and dedicated to a religious end. The temples of the gods are the most enduring works of man. Religion stands at the threshold of all the great literatures of the world. Philosophy is its offspring and is a child which constantly returns to its parent. And the same is true of social institutions. Kingship and law are religious institutions and even today they have not entirely divested themselves of their numinous character, as we can see in the English coronation rite and in the formulas of our law courts. All the institutions of family and marriage and kinship have a religious background and have been maintained and are still maintained by formidable social sanctions."*

Max Weber's works deal with rationalisation in the sociology of religion and government. His most famous work is his essay, *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"* (Weber 1930 – translated into English by Talcott Parsons), which marked the beginning of his work dealing with the sociology of religion. In this essay, Weber argued that religion is one of the non-exclusive reasons for the different ways in which the cultures of the Occident and the Orient have developed. He stressed the importance of particular characteristics of ascetic Protestantism which led to the development of capitalism, bureaucracy and the rational-legal state that was characteristic of the West.

According to Émile Durkheim (1912), the study of religion in classical anthropology was primarily concerned with two broad issues, namely:

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[15] Translated from the original Afrikaans.

- How did religion contribute to the maintenance of social order?

- What was the relationship between religion and the capitalist society?

These two issues were typically combined in the argument that industrial capitalism would undermine traditional religious commitment and thereby threaten the cohesion of society. More recently, the subject has been narrowly defined as the study of religious institutions.

Émile Durkheim (cf. Durkheim 1912 – translated into English by Joseph Swain) was an adherent of the positivist tradition, which means that he thought of his study of society as being dispassionate and scientific. He was deeply interested in the question as to what held complex modern societies together. Religion, he argued, was an expression of social cohesion. His underlying aim was to understand the existence of religion in the absence of belief in any religion's actual tenets. Durkheim regarded totemism as the most basic form of religion. Durkheim maintains that it is in this belief system that the fundamental separation between the sacred and the profane is the clearest. He claimed that all other religions are outgrowths of this distinction, adding to it myths, images, and traditions to it. Durkheim believed that the totemic animal was the expression of the sacred and the original focus of religious activity because it was the emblem for a social group, the clan. Religion is thus an inevitable factor, just as society is an inevitable factor when individuals live together as a group.

In Durkheim's view, the model for relationships between people and the supernatural was the relationship between individuals and the community, hence his famous suggestion that "*God is society, writ large*". Durkheim believed that people ordered the physical world, the supernatural world, and the social world according to similar principles.

Durkheim's primary aim was to identify the social origin of religion, since he felt that religion was a source of camaraderie and solidarity. It was the individual's way of becoming recognisable within an established society. His secondary aim was to identify links between certain religions in different cultures, finding a common denominator. Belief in supernatural realms and occurrences may not run through all religions like a

common thread; yet there is a clear division in respect of different aspects of life certain types of behaviour and physical objects.

Durkheim argued that in the past, religion had been the cement of society – the means by which men had been led to turn from the everyday concerns in which they variously were enmeshed, to a common devotion of sacred things. His definition of religion, currently favoured by scholars in the anthropology of religion read as follows: *"A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them."*

Durkheim also followed an extreme macro-approach, in terms of which social norms are believed to shape our consciousness. He believed that *"society has to be present within the individual",* and saw religion as a mechanism that shored up or protected a threatened social order. In his view, religion had been the cement of society in the past; but he was convinced that the collapse of religion would not lead to a moral implosion. Durkheim was specifically interested in religion as a communal experience, rather than an individual one. He asserted that religious phenomena occur when a separation is made between the profane (the realm of everyday activities) and the sacred (the realm of the extraordinary and the transcendent). They differ, depending on what man chooses them to be.

In the following section the impact of the religious perspectives of the Afrikaners in the formation of their identity will be considered, based on Durkheim's perspectives.

4.3 <u>THE RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF THE AFRIKANER</u>

The religious influences that played a role in the coming into being of the Afrikaner nation is often not fully understood or appreciated, and are at times even overlooked. According to Durkheim, spirituality renders an important contribution to the origin of a nation's way of thinking and acting. With a view to achieving a broader insight into the origin of the Afrikaners, it is essential to pay attention to the religious convictions of the founders of the Afrikaner nation. Thus, I would like to touch on a few religious aspects of the Afrikaners' origins on the basis of church history.

In 1652, the Dutch colonists brought their own religion with them to serve as a compass for their way of thinking, and guide their actions in their newly-found locality or setting of South Africa. This religion was embodied in the Three Formularies of Unity, namely the Heidelberg Catechism, the Dutch Creed and the Canons of Dordrecht. The National Synod of the Reformed Churches of the United Netherlands had laid down these standing rules for the faithful and life of all Protestant Reformed believers in the Netherlands during at the synod of Dordrecht in 1618. The Dutch colonists at the Cape, all belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, of which they brought an offshoot from Holland and transplanted onto African soil, were obliged to submit to these rules of life (Smith, *"Verraaiers en profete: Afrikanerdissidente"* in http://www.litnet.co.za – 2005:1-23).

With these three rules of faith and life the final *"canon"* of the Protestant Reformed doctrine was settled and sealed. No-one could add anything at a later stage. 350 Years later, that which is currently still regarded by the majority of Afrikaners, as the true Christian doctrine, is still upheld. It remains unchanged, without any additions or amendments. No matter how much times and circumstances may have changed, the three Formularies of Unity remain fixed for all time – just like the Holy Trinity. Nothing more and nothing less has ever been necessary, least of all the Creed of Belhar![16] The Reformed credo had finally been spelt out and established for all time. The fact that new times have changed, bringing new questions that require new answers, is simply ignored. In fact, the truth that few Afrikaners still know or understand the contents of these three formularies of doctrine, makes no difference. Indeed, the "church fathers" are, familiar with them; all church members must simply adhere to what has been taught and handed down to them. This is the way it has always been, ever since the Afrikaners came into being and this is the way it remains, to this day.

Of these three formularies of doctrine, the Canons of Dordrecht were the last to be formulated, with a view to expounding and establishing what the term *"Reformed"* should signify for time and eternity (Van den Berg 1983:20). This famous even notorious, synod at Dordrecht was held a mere 34 years before the first Dutch arrivals settled at the Cape of Good Hope; and adherents of this ultimately formulated Reformed

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[16] See annexure 1.

doctrine were among the companions of Jan van Riebeeck (Treurnicht 1975:3). Most of the group of Dutch colonists had probably been children or young people at the time when the proceedings of the synod of Dordrecht were under way, or had at least been brought up in the context of the religious climate of the relevant canons.

Moreover, this was surely a synod that would not have passed by unnoticed or unheard of by the members of the Reformed churches. After all, it lasted for six-and-a-half months (from 13 November 1618 to 29 May 1619). Not only were more than 200 clergymen suspended from office by the synod, but the State General (the governing authorities) had banished a considerable number of clergymen from the country at the request of the synod (Smith, *"Verraaiers en profete: Afrikanerdissidente"* in http:www.litnet.co.za – 2005:1-23).

Thus, the synod of Dordrecht was not just an ordinary synod making decisions regarding trifling matters. Rather, it dealt with matters of life and death for the members of the church – matters that determined faith and life, and particularly the eternal being of the faithful. Those who believed in the manner prescribed by the church in the Canons were assured of their eternal predestination and irrevocable calling by God, as stipulated in the Canon. This calling of the chosen ones by God could thus never be revoked or declared invalid. And whoever did not believe in the prescribed manner was destined to suffer the eternal judgement of the Reformed believers' God. This, too, was irrevocable. In short, those who had not been called and chosen simply had no chance of attaining a blessed eternal life. They were doomed to hell eternally (Kinghorn 1986:47-48).

Cherishing this belief along with their assurance of their own God-given calling, the Dutch colonists settled on African soil. The conviction that they had been appointed by *"Divine Majesty"* was already entrenched in the prayer that the Here XVII had prescribed to Van Riebeeck, and that had to be used at the opening of all meetings of the General Council (later known as the Political Council). In this manner, the Dutch Colonists believed they had been appointed by the God of their Reformed church to maintain the administration of Justice (law and order) in their new dwelling-place at the Cape in South Africa; and to convert the *"wild and brazen people"* (the indigenous black nations) of Africa to the only true Christian doctrine (Smith, *"Verraaiers en profete: Afrikanerdissidente"* in http:www.litnet.co.za – 2005:1-23).

Albertyn and others (1947:41-42) also states that the Dutch colonists' claim that they had been appointed by their God to maintain law and order at the Cape had been received by them by virtue of the Canons of Dordrecht. In accordance with these Canons, they believed that whoever was baptised and believed could lay claim to the firm assurance that he/she had been predestined for eternal life by God and that this predestination was fixed for all eternity, even before the foundation of the world. As the chosen of their God, they were assured that God had accompanied them, and that they were in this remote country because he had willed it so. This belief was the deepest foundation on which the establishment of the first Europeans as Reformed Protestants in the Cape was based.; And it is on this same foundation that their descendants, the Afrikaners, would build up their own way of life in the remote southlands. They had been placed here by God, and also appointed by Him to uphold the law, to spread the light of the Gospel and establish civilisation here in Africa (Mills, *"Religion and Afrikaner Nationalism"* in http://www.husky1.stmarys.ca – 2004:1-5).

Should one particular common, collective consciousness be ascribed to the Afrikaners, then it must surely be the conscious and oblivious certainty that they had been placed in Africa by their God. Only on the grounds thereof they could they lay claim to being in control. After all, they had been appointed by their God. This consciousness was woven through the history of the Afrikaners like a golden thread (Elphick and Davenport 1997:135-139).

In 1857, the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church also resolved that persons of colour should henceforth meet in separate buildings in order to exercise their ecclesiastical privileges (Kinghorn 1986:87-88). This decision was in direct conflict with a resolution taken by the synod in 1829, whereby it was unanimously proposed that Communion should be administered simultaneously to all members, without any distinction in respect of colour or origins, based on the infallible Word of God. Moreover, it was the duty of all Christian communities, and of every Christian in particular, to think and act in accordance therewith (Hofmeyr 2005:19).

What is strange is that the synod of 1857 upheld the resolution of the synod of 1829 on Biblical grounds, yet decided all the same, not to follow it through in practice. The

synodal resolution of 1857 reads as follows:[17] *"The synod deems it to be desirable, and scripturally sound, that our members from amongst the heathen should be included and incorporated into our existing congregations, wherever this is possible. But in cases where this measure, as a result of the weakness of some, would stand in the way of the promotion of the cause of Christ amongst the heathen, the congregations of heathen converts, and those congregations yet to be established, should enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate building or establishment."* (Murray 1947:170).

At this point, the question arises why the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa of that time resolved to maintain the communality of believers in accordance with the Scriptures, then nevertheless went on in practice to resolve that believers of heathen origin should congregate separately.

Various historical factors played a role here. The fact that the synod of 1829 could take such a clear decision regarding the co-equality and inseparability of all believers, can be explained naturally in terms of a Biblical prescription in this regard, as stipulated in Colossians 3 verse 11, particularly*: "Here there is no Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free, but Christ is all, and is in all."* (New International Version of the Bible).

The 1829 synodal resolution can also be viewed in the light of the much-disputed Ordinance 50, which was promulgated in 1828 by the English government in the Cape at that time. As is known, the all-white colonists at the Cape were vehemently opposed to this Ordinance, which formally placed the Khoisan people (Hottentots) of that time on an equal footing with the white people of the Cape (Akenson 1992:19-21). Thus it may be assumed that the 1829 synod aimed to provide guidance in this matter by resolving that it was foregone conclusion that the equality of all believers would be upheld by the church.

The question is: Why, then, the subsequent retraction by the synod of 1857?

From the historical data it appears that opposition to Ordinance 50 of the Act, and to joint worship in the church as well, had markedly increased since 1828. The insistence of

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[17] Translated from the original Afrikaans.

the *"weak ones"* (in terms of the synod of 1857) became so strong that persons of colour had to be removed from their midst, and so the synod resolved to yield to this insistence (Murray 1947:151). This then, was the beginning of the history of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa as a church that would dance to the tune of its members. If one examines the history of this church since 1857 it becomes clear that the Dutch Reformed Church repeatedly gratified the (sinful) wishes of its members as far as the inclusion of persons of colour in the church is concerned (Giliomee 2004:13-14).

Is it no wonder then that the Dutch Reformed Church (which was the largest church amongst white Afrikaners for more than 150 years) was ultimately also obliged to pander to the wishes of its members in respect of Apartheid as a political policy?

Moreover, the word *Apartheid* also originated from within the ranks of the Dutch Reformed Church. A certain Reverend du Plessis used the word *Apartheid* for the first time to refer to the policy of the Dutch Reformed Church in respect of persons of colour in 1929 during a missionary conference in Kroonstad. Thereafter, it became part of general church parlance (Kinghorn 1986:90-91). In the first missionary policy that was released by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1935, it was declared that Apartheid was the will of God, and that it should therefore be implemented by the church (De Vries 2005:2).

After the results of the 1948 election, it was even stated in an editorial article in *Die Kerkbode* (the official newspaper of the Dutch Reformed Church) that the Dutch Reformed Church should be profoundly grateful that a government resolved to adhere to the way historically pointed out by this Church as a *"final solution"* to the country's racial problem had finally come into power (Nicol 1998:14). After all (claimed the article), this Church had learned through hard experience, that only through Apartheid could a peaceful society be attained in South Africa! (De Vries 2005:2).

4.4   THE AFRIKANERS AND THEIR CHURCH IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

There are numerous indications that, during the past 150 years, few changes in respect of persons of colour in the church have occurred in the official attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). When a total political change took place in 1994, the end of

the Apartheid era, the DRC went about its business as if *nothing* had happened in the country. As from 1994, Apartheid was set aside in its entirety, in all domains of South African society – except in the DRC, where the four separate churches for the different racial groups still continue to be maintained. For the last 32 years, since 1975, the DRC has been engaged in the process of uniting with the churches that it brought into being. Many good intentions with regard to the reuniting of the four churches have been proclaimed to the churchgoing public, particularly since 1994. It also transpired during the synod of 2007, that unification within the Dutch Reformed family is not likely to occur within the foreseeable future. It would appear that the DRC family is reluctant to bid farewell to its Apartheid resolutions (Jackson 2007:2).

Instead of proceeding to convocate the synods of the four churches of the Dutch Reformed family in 1994, and requesting them to unite in order to constitute one single church in the light of the abolition of Apartheid, the DRC calmly continued to uphold the existence of the four churches. This, in spite of the fact that the existence of such racially constituted churches was inadmissible according to the Constitution of the country (Robinson 2004:13). The DRC thereby allowed a God-given opportunity to finally get rid of the Apartheid in its midst to pass by unheeded. The loss of this opportunity, offered by the new political dispensation to the DRC to do away with the misguided resolution of 1857, cannot be explained in any other terms than once again, the will of the church members had stipulated the way ahead, instead of the church pointing out the way to its members by means of strong pastoral guidance.

Due to the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church had become a church that danced to the tune of its predominantly white Afrikaner membership over the course of its history, it gradually and increasingly became a church for white, Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners, only providing for the religious, cultural and traditional needs of the Afrikaners. Therefore, of its own free will, the DRC ultimately also has become cut off from the rest of the churches in the world. In this way it has become a *"pariah church"* of the world, with limited contact with a small group of ultra-conservative Reformed churches in various countries, and as such, only permitted to attend the international gatherings of these churches (Jackson 2006:3).

Moreover, if one considers the history of the Dutch Reformed Church after 1857, it becomes clear that, outside of Afrikaner circles, the DRC wielded little influence over South African society. If one were to ask what contribution was made by the DRC to the Ecumenical movement in South Africa, for example, the answer would amount to a round zero (Nicol 1998:14). Or, if one were to enquire into the contribution of the DRC in respect of the promotion of leadership amongst the indigenous population, it appears that in this case as well, the DRC's contribution amounts to virtually nothing at all (Robinson 2004:13). Since 1994, what number of prominent leaders, coming to the fore during the new dispensation has hailed from amongst the ranks of the so-called DRC *"daughter churches"*? To the best of my knowledge, none. What else could one have expected from a church in which the equality of believers of colour was never really acknowledged; where persons of colour who belonged to the church were kept in slavish submission?

From 1881, when the first church for persons of colour (the NG Sendingkerk [Dutch Reformed Mission Church]) was established, until the nineteen sixties of the twentieth century when the black Dutch Reformed Church of Africa was constituted, persons of colour (coloureds, blacks and Indians) were not deemed worthy to assume positions of leadership in churches constituted for them. They were allegedly not yet *"ripe",* or *"mature"* enough for leadership. The so-called daughter churches were actually dominated by white missionaries, who, in turn fell under the jurisdiction of the white DRC. The entire missionary operation of the DRC was thus aimed at founding *"non-white"* departments of the mother church, which would function under the watchful eye of the white DRC on an indefinite basis (Kinghorn 1986:70-73).

Now, after all the years of separateness in the Dutch Reformed Church family, there is still a strong movement within the mother church that will accept no structural unity in the DRC family, but only a federal association in which each church retains its autonomy, and in which the four churches only federate with one another in a consultative capacity (De Vries 2005:2).

This year marks the 355th anniversary of the transplantation of the Dutch Reformed Church from Dutch territory onto South African soil. If one tries to determine the influence of this church on South African society as a whole, the picture that presents

itself is a dismal one. The DRC of South Africa remained a church of, and for, white colonists, which was detrimental rather than beneficial to South African society as a whole. For too long, the DRC built up a church *"establishment"* that was focused only on personal advantage. There was little or no question of a true identification with the differentiated society within which the church found itself. In reality, it was merely an Afrikaner church that existed for the welfare of the small minority of Afrikaners in the country (Giliomee 2004:24-29).

According to Rossouw (*"Die NG Kerk onderweg na die vergetelheid" ["The DRC church on its way to oblivion"]* – cf. http://www.nuwe-hervorming.org.za - 2005:1-2), staggering statistics exist which indicate that Afrikaners are currently undergoing a drastic religious change. In 1980, 91% of all Afrikaners were members of one of the three Afrikaans Sister Churches. The current percentage is only 50%. In an article entitled *"NG Kerk se moderatuur steek hand in eie boesem"* [*"Synodal Board of the DRC searches its own heart"*], in *Die Kerkbode* (25 November 2005:1) it is reported that only 35% of the members of the DRC still attend church services on a regular basis. Amongst the ranks of Afrikaners, *"New Reformers", "gays"* and members of the charismatic movements are encountered with increasing frequency, while Afrikaners no longer seek the guidance of the church in political matters, as in the past (Du Preez 2005b:15).

In concurrence with De Klerk (2000:3), the current cultural state of affairs amongst Afrikaners can be summed up in terms of the fact that a pervasive cultural malaise has arisen within the Afrikaner ranks, and particularly among reasoning Afrikaners, which tends to manifest itself in the form of withdrawal, a lack of religious involvement, pessimism, cynicism, etcetera.

Currently, subsequent to 1994, many Afrikaners are confused about their identity, and feel that they are embroiled in a struggle for survival. On the one hand, boundaries between people have been legally abolished, bringing about a perception that a new communality has come into being. The *"I/we"* and the *"you/all of you"* have moved closer to one another. In some cases there is even talk of integration with a view to forming the so-called rainbow nation. For example, Buys (2005:14) answers his own question, *"Tell me – what is an Afrikaner?"* by arriving at the conclusion that the concept

of an Afrikaner should not be exclusive. He points out that *"democratic maturity"* means that one can be an Afrikaner, or a South African, or an African, or an Afrikaans-speaking person, or any combination of these and other attributes, or all of them at the same time.

In all walks of life since 1994 in South Africa , integration and transformation has been taking place. The majority of white Afrikaners have been finding these transformation processes extremely traumatic (Slabbert 1999:204). The only place where white Afrikaners are still able to successfully evade these processes is in their churches.

Against this background, Botha (http://www.general.rau.ac.za – 2005:1-5) is of the opinion that Afrikaner identity (including the religious perspectives of Afrikaners) is in a process of adjustment, redefinition and reconceptualisation. It is not certain what the outcome of this process will be – in other words, what situation the Afrikaners will find themselves in, a decade or two from now. In all probability, there will be a greater flexibility with regard to the differentiation of the Afrikaners; and they will never again be identified/identifiable in terms of rigid criteria and structures, as they were in the past.

4.5 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

On the basis of the information that has been presented in this article, it is firstly clear that since 1994, Afrikaners have been undergoing drastic changes as far as their identity and religious values are concerned. The main reason for this is that the environment in which the Afrikaners currently find themselves, namely the so-called *"new"* South Africa, has changed radically since the mentioned date, and is still in the process of changing. In anthropological terms (and more specifically in terms of the premises of cultural ecology), it is assumed that culture is the result of adaptation to a specific environment. Thus, if one is to gain an anthropological understanding of the contemporary Afrikaner, it is necessary to consider the context within which he exists and functions, namely the *"new"* South Africa, as well as the influence that it has had, and still has on Afrikaners.

A second observation is that the process of religious adjustment, rediscovery and redefinition that Afrikaners are undergoing, is moving full-steam ahead. This process is yet completed; and therefore, no final answers can be provided regarding the outcome

thereof. The fact that the Afrikaner is caught up in a volatile situation has brought about uncertainties, as reflected in the multitudinous discourses that are being waged in Afrikaner circles. The religious perspectives of Afrikaners nowadays are showing signs of post-modernism and secularisation, for example (Agenbag 2006:1).

The Afrikaners' prioritisation of their religious values has changed drastically. Economic prosperity and material success now comprise the predominant priority, and no longer a Christian-national view of life and the world. In this regard, one could speak of a typical consumer culture, with the concomitant mentality and individual focus that is attendant on such a culture (every person for himself) (Agenbag 2006:1).

As a result of Apartheid, many Afrikaners to regard their religious and ecclesiastical history, as well as their past and their origins, as being contaminated to a large extent (Slabbert 1999:154). Consequentially, Afrikaners are presently not prepared to express their ethnic sentiments strongly in public. Afrikaners are trying, as far as possible, to act in a politically correct manner. As result a new, positive, morally justifiable ethnic zeal, unaffected by the embarrassment of Apartheid *and* the international impact of the rainbow-nation ideology of post-Apartheid South Africa, has not yet been thoroughly formulated among Afrikaners. On the other hand, it would appear as if the majority of Afrikaners in post-Apartheid South Africa are not prepared to accept the challenges pertaining to acculturation and transformation with which they are confronted within church context or otherwise. Accordingly, from whatever angle one argues, the conclusion remains the same: as far as the old traditional Afrikaner church-related matters are concerned, Afrikaners have become passive.

At present we have quite a variety of believers in the Afrikaner society who read and interpret the Bible from many different angles. This stems from the fact that religion is not the pillar that supports the whole Afrikaner society anymore. It has become something more personal and more private. There is a movement from an authoritarian or hierarchical religious style, towards a focus on a variety or communion of styles, which has an impact on how Afrikaners experience the church and religion in general. For them to live in harmony, but still maintain their individual identity, requires tolerance and understanding. This should bring Afrikaners closer to other races in South

Africa, and not divide them. The way Afrikaners view the Bible today also influences the way they look at themselves, and at the current South African situation.

Annexure 1:

The Creed of Belhar[18]

The Creed of Belhar was officially adopted by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Southern Africa in 1986. It followed after the proclamation of a *status confession is* in 1982, pertaining to the repudiation of the defence of Apartheid on moral and theological grounds. The Creed reads as follows:

1. We believe in the Triune God (Father, Son and Holy Spirit), who assembles, protects and provides for his Church, from the beginning of the world until the end thereof.

2. We believe in one holy, universal Christian church, the community of saints, called out from amongst the entire human race. We believe that the redemptive work of Christ becomes manifest in this church, as a community of believers who have been reconciled to God, and reciprocally to one another; that the unity of the church of Jesus Christ is therefore simultaneously granted and commanded; that it is a cohesive power, through the working of God's Spirit, but at the same time a reality that must be earnestly pursued and sought after, and to which end the people of God must continuously be built up and edified; that this unity must be clearly apparent so that the world may be convinced that division, enmity and hatred between people and groups of people, are sin, which has already been overcome by Christ, and that everything that may threaten this unity shall consequently have no place in the church of Christ, but must be combated; that this unity of the people of God must become visibly manifest, and must be effective in a variety of ways, in that we love one another, and experience, pursue and practise fellowship with one another; in that it is incumbent on us to willingly and joyfully give of ourselves, for

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[18] Own translation.

the benefit and sanctification of one another; in that we share one faith and one calling, are one in spirit and mind, have one God and Father, and are imbued with one Spirit; in that we eat of one loaf and drink of one cup, are baptised with one baptism and profess one Name; are obedient to one Lord, strive for one cause, and share one hope with one another – to learn to know the height and breadth and depth of the love of Christ; in that we are being built up together into the embodiment of Christ, and that as we strive towards the new humanity, we understand and bear one another's burdens, thus fulfilling the law of Christ; in that we need one another and build one another up, exhort and console one another, and suffer with one another for the sake of justice; in that we pray together and serve God together in this world, and stand together in opposition to all that may hinder or threaten this unity; that this unity can only materialise in freedom and not under duress; that the diversity of spiritual gifts, opportunities, backgrounds, convictions, as well as the diversity of languages and cultures, comprise opportunities for mutual service and enrichment within the one, discernible people of God, owing to our reconciliation in Christ; that true faith in Jesus Christ is the only condition for membership of this church. Therefore, we repudiate any doctrine that either absolutises this iniquitous separation to such an extent that this absolutisation hampers or violates the discernible and effective unity of the church, or even leads to the formation of a separate church; which asserts that this spiritual unity is actually preserved by the bond of peace when believers who profess the same creed become estranged from one another for the sake of diversity, and owing to non-reconciliation; which denies that a refusal to pursue this visible unity as a precious gift constitutes sin; and which, explicitly or implicitly, claims that ethnic origin or any other human or social factors are co-determining criteria for membership of the church.

3. We believe that God has entrusted the message of reconciliation, in and through Jesus Christ, to his church, and that the church is called to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world; that the church is called blessed because its members are peacemakers; that those who belong to the church are witnesses, by word and deed, of the new heaven and the new earth, wherein justice dwells; that God, through his life-creating Word and Spirit, has overcome the powers of sin and death, and therefore also of unforgiveness and hatred, bitterness and enmity; that God, through

his life-creating Word and Spirit, enables his people to live in a new obedience which can also bring about new possibilities pertaining to life in society and in the world; that this message is rendered implausible, and the beneficial effect thereof is hampered, if it is proclaimed in a country which claims to be Christian, but in which the compulsory separation of people on the basis of their race promotes and perpetuates mutual alienation, hatred and enmity; that any doctrine which seeks to legitimise such compulsory separation on the basis of the Gospel, and which is based on an unwillingness to venture onto the path of obedience and reconciliation, and which, as a result of prejudice, fear, self-seeking and disbelief, denies, in advance, the redemptive power of the Gospel, is mere ideology and heresy. Therefore, we reject any doctrine that sanctions the forced separation of people in such a situation, on the grounds of race or colour, in the name of the Gospel or the will of God, thereby hampering, in advance, the ministry and experience of reconciliation in Christ, and robbing it of its power.

4. We believe that God has revealed Himself as the One who wishes to bring justice and true peace among human beings; that, in this world full of injustice and enmity, He is, in a special way, the God of the needy, the poor and those who have been unjustly treated, and that He has called His church to emulate Him in this regard; that He dispenses justice to the oppressed and gives bread to the hungry; that He releases the captives and gives sight to the blind; that He sustains those who are downcast, protects those who are strangers and assists widows and orphans, and obstructs the way of the wicked; that in His eyes, pure and undefiled worship consists in visiting orphans and widows in their affliction; that He wishes to teach His people to do good and to seek justice and righteousness; that it is therefore the duty of the church to assist and support those who are undergoing any form of suffering and distress, which entails, *inter alia*, that the church shall bear witness in this regard, and shall strive against any form of injustice, so that righteousness will advance like the waves, and justice like a constant stream of water; that the church, as God's possession, must stand where He stands, against injustice and in solidarity with those who are unjustly treated; that the church, being comprised of followers of Christ, must bear witness against all those vested with power and privilege who, out of self-love, seek to further their own interests, and who rule over others and treat them wrongfully. Therefore, we reject any ideology that legitimises forms of

injustice, and any doctrine that is based on an unwillingness to oppose such an ideology on the basis of the Gospel.

5.   We believe that the church is called to confess and carry out all of the foregoing, in obedience to Jesus Christ, its only Head, notwithstanding any opposition by the rulers, authorities and decrees of men, and even though punishment and suffering may be attendant on such obedience. Jesus is Lord.

To the only God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, be honour and glory forever and ever.

ARTICLE 5

MORALITY AS A PART OF AFRIKANER VALUES

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ARTICLE 5

MORALITY AS PART OF AFRIKANER VALUES[19]

"There was a keen sense of right and wrong, and of what constituted a 'good' or 'bad' Afrikaner. On a philosophical level, according to them, you were either 'for' us or 'against' us. I – together with all the others, such as Breyten Breytenbach and N.P. van Wyk Louw – was regarded as a bad Afrikaner. In all domains – including that of identity – the 'establishment' prescribed and determined what was fitting and what was not."

(Van Zyl Slabbert 1999)

5.1   INTRODUCTION

What is morality? The *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* defines it as: *"That which has a bearing on the sense of what is good and right: ethical"* [own translation*]. "Ethical"* is further defined as follows: *"In accordance with good morals: virtuous"* [own translation].

The question that arises is: Who – and what – determines what is good and right, or what is virtuous? The following Khoi-San saying serves as an example in this regard: *"Good is when I steal other people's wives and cattle; bad is when they steal mine"* (Stewart 2004:184).

In her widely-read novel, *The Story of an African Farm*, Olive Schreiner (1995:257) remarks*: "Sin looks much more terrible to those who look at it than those who do it."*

Shermer (2004:6), a well-known American psychologist, defines morality as *"right and wrong thoughts and behaviour in the context of the rules of a social group."* He then goes on to define ethics as *"the scientific study of and theories about moral thoughts and behaviours in the context of the rules of a social group."* It would thus appear as if the social group invariably comprises the focal point of morality. The social group is the entity that determines what is good, right and virtuous.

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[19] See the preamble for a detailed definition of the Afrikaner.

On the basis of various articles published in the field of the human sciences, it would seem that the morality of the social group is determined and guided at any particular point in time by God, the church, the state, or the tribe; and now, apparently by secular society with its post-modernist perspectives. It also seems that the notion of "morality" or "moral conduct" is a relative concept, since different social groups hold different value judgements at different times, and for different reasons.

In 1966 the Israeli psychologist, George Tamarin, asked 1 066 Israeli schoolchildren between the ages of eight and fourteen whether they thought that Joshua's action in wiping out the city of Jericho (cf. Joshua 6) was morally justifiable. He asked: Was it good and right that the Israelites were able to destroy the city of Jericho; to murder every living being within its walls – men, women, children and animals – and then, in the bargain, to steal the belongings of these innocent inhabitants of Jericho, appropriating them for themselves? More than 66% of these Jewish children felt that Joshua's action was indeed morally justifiable. One young respondent even gave the following answer: *"In my opinion Joshua and the Sons of Israel acted well, and here are the reasons: God promised them this land and gave them permission to conquer. If they [had] not … acted in this manner or killed anyone, then there would [have been] the danger that the Sons of Israel would [be] assimilated among the 'Goyim'"* (Shermer 2004:39). To a follow-up question as to whether they thought Adolf Hitler's actions against the Jews was morally justifiable in any way during the Second World War, these same children all answered, *"No"*.

One of the most interesting examples regarding this issue of relativity pertains to the fact that Adolf Hitler regarded himself as a Christian. He believed that what he was attempting to do (namely, to wipe out the Jews) was morally justifiable for Christians all over the world. He even made pronouncements such as the following: *"I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator; by defending myself against the Jews, I am fighting for the Lord … I would like to thank Providence and the Almighty for choosing me of all people …"* (Huberman 2007:151). In 1941, Alfred-Henri-Marie Cardinal Baudrillart, a Roman Catholic priest from Paris, had the following to say about Hitler's actions against the Jews*: "Hitler's war is a noble undertaking in defence of European culture"* (Huberman 2007:32). The question that arises is: Were all those Germans who took part in the atrocities perpetrated by Hitler immoral beings? On

reflection, a further question can be asked: What was the moral difference between the actions of Joshua and those of Hitler, since in essence, both of these men strove to achieve mass murder, which undoubtedly is immoral?

According to Shermer (2004:87) and the anthropologist, Napoleon Chognon (1996:24), it also seems that it would be wrong on the part of a social group to critique another group's value judgements, norms and morality from the first social group's frame of reference. When such judgement is passed, the end result is usually some or other distorted form of ethnocentrisms, racism and/or paternalism. Ideally, a social group should take stock of its own norms, values and morality from time to time.

Śarana (1975:75) has the following to say in respect of the above-mentioned aspect: *"An anthropologist's exclusive concern with a single people at a certain period of their existence may give rise to a viewpoint opposing all comparisons. In such a case it is contended that every culture is unique and possesses a set of values which is not easy to define. But an anthropologist, with his long and close association with the people, may experience and understand it. The uniqueness of each culture is inviolable."* The question, among others, that will be addressed in this article is: Just how *"moral"* are we Afrikaners today?

5.2 <u>VALUES AS AN ASPECT OF CULTURE</u>

In the opinion of the Afrikaans anthropologist, P.J. Coertze (1979:33), values are the most directional element in a culture. No mention is made of values within the context of the individual (personality) or the social system. According to him, a value system is one of fifteen universal aspects found within a culture. Thus Coertze (1979:32) defines values as a cultural aspect that is related to the mental processes of the human being; an aspect which is closely interconnected with his/her attempts to ensure a happy existence for him-/herself. These values come into being through cohabitation, co-operation, suffering together and struggling together; and they gradually develop into an authenticated system.

Coertze (1979:34) distinguishes between truth-related or logical values (logos); moral or ethical values (ethos); aesthetic values, related to the perception of beauty (aesthesis);

and pragmatic values, pertaining to the perception of what is useful (pragmatics). The first of these – logical values – are related to the factual and logical evaluation of phenomena in reality. According to Coertze (1979:34), as soon as one begins to evaluate, one has begun building up one's own value system.

The existence of truth-related or logical values, is linked to the categorisation of phenomena according to a factual and logical evaluation; the classification of phenomena and categories in accordance with the mentioned evaluation; the linking together of statuses of phenomena and categories of phenomena in accordance with the classification; and the presence of behavioural patterns with respect of the categories of phenomena, in keeping with the status hierarchy that has been determined according to the classification.

Moral or ethical values have a bearing on the evaluation of conscious and willed behaviour, specifically with regard to judgements in respect of what is good or bad, or what is right or wrong about such behaviour. The value judgements that are passed in this regard are thus concerned with the essence and nature of the behaviour, and not with the behaviour itself, as such. According to Coertze (1979:37), that which an ethnos regards as being good and right, along with that which it does *not* regard as being so does not comprise a given norm; rather, it is based on the judgement, insights and knowledge of earlier generations which are passed on as cultural heritage. The ethical norm is thus corroborated by the supposed truth thereof.

For the purposes of this article, the concept *value,* can be defined as a conception of that which is desirable which exists simultaneously in identity, morality and culture as a criterion for the selection of orientation; which, owing to the relevant narratives, has been institutionalised in a societal context and internalised by those who form part of this context, and by means of which these individuals are orientated in respect of the question as to what actions are deemed desirable.

5.3 VALUES AS MORALITY

On the basis of Coertze's exposition, reference has been made above to the relationship between values and morality. This is one of the themes that is often raised during any

consideration of the subject of Afrikaners, and particularly the Afrikaner youth. Drug usage, unrestrained sex and churchlessness are put forward as examples in support of allegations that Afrikaners are in the process of abandoning their morality. Since nihilism and the decline in morality comprise one of the core aspects on which this article focuses, it is important to deal briefly with the theoretical link between values and morality at this point. As Foucault and Nietzsche can probably be said to have expressed the most forceful opinions on morality and values, their standpoints will be considered next.

Foucault (1987:10-11) recounts that his reflections on the topic of values and morality began when he started to wonder why sexual behaviour is an object of moral interest which receives more attention in some communities and cultures than does other areas of human life. In Foucault's view, this question is linked to group practices that he refers to as the *"art of existing"*. In this context those intentional and voluntary actions in respect of which people not only fashion rules for their own behaviour, but also endeavour to transform themselves, are at issue. Such an attempted transformation is focused on making an oeuvre of one's life – a body of work which will carry certain ethical values and also fulfil certain stylistic criteria.

This art of existing, also referred to as the technique of the self, comprised part of the Greek culture. According to Foucault (1987:11), it was relegated to the background as result of its being undermined by the autonomy of the hieratic, or priestly authority in Christendom, as well as later by the modern educational, medical and psychological brands of authority that were exercised over the self. Foucault (1987:21-23 and 250-251) argues that the greatest difference between the pagan Greek culture and the Christian culture in respect of sexuality resided in the fact that Christian morality was universal and obligatory, whereas Greek morality was not universal, and neither was it coherent or authoritarian. In fact, it was the product of various groupings, and had the character of a *"proposal"* or *"suggestion"*, rather than that of an *"obligation"*. What is more, Greek morality appealed to men in particular, from the point where they had to exercise their rights, powers, authority and freedom. It did not impose a ban on extramarital sex for men. This meant that Greek morality did not have a prohibitive character. Rather, it comprised of a conventionalisation of activity within which power and freedom were realised.

Foucault (1987:39-45, 67 and 235-240) points out that the subsequent Greco-Roman culture of the first two centuries A.D. was characterised by an intensified focus on sexuality; but he maintains that this did not comprise an escalation of sexual taboos. Rather, it constituted a more intensive focus on the self, and also an intensification of the relation of the self to the self, in accordance with which the self constitutes itself as the subject of the actions. In other words, it was a more intensive form of the objectifying the self to become the master of itself; a struggle against forces that attempted to reduce the self to something less than itself. However, this goal no longer comprised of a mere endeavour to prevent the self from giving itself over to excess, as in the past. It had increasingly developed into an interpretation of the self as weak, and as having fallen prey to all kinds of pathological conditions. The view that the self should be subjected to a set of universally applicable laws is increasingly gaining ground. Foucault refers to this phenomenon as the *"cultivation of the self"*, or *"looking after the self"*.

Foucault (1987:25-30) also explains this self-creation in terms of a more general description of morality. He postulates that morality oscillates between two axes. On the one hand, there is a set of values and rules for behaviour, inculcated in human beings by means of a variety of prescriptive agents such as the family, society, educational institutions, churches, culture, etcetera. This element of morality can be called the ethical code. On the other hand, there is the way in which a person forms him-/herself as an ethical subject in dialogue with the ethical code. It is assumed that a person can react in different ways in respect of the ethical code. The formation of the self into an ethical subject means that the individual then identifies that part of himself that will comprise the project of his moral practice; he defines his position in respect of a certain moral code and decides on a specific way of living. This presupposes that the individual works on himself. He must monitor, test, improve and transform himself in order to achieve these objectives. Morality as a code and morality as the creation of the ethical subject are the two poles that react inextricably to one another. In some cultures, the emphasis falls more strongly on morality as a code, and rules for possible action are prescribed. However, there are also cultures similar to the ancient Greek civilisation, in which the emphasis falls on the practices of the self, rather than on a specific code or on any rigid definition of what is permissible and what is not.

Nietzsche, too, held a clear standpoint on values and morality. In response to the question regarding the meaning of nihilism, he replied that the highest values prove themselves to be valueless (Menchken 1920:14-25). These supreme values are those that are linked to the intellectual framework of moral ontology, in terms of which everything is evaluated on the basis of timeless, static formulas. In the process of self-upliftment and the unmasking of the metaphysical *"Will towards Truth"* as in essence, a *"Will towards Nothing"*, these values have lost their binding authority and directional power. For the person who wills and acts, there are no timeless, valid values or eternal principles *"that are written in the heavens"*, according to which human beings can direct their actions (Niebuhr 1941:52-54). Since anything within the intellectual framework of moral ontology can only have value in accordance with its relation to the supreme value, and since this idea of a supreme value has been exposed as a fiction, the possibility of evaluating things in terms of a fixed moral-ontological way of thinking is now also lacking. Consequently, nihilism is the total absence of any method of evaluation that is modelled on moral-ontological interpretations (Pitcher 1966:34-37).

Within Nietzsche's frame of thought, value is relative, provisional and temporal. Nietzsche (1917:87) does not view the human being as a static, insulated substance. Neither does he believe that the essence of human life lies concealed within the notion of self-preservation. Rather, it is contained in self-conquest and the realisation of the potential that is inherent within oneself. Accordingly, Nietzsche also refers to the human being as a creator. In the light of these convictions Nietzsche regards values as being nothing other than perspectives that stimulate and guide the self-transcending triumph of the human being. In this sense, values comprise the conditions that are attendant on the possibilities of self-transcendent action on the part of the human being. Value resides in the fact that it guides the human being in his/her self-conquest. Values are not given objectively to human beings – they arise from the subjective character of human life itself. This means that value is not an isolated entity that exists independently of human beings.mThat which manifests itself as value is that which stimulates the self-transcendence of human life (Menchken 1920:14-25 and Pitcher 1966:34-37).

The radical way in which Nietzsche formulated his views about values was, in many respects, unique in the history of philosophical thought. The reason for this was that, after the *"death of God"*, that is to say, after the decline of the classificatory way of

thinking, the demand for a principle relating to a new value statement became a matter of necessity. In the first instance then, the importance of Nietzsche's contribution does not reside in the fact that he criticised traditional value systems, or that he aspired to replace values that had been set aside, but rather in the fact that he radically altered the context within which reflection on values took place.

Both Lyotard (1984:20-24) and Nietzsche (Pitcher 1966:40) acknowledge the existence of a value system in a culture, but reject the notion of timeless, valid values or eternal principles. They are of the opinion that the human being, as a dynamic being, adapts his/her values in accordance with existing needs. Values are becoming increasingly dynamic and individuals tend to diversify within a singular societal context when it comes to the determination of values and morality.

5.4 **AFRIKANER CULTURE**

The various – and often divergent – tendencies that are in the process of being brought to fruition in the cultural domain of Afrikaners can partially be ascribed to the termination of the cultural isolation of the Afrikaners in 1994.[20] This means, on the one hand, that it is not possible to distinguish a single or dominant cultural pattern or configuration, and on the other hand, that the typical holistic description of culture cannot be deemed applicable in this context.

Language: Although Afrikaans has lost its dominant position in the public service and at universities (Bezuidenhout 1999:19), the maintenance of Afrikaans in all probability not only comprises the language issue that tends to evoke the highest degree of emotion

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[20] On 27 April 1994, South Africa became a full-fledged democratic state. This date can rightfully be regarded as the end of the Apartheid era. During that era, white Afrikaners had all power at their disposal, and they also created many pieces of legislation that discriminated against South Africans of colour. According to Slabbert (1999:49-51), in the period up to and including 1990, an official Afrikaner identity existed, which was largely determined by a grand narrative that was constructed around church membership, commitment to political power and party membership, as well as membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. According to authors such as Vosloo (*Die Burger*, 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (http://www.praag.org - 2005:4 - 13), the loss of this official identity after 1994 left Afrikaners marginalised and plunged them into an existential crisis. In this regard, it should be pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual ties with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and Afrikaans language are in the process of changing, even becoming attenuated, and that Afrikaners are increasingly pursuing a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

amongst Afrikaners, but it is also the issue in respect of which Afrikaners are most prepared to stand together. Miles (http://www.vryeafrikaan.co.za – 2004:1-2) also alleges that there is currently a strong upsurge in Afrikaans literature, while Du Preez (2005a:76) is of the opinion that Afrikaans is undergoing a flourishing period.

Economic aspects: As a result of the systematic ejection of Afrikaners from the (sheltered) public sector, they were compelled to tackle the challenges of private entrepreneurship (Dr R.F. Botha, in a paper delivered to the Afrikaner Bond on 10th October 2004). Many did not make the grade and the phenomenon of increasing poverty among white Afrikaners is being encountered for the first time in decades. In the case of others, however, an unprecedented spirit of economic entrepreneurship has been awakened with successful family businesses and small enterprises becoming a common phenomenon. In this regard, Professor F. Venter (in an address delivered at the *Bondsraad* meeting of the Afrikaner Bond on 24th September 2004) drew attention to the following secondary effects of this situation: the tasteless flaunting of prosperity by Afrikaners; the indefatigable pursuit of such prosperity; and the fact that Afrikaners, for the first time in history, are in the process of becoming extremely materialistic.

Political: In the political domain, the once-powerful National Party, an icon of Afrikaner politics, has disappeared over the political horizon. This has coincided with a growing apathy amongst Afrikaners in their attitude towards politics. According to Goosen (*Die Vrye Afrikaan* 2005a:4), politically speaking, it has been more difficult for Afrikaners than for English-speaking whites to adjust to the *"new"* South Africa. According to him, due to their position as an ethnic minority without any political power, Afrikaners do not know how to accept their status such an ethnic minority; how to go about mobilising resources for their language and culture, or how to take a stand against the actions of the government that contravene of the spirit of democracy. According to Buys (2004:15); Bornman & Olivier (2001:26) and Dreyer (in http://www.praag.org – 2005:1-7), authors in general agree that Afrikaners tend to shrink from the possibility of positioning themselves as an ethnic minority. They do not know how to employ social networks and social capital for the benefit of an ethnically mobilised group (Bezuidenhout 2005:5). Further, because they cannot – or will not – mobilise, they are politically vulnerable and uncertain (Buys 2004:15). Although there is still a strong need amongst Afrikaners for political solidarity, and for a political community in which they would be able to feel at

home (Schlemmer in http://www.afrikaans.com – 2006:1-5), they are increasingly withdrawing from political processes and activities. In the midst of all these uncertainties and feelings of vulnerability, most Afrikaners have opted to join the ranks of the Democratic Alliance (DA), where they can at least enjoy the security of numbers (Dreyer in http://www.praag.org.za – 2005:1-7). It is probably also for this reason that smaller often more conservative parties, such as the Freedom Front Plus, do not attract a significant amount of support (Du Toit 2005:2).

An aspect that is very closely linked to the political situation of Afrikaners, but not limited to this situation, is the lack of Afrikaner leaders. There is even talk of a *"leadership crisis!"* Without the necessary leaders, the average person at grassroots level finds it difficult to adapt to the rapid political changes. Another factor to note can be seen in the almost reluctant attempts to be politically correct at all times and not give offence, while there is no new basis for the reintegration and expansion of the Afrikaans culture (Goosen in http://www.vryeafraan.co.za – 2005b:1-5).

Religion: According to Johan Rossouw *("Die NG Kerk onderweg na die vergetelheid"* *["the Dutch Reformed Church on its way to oblivion"]* in http://www.nuwe-hervorming.org.za – 2005:1-2), there are shocking statistics available which indicate that Afrikaners are currently undergoing a drastic religious transformation. In 1980, 91% of all Afrikaners were members of one of the three Afrikaans Sister Churches. Currently, the figure only amounts to 50%. In an article entitled *"NG Kerk se moderatuur steek hand in eie boesem"* *["Synodal Board of the Dutch Reformed Church searches its own heart"], Die Kerkbode*, 2005:1 reported that only 35% of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church still attended church services on a regular basis. Amongst Afrikaners, *"New Reformers", "gays"* and members of charismatic movements are presently encountered on an increasing basis while Afrikaners no longer turn to the church for guidance in political matters, as in the past (Du Preez 2005b:15). Afrikaners are increasingly beginning to feel more at home in the charismatic churches.

Culture: In concurrence with De Klerk (2000:3), the current state of affairs amongst Afrikaners in respect of their culture can be summarised as follows: *Amongst Afrikaners today – and particularly reasoning Afrikaners – there is a widespread cultural malaise, which is manifesting itself in withdrawal, a lack of political involvement, pessimism,*

cynicism and so on [own translation]. Among Afrikaners, membership of Afrikaans cultural organisations is constantly dwindling and fewer Afrikaners attend Afrikaans cultural events nowadays. The only Afrikaans cultural activity that is growing is Afrikaans popular music.

5.5 <u>THE IMPACT OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA ON THE MORALITY OF THE AFRIKANER</u>

Although commentators differ in their opinions regarding the full extent of the impact that the post-Apartheid dispensation after April 1994 has had and continues to have on Afrikaners, it is an undeniable fact that the political and social transformation that South Africa has undergone was extremely far-reaching in nature, and that the great majority of Afrikaners were largely taken by surprise. Afrikaners were clearly not prepared for the changes that ensued, with the result that, after fifteen years they are now being confronted with an urgent need to reflect on their values, morality, solidarity and identity, as well as their role and place in the new South Africa.

In 2006/2007, the author carried out anthropological research at the University of the Free State regarding the experience and adjustment of Afrikaners in post-Apartheid South Africa. Conducting an investigation of the value judgements and morality of Afrikaners comprised one of the focus areas of this research.

The empirical research investigation was carried out in the southern Free State province of South Africa. In geographical terms, this included the jurisdictional areas of the Motheo and Xhariep District Municipalities. In other words, the research area extended from Bethulie and Philippolis in the southern part of the Free State to Ladybrand and Bloemfontein in the north. Eleven interviews were conducted with Afrikaners in the 18 to 30-year age group in the Motheo municipal area. There were six informants in the same age group from the Xhariep municipal area. Nine of the informants were female and eight were male. Five of the informants had a tertiary qualification, while all of the remaining informants, with the exception of one person, had matriculated from school. Eight of the informants had already been overseas; of these, four had already worked abroad for a period of longer than a year. Although not one of the informants who were individually interviewed were unemployed, three of these informants either had second-

rate jobs, and/or had jobs that did not entail the type of work that they had previously hoped for, or for which they were qualified. Included in the group session were two unemployed informants. Accordingly, it is clear that the research group was diverse and highly representative in its composition.

Although the study in respect of post-Apartheid South Africa only dealt with the experiences of young Afrikaners from the southern Free State, the research results[21] can nevertheless largely be applied to the rest of the Afrikaners in South Africa. Gertenbach (Afrikaner Bond Newsletter, 2000:11-14), along with Aucamp and Swanepoel (2005:14), pointed out that from a cultural, religious and political point of view, the southern Free State has always served as a reliable barometer of the prevailing mood amongst Afrikaners. In other words, to a varied extent the research results of this study can, be applied to Afrikaners in general.

The epistemological basis of this study, along with the selected methodology and the systematic research method, was chosen with due consideration of the unique challenges presented by two experiential worlds[22]. Narratives were the main instrument used in this study: Participants were requested to describe their experiences as Afrikaners of post-Apartheid South Africa in their own words. In this study, in-depth interviews, group sessions, observations and literature studies helped to explore and elucidate Afrikaners' experience of their own culture, values and morality.

One of the findings of this study was that no shared, dominant value-judgement or universal principle of morality can be said to exist any longer among Afrikaners.

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[21] The nature of the conclusions of this study arose from inductive argumentation. In this case, the premises afforded a high degree of inductive support to the conclusion; it can be asserted that there is a high probability that the conclusion is true (Salmon 1973:14). However, this means that the possibility still exists that new empirical evidence might be found, proving the contrary to be true, no matter how improbable it may seem. From a logical point of view, the conclusion in the inductive argument is thus not necessarily undeniable (Mouton and others 1988:13).

[22] On the one hand, in the everyday life of an Afrikaner, there is his/her "private inner world of experience", where Afrikaner values, culture, identity and morality are conceived and lived out in practice. On the other hand, there is the broad, inter-subjective South African context which is shared with all the residents of South Africa. The latter context represents the transactional space (as created and maintained by the Constitution) within which the Afrikaner experiences post-apartheid South Africa.

Afrikaners are increasingly beginning to realise and acknowledge that they are not, and never were a homogeneous group: *"we are not all like that!"* Although an underlying sense of belonging to a group, and of commitment to a common destiny is still present, there is no evidence of strong ethnic mobilisation. The lack of leadership referred to earlier plays a particular role in this context. Another reason is the fact that white and coloured people are generally in the same predicament. They share the same anxieties and frustrations regarding crime, affirmative action, employment opportunities and the falling standards of education and service delivery by local municipalities, among others. In truth, Afrikaners cannot rightfully say that *"we"* alone are being affected by these factors, and that *"we"* therefore must stand together.

In post-Apartheid South Africa, the Afrikaners' prioritisation of their values has drastically changed. Economic prosperity accompanied by material success, rather than the Christian-national life- and world-view of former times, has become the dominant priority. In this regard, one could speak of a typical consumer culture, with the attendant mentality and individual focus (everyone for himself).

In this study, it is also evident that the Afrikaner youth in post-Apartheid South Africa give the impression of being ambivalent. Everything that traditionally is associated with typical Afrikaner values, markers, culture and identity has mostly been rejected. On the other hand, a process of redefining and rediscovering Afrikanership is undoubtedly under way, in which new contents and meanings are being assigned to questions regarding what it means to be an Afrikaner. As a result of this phenomenon, and the processes of representation, reproduction and resistance that are linked to it, young Afrikaners now tend to morally justify certain immoral actions and attitudes, such as racism and ethnocentrism. This is a result of government initiatives such as forced integration on university campuses, quotas in sport and affirmative action being experienced in a negative manner.

In respect of questions regarding sexual behaviour and vulgarity, the informants in this qualitative research study reacted as follows: They spoke openly about their sexual preferences and dislikes. One unmarried informant admitted that she was having a relationship across the colour boundary, and that she was currently expecting a child from a coloured man. A few of the male informants admitted that they had not yet had

sexual intercourse with women of colour, but that they did sometimes fantasise about doing so, in fact. Nevertheless, most informants were opposed to sex across colour borders.

Half of the informants admitted that they had had more than one sexual partner during the past five years. Despite this tendency, all expressed a strong need to be involved in only one permanent love relationship. Most of the informants had been in a sexual relationship with their marital partners for more than a year before they were wed. Cathy Bruwer[23] reported that she had two children with her boyfriend who she had been living with for the past eight years. She added that she had no intention of marrying him, and did not feel a need to do so within the foreseeable future.

Another striking aspect was the fact that a number of the few informants who had not practised premarital sex themselves, were of the opinion that sex before marriage was not necessarily sinful as well. All of the informants reported that their parents had brought them up in the belief that sex before marriage was taboo, and that anyone who consented to premarital sex was a person of loose morals. In the case of a female, she could then be described as a *"flirt"* or a slut. According to the informants, television had completely destroyed and eroded these sexual perceptions, taboos and stigmas.

All of the informants indicated that their sex life was active and healthy. The research also revealed that sex and premarital intercourse has long since ceased to be a *"taboo"* subject or a sensitive issue among young Afrikaners. Moreover, it would appear that in post-Apartheid South Africa, the value assessments and norms regarding sex are far more likely to be regulated and guided by personal needs and practical rules under young Afrikaners, than by any Christian values and principles. The vast majority of the informants were also of the opinion that *"gays"* can be Christians.

Furthermore, the research showed that the use of swearwords in songs, stories and books appeared to be quite acceptable to Afrikaners. Most informants expressed an understanding attitude regarding the use of strong language, as long as it was not what

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[23] Cathy Bruwer (not her real name) is a full-time fashion designer in Bloemfontein, who grew up in De Aar. As an only child, she was raised by her mother, a single parent, after having been born out of wedlock. Cathy's mother worked as a clerk in the South African Defence Force for many years.

they called *"overdone",* and as long as such language fitted in with the storyline or the lyrics of the song. Virtually all the informants admitted without any shame that they regularly received and transmitted *"dirty",* vulgar, and sometimes racist e-mails and SMS'.

On the basis of the responses obtained during this empirical research, it became clear that the authority of Christian values over the colloquial language of Afrikaners has disappeared. Swearwords and vulgarity has become an integral part of the life- and world view of Afrikaners.

Essentially, the general sentiment among the informants was that they did not find nudity and/or sex scenes on television, in films and theatre productions problematical, [again] with the provision that these were not *"overdone",* and provided that such programmes, films and productions were withheld from young children. The informants felt that sex and nudity should be regarded as taboo in children under the age of sixteen.

With regard to religion and the Afrikaans churches, it was found, that with two exceptions, all the informants regarded themselves as Christians. Approximately one third of the informants regularly attended church services and were active members in their respective congregations. Approximately another third of the informants indicated that they went to church less often. The frequency of their church attendance varied from once a month to as few as one attendance in eight months. The remaining third regarded themselves as Christians, but were essentially churchless. This tendency is concurrent with the finding of the Dutch Reformed Church, that only 35% of DRC church members regularly attend services (cf. *Die Kerkbode*, 25 November 2005:1).

The majority of the informants indicated that they belonged to one of the three Afrikaans Sister Churches. Despite this, most informants were highly critical of these churches. The critical declarations included: *"The Dutch Reformed Church focuses primarily on money"; "Afrikaans churches are old-fashioned and ultra-conservative"; "they are judgemental and hypercritical"; "they are dictated to by elderly, former Broederbond members"; "they are too interested in politics and try too hard to be politically correct"; "the Afrikaans churches are no longer principled and God-fearing".*

All of the informants felt that the Afrikaans churches needed to be less judgemental, and that they should display a greater degree of humanity, Christian love and forbearance towards all South Africans.

From the interviews, it soon became clear that, with regard to religion, young Afrikaners within themselves harbour two contrasting standpoints namely a need for greater individualism and freedom of thought, in contrast to a growing need for spiritual warmth, devotion and a sense of religious security.

From this anthropological study it would appear as if the value judgements and sense of morality of Afrikaners have undoubtedly changed dramatically over the past fifteen years. Some Afrikaners are of the opinion that Afrikaner has become decadent, while others feel that Afrikaners are merely undergoing a period of liberation.

5.6 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

On the basis of the researched information, it would seem that both Lyotard (1984:20-24) and Nietzsche (in Pitcher 1966:40) are indeed correct in their rejection of the notion of timeless, valid values or morality. In their opinion, a dynamic human being adapts his values and morality in accordance with needs and circumstances.

It would appear that Afrikaner values and morality are becoming increasingly dynamic, and that individuals from the ranks of Afrikaners are diversifying to a greater extent regarding the determination of their own values and morality. Professor P.S. Dreyer (in Nel 1979:39) writes: *"Actually and in practice, however, it is always within a concrete situation of time and space that we are obliged to assess – and to obey or disobey – the demands of the prevailing values and morality. In the final instance, the concrete situation of time refers to a country's history and space, as well as the state of the country, as the physical horizon within which the human being must live."* [Own translation]

The fact that present-day Afrikaners are becoming more free-thinking in respect of morality and value judgements can undoubtedly be attributed partially to the new South Africa and its liberal constitution. Young Afrikaners are increasingly beginning to feel

at home in the present globalised society, where postmodernist views on life and the world are the order of the day. Thus, it can rightfully be claimed that white Afrikaners are indeed outgrowing their narrowly conservative Christian values and norms. This does not mean that young Afrikaners are less orientated towards Christianity. All that it means is that the perceptions and value judgements of Afrikaners, as far as Christianity is concerned, have also undergone a metamorphosis since 1994.

The postmodern world is characterised by openness, positive forbearance and the accommodation of variety. All of these attributes have contributed to the creation of the so-called *"global village"*. Finding one's way around this *"village"* is not threatening, strange or unpatriotic. The postmodern person goes about his/her daily life in a more light-hearted manner, and is more inclined to take risks in order to experiment with new or different cultural customs, views and ideas, since there is no longer any single value, truth or absolutism. Grand narratives are simply deconstructed, making it easier to oppose established traditions, views and morality as being wrong or negative. Owing to the conviction that nothing lasts forever, the uncertainties that are usually associated with the relinquishment of established values, traditions and circumstances are experienced in a less threatening or traumatic way. The fluidity, fragmentation and inter-subjectivity of the postmodern world have also given shape to the perception that there are no fixed, essential or permanent values or morality.

Afrikaners must exercise choices regarding morality, value judgements, culture, identity and narratives, within the context of the postmodern *"global village"*. Where they find themselves.

In conclusion it is evident that most Afrikaners are probably in the process of finding a balance between that which *was* and that which *is* – albeit that this process is accompanied by struggle and uncertainty. Afrikaners are busy redefining and adapting their morality, so that it can become functional in relation to the new circumstances and localities that characterise their current situation.

CHAPTER FOUR: CUMULATIVE CONCLUSION

"I believe in a strange manner that it is through crises by which a society emerges reborn, young and creative. It is during these 'dark nights of the soul' that a society says to himself: 'I would rather go under than to continue to exist through injustice'".

(N.P. van Wyk Louw:1986)

The five presented articles were in regard to the Afrikaner, completed against the background of a specific theoretical reference framework. These articles presumed that values are the directional element that grounds culture, identity and narratives, by providing, guiding and ceding content. This was the point of departure when the goals of the five articles were set out, which also directed the organisation and structure of each document. As an inclusive summary of the main conclusions was provided at the completion of each article, it is unnecessary to repeat the process again at this point.

Although commentators differ regarding the question as to what the full impact of the post-Apartheid dispensation on the Afrikaner was – and still is – it is indisputably true that the political and social transformation that South Africa has undergone since 1994 has indeed been far-reaching in nature; and that to a large extent, it has taken the majority of Afrikaners by surprise. Clearly, Afrikaners were not prepared for the changes that ensued, with the result that now, after a period of fifteen years; they are urgently being confronted with the need to reflect on their values, moralities, solidarity, role and place in the new South Africa.

According to article 5[24] it seems that values and moralities, even amongst Afrikaners, are becoming increasingly dynamic in nature, and that individuals within Afrikaner ranks are diversifying to a greater extent in terms of the determination of their own values and moralities.

The new South Africa, with its liberal constitution, has undoubtedly played a contributing role in causing the modern-day Afrikaner to become more free-thinking in respect of moralities and value-judgements. Young Afrikaners are increasingly beginning to feel at home in the globalised society in which post-modernistic life- and

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[24] Article 5 in this study deals with *"Morality as part of Afrikaner values"*.

world-views are the order of the day. It can thus rightfully be said that white Afrikaners are indeed outgrowing their narrow, conservative Christian values and norms. This does not mean that young Afrikaners are less Christianity-oriented. All that it means is that Afrikaners' perceptions and value-judgements in respect of Christianity have also undergone a metamorphosis since 1994.

The key conclusion of the results of this study is that a single shared, dominant value-supposition or typical Afrikaner culture, identity or narrative no longer exists. The Afrikaner's value-system and established cultural lifestyle is changing and eroding. The study showed clearly that appeals to the old traditions and uncritical dedication to so-called Afrikaner concerns no longer work. This is partially due to an increasing nonchalance, as well as a lack of involvement with own cultural activities. Shortly, this means that the traditionally accumulated, celebrated and carefully maintained Afrikaner culture, identity and narrative has already been changed irreparably. What has replaced it is not quite clear at this stage, as the process is still taking place and would require more research in future.

Some tendencies that are apparent and can be noted include:

- Afrikaner identity at present demonstrates a strong dialectic contradiction. This could be called an *idealistic* opposed to *a realistic* quality, while the element of synthesis is often lacking. Idealistically speaking, the Afrikaans language, culture, values and identity is still important to Afrikaners. Yet, in practice, Afrikaners do very little to protect or improve their own culture and identity, or to formulate realistic personal cultural expectations. An important reason for this poor involvement among Afrikaners is the implausible, often ungainly leadership within the Afrikaner ranks. Afrikaners are increasingly left to the ministering of entertainment artists such as Steve Hofmeyr, Koos Kombuis and Bok van Blerk as role models, opinion formers and interpreters of Afrikaner history.

- Afrikaners acknowledge and recognize that they are not (and never were) a homogenous group – *"we aren't all like that!"* Although an underlying group cohesion and destiny is still apparent, there is no sign of strong ethnic mobilisation.

The poor leadership referred to above is also of concern here. Another fact is that white and brown people find themselves in a communal camp. They share the same concerns and frustrations in regard to crime, affirmative action, employment opportunities, and the declining standard of education and public service. As such, the Afrikaner cannot say that *"we"* alone are touched by these factors, and that is why *"we"* must unite.

- The Afrikaners' value prioritising has changed significantly. Presently, economic welfare and material success rather than a Christian-national outlook on life and the world is the comprehensive priority. In this sense, referring to this as a typical consumer-culture with an accompanying mentality and individualistic attitude (each one for himself) would not be inaccurate.

- It is exceptionally important for Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa to re-interpret and relate their narrative – not only to obtain new perspectives regarding themselves, but also about their fellow-South Africans.

Due to apartheid, many Afrikaners largely feel that their history, past and descendancy is contaminated. This has lead to Afrikaners at this stage not feeling free to publicly express strong ethnic feelings. As far as possible, Afrikaners are trying to behave politically correct. As a result, a new, positive, morally defensible ethnic dedication, which is resistant to the embarrassment of apartheid and the international drive of post-Apartheid South Africa's rainbow-nation ideology has not yet tangibly been formulated within Afrikaner ranks. On the other hand, it also seems as if the majority of Afrikaners are not willing to just accept the acculturation and transformational challenges they are being confronted with in a post-apartheid South Africa. Irrespective which argument is preferred, the end result is the same: Afrikaners have become passive.

The Afrikaner youth seem ambivalent. On the one hand, tradition – that which is associated with typical Afrikaner values, markers, culture and identity – is largely rejected. Alternatively, a process of re-defining and re-investigation of Afrikanership, with new contents and meaning is taking place. This occurrence, as well as the processes

of representation, reproduction and resistance in regard to it, necessitates further rigorous anthropological research.

In 1954, G.D. Scholtz (1954:170) wrote: *"at present, the future of no other nation is threatened in such a serious manner ... as just that of the Afrikaans populace"*. In this regard, Alberts (1956) refers to the paralysing fear among Afrikaners for the future (1956:24), as well as the fact that the Afrikaner has lost his/her sense of moral value and is becoming churchless (1956:93). These specific quotes were written more than five decades ago. In a sense it is alarming that this study comes to the same conclusion: At present the Afrikaner is still going through an existential crisis. They experience that their future is threatened, and are struggling with an anticipatory fear that is literally leaving them paralysed and passive, or forces them to emigrate. Alternatively the question arises: *"Has this study generated any new insights, understanding and knowledge regarding the Afrikaner?"*

Anthropologists usually assume that cultural, social and historical manifestations must be understood and interpreted in relation to the total *"Lebensraum"*. Intellectual, meta-theoretic and ontological assumptions represent important aspects thereof, as they influence thought and behaviour, as well as the manner in which people (re)define and (re)identify themselves in an ever changing world.

The post-modern world is characterised by frankness, positive tolerance and accommodation of diversity – everything that has contributed to the creation of the so-called *"global village"*. To move around in this *"village"* is not threatening, unpatriotic or strange. The post-modern person is more playful regarding life and takes more chances by experimenting with new or other cultural activities or ideas, because for him/her there no longer exists only one value, truth or absolutism. Master-value narrative is simply deconstructed, which makes it easier to challenge established traditions, opinions or even something like emigration as wrong or negative. The knowledge that nothing lasts forever makes the uncertainties that usually accompany surrendering established values, traditions and circumstances less negative or traumatic. The fluidity, fragmentation and inter-subjectivity of the post-modern world has also given shape to the attitude that there are no definite, essential or permanent borders or identities.

It is in this context of the post-modern *"global village"* that Afrikaners find themselves having to make choices regarding their value-choices, culture, identity and narrative. From this study it seems that the majority of Afrikaners probably are busy finding a balance between that which was, and that which is, even if it is accompanied by struggle and uncertainty. This goes for each level of their lives: values, culture, the collective, religion, sport and leisure activities.

Due to the character of indigenous anthropology*,* this study placed specific methodological requirements on scientific objectivity in order to generate valid results. From the researched results it is clear that values are of decisive importance in relation to the culture, identity and narrative of the Afrikaners in the researched area (southern Free State). Therefore it can be concluded that the study has achieved its goal.

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ANNEXURE 1: RESPONDENTS

PROFILES OF INFORMANTS

1. PIET LE ROUX (28)

Piet is a dynamic leader. He was head boy of the State President C.R. Swart High School in Brandfort. At school he won provincial Free State colours for rugby and cricket. He also held various leadership positions during his university education at the University of the Free State, where he obtained a honours degree in biokinetics. At present, Piet is employed at a well-known private hospital in Bloemfontein. He is married to a teacher at an Afrikaans high school. They have a baby daughter. They live a meticulous Christian life, and are active and concerned NG churchgoers. Piet has a level-headed and emotionally adult outlook on life. During our discussion he would rather react logically to the dialogue than argue from an emotional point of view. I would categorise Piet as conservative Afrikaner. Without a doubt, as a person he would be welcomed with open arms into any Afrikaans cultural organisation.

2. PETRUS PIENAAR (22)

Petrus was born and raised in Bloemfontein. He is a proud and self-acknowledged gay person. During the period of our interview, Petrus worked as a waiter in a well-known restaurant in Bloemfontein. Both his parents are employed in the Mangaung Municipality. He is the youngest of three children.

Petrus introduced himself to me as an Afrikaner, but not as a Christian. During the interview, he revealed himself to be an artistic, free-thinking and refined person. In character, he is a sensitive person who prefers a cosmopolitan society. Most of Petrus' narrative, responses and arguments contained emotional elements. Very few, if any, were logical or well thought through. He was very outspoken on most of the subjects I discussed with him.

3. JANNIE JACOBS (22)

Jannie is a born Free Stater and a proud past scholar of Grey College (Bloemfontein). Both his parents are well-known business people in Bloemfontein. At the youthful age of 22 he runs a successful business hiring out catering equipment. Jannie's tall and strapping physique, his relaxed clothing and long hair has given him the image of a young *"Dozi"*-character. He also likes to make music, and is involved in a pop band. Jannie introduced himself to me as an Afrikaner and Christian, although he is not an active member of his church congregation (the NG Church).

Jannie is someone with strong opinions. His answers were always short, definite and to the point. He left the impression that he is someone who is not insecure, or doubts himself or his own point of view.

4. LENÉ VAN DER MERWE (30)

Lené is a sports fanatic. She grew up on the Free State Goldfields. She is single and shares a house with an older lady in Bloemfontein. She introduced herself to me as an Afrikaner and a Christian. She holds strong opinions regarding religion and Christianity. She was very critical about the Afrikaans sister churches. She is a member of the Congregation of Christ. Lené graduated with a degree in training and sport nutrition. At present she is furthering her studies at the University of the Free State.

Lené is outspoken and extremely honest. She would refrain from criticising other Afrikaners if she was of the opinion that they were biased or unjust. She left me with the impression that she is individualistic and not at all dependent on group acceptance or acknowledgement.

5. ANNA ENGELBRECHT (30)

Anna grew up on a farm in the Ladybrand district, where her father farmed. She was the only informant that was actively involved with Afrikaans cultural organisations. She described herself as a Christian and added that she was an active NG Church member.

Anna is unmarried. She holds a top post in one of the biggest private firms in Bloemfontein. Presently, she is busy with a B.Com. degree. Anna is one of two informants who previously voted for the ANC on at least once occasion.

Anna is a dynamic woman with finesse. As researcher, she made a good impression on me as a researcher. She has an analytical mind and is someone with an incredible insight in her own opinion about life and the world. She has natural leadership ability.

6. **JAKOBUS NEL (23)**

Jakobus comes from a broken home. He was born and raised in Bloemfontein. He matriculated from Grey College (Bloemfontein) and attained national colours in triathlon at school.

Jakobus is married. He and his wife have had a sexual relationship since the age of 15, and lived together from their matric year. Jakobus described himself as a Christian, although he had not been involved in church activities during the previous eight months.

At present, Jakobus is an estate agent. His wife works for Vodacom. Jakobus' whole outlook on life and the world is grounded in how he can show a financial profit. Anything else is irrelevant to him. He sees himself as a dynamic Afrikaner, who will be successful in spite of government policy such as affirmative action and black economic empowerment.

7. **CATHY BRUWER (24)**

Cathy is a fulltime fashion designer who grew up in De Aar. She is an illegitimate only child, and grew up in a single parent household. Her mother is still employed as a clerk in the South African Defence Force in De Aar.

Cathy has two illegitimate children of her own. She and the children's father have lived together for the past eight years. She related to me that she was sexually active from the age of sixteen. Cathy presented herself to me as an Afrikaner, although she did not want to be known as a "typical" or "verkrampte" Afrikaner. She admitted openly that she is

not a Christian and is churchless at the moment.

Before our interview, Cathy had been assaulted and robbed twice by black people in Bloemfontein. Both the incidents were severely traumatic and strengthened her negative perceptions about black persons. She made blatantly racial remarks about black people during our interview.

As researcher, I experienced Cathy as a liberal racist, even though this may sound inconsistent and contradictory. She is humanistic and free-thinking. For example, she and her partner have a male Indian friend who regularly spends time with them at home. On the other hand, she described blacks as hopeless, lazy and criminal.

8. NADIA DE KOK (24)

Nadia grew up in Oranjesig (Bloemfontein). During the apartheid era, Oranjesig was known as a poor or lower income group residential area. She stays there with her parents. Her father is a motor mechanic with the municipality and her mother does telesales.

Nadia sees herself as a moderate and conservative Afrikaner. She is outspoken about Christianity and is a member of the Afrikaans Protestant Church (APC), where she used to be a Sunday school teacher. She is against pre-martial sex and believes gays cannot be Christians.

Nadia is politically conservative. She is in opposition to mixed marriages and abortion, and feels that the idea of a nation-state is feasible. She used to be involved in cultural organisations and the local defence force commando.

Nadia is one of the classic examples of a conservative Afrikaner who expressed a strong passion for Afrikaans and Afrikanership, even though her general knowledge of Afrikaner history is poor. She admitted that she never buys Afrikaans magazines, newspapers and/or books. Further more, she had never attended an Afrikaans drama productions or any other cultural activity on public holidays such as the Day of the Covenant (the Day of Reconciliation on 16 December).

Nadia states that, irrespective of her prejudice regarding black people, she sees a future for herself and her children in South Africa, and does not consider emigration at all.

9. SAKKIE GELDERBLOM (20)

Sakkie is a third year education student at the University of the Free State. At school he won South African colours for cross-country running. He grew up in Secunda, where his father is employed as a teacher and his mother is an administrative head at a law firm.

Sakkie's whole world revolves around sport. He studies sport, his whole circle of friends comprises only of sports people and his future dream is to one day become a national sports coach.

Sakkie sees himself as a Christian and an Afrikaner. His reference framework regarding the ANC government and blacks is negative in general. He feels that government policies, including quotas in sport and affirmative action counteracts the Afrikaner's right to existence in South Africa.

Sakkie's general knowledge, political insight and reference outline regarding cultural matters was extremely limited. He practically never had an informed opinion about any point of discussion, but rather expressed judgements based on what he himself called "*gut feeling*".

10. SARIE DU PLESSIS (28)

Sarie is an unmarried teacher. She graduated from the University of the Free State with a M.Ed. degree. Her father is a retired bank manager and her mother a teacher.

Sarie is a highly intelligent woman with strong leadership skills. She described herself as an active Christian, and is a deaconess in the NG Church at present. Irrespective of her religious outlook, she holds a liberal view on religious subjects. For example, she does not think that pre-marital sex is a sin, and has practiced it herself. She also is of the opinion that gays can be Christians.

She feels strongly about her Afrikanership, but admits that she has a poor knowledge of Afrikaner history. She is also totally uninvolved in Afrikaner cultural activities, and reads relatively few Afrikaans books. She prefers English literature.

During our interview, Sarie stated that she feels positive about the future for Afrikaners in South Africa. Her positive attitude regarding South Africa mirrors her personality. Although she is sometimes critical of the ANC government, her appraisal was not just negative and she supplied a fully motivated explanation each time. She showed good insight into why the ANC government developed policies regarding land reform, affirmative action and such, although she does feel that the manner in which the ANC government implemented them was wrong and insensitive..

11. SOEKIE VAN WYK (30)

Soekie grew up in Prieska and is a qualified nurse. She is married and has a two-year-old daughter. Her husband is a successful businessman.

Soekie admitted to me that she grew up in a very conservative household. Both her parents are conservative and moderate Afrikaners, while she, her brother and both her sisters are free-thinking liberalists.

She referred to herself as a Christian-Afrikaner. She and her husband are regular churchgoers. She feels that gays can be Christians and that pre-marital sex is not necessarily a sin. She admitted to me that she and her husband had a sexual relationship before their marriage.

Soekie was the only informant who stated that she was a registered member of the ANC. She is of the opinion that her ANC membership in no way detracts from her Afrikanership. She feels that as an Afrikaner, she can realise herself fully in the ANC and has never felt inhibited or embarrassed regarding her Afrikaner identity. Soekie is one of the very few informants who regularly buys and reads Afrikaans books and magazines, and who frequently attends Afrikaans drama productions.

Irrespective of her political affiliation (ANC membership) she was outspoken about affirmative action and quotas in sport, and feels that this practice is unfair, discriminatory and wrong. She said: *"… If I vote ANC, it does not mean that I agree with everything – quite the contrary. There are many things I think are wrong and which I regularly indicate within the party to the ANC leadership itself"*.

12. MAXIE MENTZ (28)

Maxie is a qualified biokineticist who was born and raised in Kroonstad (Free State). She obtained a M.Sc. degree from the University of the Free State. Her father is a marketing manager for a well-known South African fertilizer manufacturer and her mother is a teacher. At school and university she occupied a number of different leadership positions.

After graduation, Maxie worked in England as a biokineticist for a period of five years. While resident in England, she lived with her husband for two years before they were married. She was one of the many informants who consider that pre-marital sex is not a sin, irrespective of being a Christian and an active churchgoer.

The past year, Maxie and her husband have been farming on her father's farm in the Trompsburg district. She is a keen farmer and enjoys farm life. Even though they have only been in the rural area for a short time, Maxie and her husband are already actively involved with the NG Church community in Trompsburg, as well as the local farmers association.

13. WOUTER BASSON (27)

Wouter obtained his agricultural management diploma *cum laude* from the previously Pretoria Technikon. He was born in Pretoria during 1978 and matriculated in 1996 from the High School Garsfontein, Pretoria, where he had been a member of the student council and captain of his school's first rugby team.

Wouter's father is a mechanical engineer and his mother a high school teacher. After his studies, he worked in England as floor manager in an outdoor life shop for three years.

He moved to England at the time because he could not find work anywhere in South Africa. Wouter related many tales about how affirmative action and quotas in sport directly wronged him. For example, he stated that he would never have the privilege of playing rugby for a provincial team purely because the colour of his skin counts against him.

Wouter is married. He met his wife at the Aardklop National Art Festival in Potchefstroom. They lived together while they both worked in England, before marrying last year. He is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church.

At present Wouter is farming his father-in-law's farm in the Springfontein area. He enjoys farming and sees himself as a successful farmer. He feels positive about his own future in South Africa. Among other tales during his interview, he related how his time in England radically changed his perceptions and perspectives about South Africa. After his time there, he feels less bitter about aspects such as affirmative action and quotas in sport.

Another significant fact about Wouter is his intense love of Afrikaans music. He owns more that 100 Afrikaans CD's and DVD's. Further more, he was very outspoken about his point of view on family names. He plans to provide his children with family names one day.

Regarding the question of why he specifically chose the pseudonym *"Wouter Basson"*, he stated that he had indeed thought of dr. Wouter Basson, the *"Poison Doctor of the Apartheid Era",* and that he is an admirer of Basson. *"Doctor Wouter Basson is a fighter. He is someone with guts. He did not allow the media or ANC government to intimidate him".*

14. ANTON SANDERS (24)

Anton was born in Pretoria and matriculated from the High School Acacia (Pretoria) in 2000. His father is a successful businessman in the telecommunication industry and his mother is a homemaker. At first glance, Anton does not look like a typical Afrikaner Boer, but rather like an artist. His clothing is modern and alternative, and his hair is long

and cut in a modern style. From time to time he wears an earring.

Anton is an introvert and an analytical thinker. He holds well thought out opinions and is a pleasant person to chat to. His reactions and narrative were all rationally explicable. At times he exhibited natural emotional reactions.

Anton studied B.Com. Informatics at the University of Pretoria, but has yet to finish his degree. He still needs six subjects for this.

Anton's outer image may be interpreted as modern and alternative, but his view on life and the world is conservative and moderate. He likes old farmsteads, sandstone churches, antique furniture and baroque music, for example. He is also one of the few informants who like to read Afrikaans books.

Anton described himself as a Christian, although he is not an active churchgoer. He is single and has already practiced pre-marital sex. He is not in a stable relationship at present, and as he says: *"I still woo the masses"*.

Anton farms his father's farm. He enjoys the rural life and is passionate about becoming a successful farmer. He feels positive about his own future and that of South Africa as well.

15. <u>NELLIE FOURIE (21)</u>

Nellie was the only informant without matric. She left school in grade 11 because her mother could not longer afford the school fees. She was born in 1985 in Noupoort (Northern Cape), where her farther worked for the Railways. While her parents stayed in Edenburg, Nellie attended boarding school in Reddersburg. She was born the last child in a household of four children. Her father was older than 50 when she was born. He passed away in 2000.

Nellie works as a shop assistant in a supermarket in Edenburg. She is an extrovert and very outspoken. Nellie is engaged to and pregnant by a Coloured man who presently works for the Road Administration. According to her, some Afrikaners initially criticized

this relationship, but she says that she has handled the criticism successfully and has adapted to the situation.

Nellie displayed no inhibitions in regard to her sexual preferences or behaviour. In this regard she told me about a lesbian sexual relationship she had at school, of her *"love affair"* at 15 with a mechanic from Trompsburg and that she does not in truth have a problem with pornography.

Nellie's opinion regarding present and past Afrikaner affairs is restricted to her own experience or the opinions of her fiancé. As such she had no opinion about the Afrikaans sister churches, because she *"had never been a member of those churches"*. Her opinion about affirmative action was as follows: *"My fiancé wanted to work in Bloemfontein, but he could not. He says they give all the 'jobs' to the 'blacks only' these days."*

A significant element in Nellie's personality profile is that she is incredibly cynical and critical about black people in general, even though her fiancé is a Coloured man and her best friend is a black colleague at work. In answer to a question whether or not she believes that black people acquire AIDS easier than Afrikaners for example, she said: *"Yes. Black people whore around a lot more. Especially black men. They will sleep with anyone who is willing. Poverty has caused that women will easily have sex for a few rand, even as little as ten rand. And it is this whoring that causes AIDS"*.

Nellie can be further summed up as a fanatical Kurt Darren and Steve Hofmeyr supporter, who regularly read the *Son* (newspaper) and *Huisgenoot* (magazine), and practically never goes to church because of her work on a Sunday. She has an aversion to Afrikaner family names. She wants to name the child she is carrying Brandon, although she admits that she cannot speak English herself. The name Brandon just sounds nice to her. An alternative that she has considered is the name Jean-Piérre.

16. DESIRE DE MELCKER (30)

Desire was born in Springfontein. She matriculated in Trompsburg and now lives on a farm near the Gariep dam. She has two sons and works in the Agricultural Co-Operation in Springfontein.

After matric Desire worked for a year on an kibbutz in Israel. She was also a political independent ward council member for the Springfontein municipality for two years. She is married to a leading farmer. Both she and her husband are community leaders, and both occupy senior leadership posts in their farming community in the Southern Free State, the local sports club and the church.

Desire's father was an officer in the South African Police Force. He passed away in 2002. Her mother is a businesswoman.

Desire feels positive about South Africa. She states that she is an Afrikaner who has a future in South Africa. However, she is not blind to the challenges in the post-apartheid South Africa. In this vein she told of her brother who is being confronted with a land claim, and of her brother- and sister-in-law who live in Australia because her brother-in-law could not find work as a mining-engineer in South Africa.

Desire was the only informant who could answer all the questions about the Afrikaner history correctly. She is definitely an informed citizen of the community.

The only aspect in Desire's personality profile that was difficult to declare is the fact that she admitted that, although she is a passionate Afrikaner, she had not been to an Afrikaans drama production during the previous five years, excluding a concert by *"Dowwe Dolla"* (an Afrikaans comedic actress); at most bought only seven Afrikaans CD's during the last five years; has read no Afrikaans books; practically never buys Afrikaans magazines, and is not a member of any Afrikaans cultural organization. She does regularly read the *Volksblad* (newspaper) and enjoys Afrikaans television on DSTV.

17. DEWALD DELPORT (30)

Dewald Delport was born and matriculated in Bethulie. His father was a policeman and his mother a housewife. After school he joined the Police Force and bought his discharge eight years later. At present he is a successful dairy farmer.

Dewald told about how he bought his farm and animals with his police salary. Initially he milked only sixteen cows per day. Today he milks more than sixty cows per day. He enjoys telling tales about the sacrifices he and his family made in order to purchase the farm on which they owe very little. What makes Dewald very bitter is the fact that there is now a land claim against his farm.

Of all the informants, Dewald was the one who made the most negative references toward black people. He is unequivocally racist. But Dewald was not only negative towards black people, he also demonstrated negativity towards his church, the Reformed Church, and the other Afrikaans sister churches, the South African political opposition parties and even toward his fellow Afrikaners. He is of the opinion that Afrikaners today have become *"spineless"* and *"apathetic"*.

Dewald was one of two informants who have serious doubts about the future of the Afrikaner in a post-apartheid South Africa. He holds out no hope for South Africa. He was also one of the informants who is intensely in favour of a nation-state. Yet despite his negative feelings about South Africa, he has no intention of leaving the country. His reaction was as follows: *"I'm here to stay. South Africa is a beautiful country. Where else could I ride a horse and have a braai each day? Actually, I really enjoy living here a hell of a lot. It is only this bloody ANC that is giving me grief about my farm"*.

Dewald is married; his wife works in the local bank and they have a nine-year-old daughter. He was outspoken about pre-marital sex not being a sin, but was very concerned that his daughter must not be sexually active before marriage, as *"today's young men do not have any respect for a woman any more"*.

APPENDIX 2: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH RESULTS

"A person loves a nation, not because it is wonderful and the best nation on earth; you love it because of its torment".

<div align="right">(N.P. van Wyk Louw: 1986)</div>

1.   INTRODUCTION

Ethnographic material is usually presented (organised) round cultural aspects. In this annexure this approach has consciously been avoided. In connection with what has already been discussed in the different articles around the meaning of the discourse, it was reasoned firstly that the various dialogues initiated on all levels by the Afrikaner, in relation to all subjects, is extremely important. It contains and depicts the values, meanings, experiences and interpretations that give significance to their lives, and through which they express themselves in relationships, in tangible and non-tangible ways. It was therefore important to develop an ethnographic understanding about the way in which ideology and discourse functions in Afrikaner ranks.

A second point of importance is that, as far as possible, all cultural codes and the basic meaning thereof, as well as the way it is expressed be examined in this study. The popular distinction that is often drawn between high and low culture, is not maintained in respect of the ethnographic presentation. The emphasis is on the ordinary – what touches the day-to-day existence of the Afrikaner.

2. SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AMONG AFRIKANERS

In a significant article in the women's magazine *Sarie,* Marguerite van Wyk (2006:150) reports that the taboos in the Afrikaner community are starting to crumble. She states that co-habitation is 'in' these days, having babies without the benefit of marriage is common, etc. The majority of the informants in this study indicated that they had had pre-martial sex. They also were of the opinion that Afrikaner boys become sexually active at age 15, and girls at age 14. The general perception is that pre-marital sex is no longer seen as a sin.

The majority of the informants also considered that gays could be Christians. Three of the informants said that they had been active in a homosexual manner and/or relationship. One of the informants, Petrus Pienaar, mentioned that he was gay. He reacted as follows: *"I'm gay. I had sex with another man at the age of 15 for the first time. Since then I've had an active 'love life'. If I ignore the 'one-night stands, I have had more than 20 sexual 'lovers'.* According to him, he does not experience any rejection due to his homosexual preference from within the Afrikaner community. *"Yes, there are Afrikaner men and ladies who do not like gays, but they all think Nataniël is cute, and nobody has ever treated me badly or beat me up because of my queerness."*

All the informants spoke openly about their sexual preferences and objections. Only one informant admitted that she had had a relationship across the colour divide and that she at present was pregnant with the illegitimate child of the brown man involved. Only a few of the male informants admitted that they had not yet had sex with women of colour, but that they did sometimes think of it and fantasize about it.

Half of the informants admitted that they had had more than one sexual partner during the previous five years. Yet irrespective of this tendency, they all expressed a strong need to be only involved in one stable love relationship. Most of the informants had a sexual relationship with their partners for longer than a year before their marriage. Cathy Bruwer explained that she has two children with the man she has been living with for the last eight years. She has no intention or need to marry him in the near future. She herself was born and grew up illegitimate. Her mother raised her as a single parent.

It was apparent that those informants, who had not themselves had pre-marital sex, did not believe that sex before marriage was necessarily wrong. Everyone was unanimous that their parents raised them with the message that sex before marriage was taboo and that someone who agreed to this was actually morally permissive. The women were considered to be flirts or whores. According to the informants, television totally eroded or destroyed these perceptions, taboos and stigmas. All the informants indicated that their sex lives were active and healthy. Thus this study has established that sex and pre-marital sex has not been a taboo or sensitive matter for young Afrikaners for quite a time. It seems that among young Afrikaners in the post-apartheid South Africa, the value-orientation and norms about sex is regulated by need and practical convention, rather

than by Christian values and principles.

3. <u>VULGARITY AND THE USE OF LANGUAGE</u>

Piet le Roux was shocked about the vulgarity at Afrikaans art festivals. He said: *"The Volksblad Art Festival was quite an experience. The people can curse! I don't know whether there was even one show that I saw where the 'f'-word wasn't used, each song you heard had 'f' or two in. The people sitting next to you in the beer garden or restaurant curse, the children curse, there are even T-shirts that were really bad. Not humorously, just low-classed."*

During the interviews, practically all the informants used language heavily mixed with English words and/or vulgarity. For example, during our interview, Jakobus Nel reacted to mention of affirmative action as follows: "I think that *'Affirmative Action' is a load of shit. It is 'reversed discrimination'. We Afrikaners can't find work because the ANC are a lot of 'useless' black arseholes, who were just appointed because their skins are black. And that, in short, is a huge fuck-up for South Africa"*.

Cathy Bruwer (she had been attacked and robbed twice by blacks during the previous eighteen months) reacted to a question on how she experiences blacks, as follows: *"I 'actually' hate the damned lot. Those I work with are 'okay', but the tsotsi's in the street are a lot of trash. They care just fuck-all for us as white people"*.

At least half the informants were of the opinion that the name of the pop group Fokofpolisiekar", was quite *"okay"* or very *"cool"*. Most informants did not have a problem with the name as such, but rather with the blasphemous insults of members of the group, when *"I hate God"* was written in a young teenage girl's purse in Witbank.

The use of vulgarity in songs, stories and books seems to be acceptable to Afrikaners. Most informants accepted the need to use vulgarity, as long as it wasn't overdone and fit the storyline or song's lyrics. Practically all the informants admitted shamelessly that they received and sent dirty, vulgar and occasionally racist e-mails and SMS's. Desire de Melcker summed up the situation regarding the SMS's and e-mails as follows: *"The jokes are indeed sometimes racists and coarse, but hilarious. I look past the racist issue*

and coarseness and just enjoy the joke, because humour is enjoyable and important to me. To me this is like a living 'tonic'".

She also summed up the whole manifestation of vulgarity in Afrikaans drama: *"Afrikaners have a variety of schizophrenia in their personality. For example they are mad about Casper de Vries and 'Dowwe Dolla' shows, that are saturated with words such as 'pussy' and 'fuck', but then they complain quite modestly about the language used in a drama such as 'Groet the Grotman' [Greet the Caveman].To me, it does not make sense"*.

Jannie Jacobs says that a vulgar e-mail is like a Casper de Vries show. *"It is totally banal, but extremely funny and nobody wants to miss it. When Casper comes to Bloemfontein, his 'shows' are fully booked. Everyone comes to see and enjoy it, even though his performances are only meant for the hard-boiled"*.

From the responses offered during this empirical research study, it seems that Christian values have lost their power over the Afrikaner's daily use of language. Abuse and vulgarity has gained a foothold in the Afrikaner's outlook on life and the world. It also seems that sending vulgar e-mails and SMS's has become a popular pastime and method of communication among Afrikaners.

4. **NUDITY AND SEX SCENES**

A general feeling among the informants was that they in actual fact do not have a problem with nudity and/or sex scenes on television and in dramas or films, as long as it isn't overdone and is kept away from children. According to the informants nudity and sex should be taboo for children younger than 16.

Jacobus Nel reacted to the matter of nudity and sex as follows: *"A film without sex and nudity tends to be unrealistic or a farce. It is like looking at a violent film without any blood. Its is absurd and laughable"*.

All the informants, excluding one, were against pornography. The responses of the informants showed clearly that especially the women were extremely outspoken against

any variation of pornography. Anna Engelbrecht commented: *"I cannot stand blatant pornography. To me it is crude and leaves me feeling dirty. I can handle nudity within limits, but vulgar and explicit pornography is totally unacceptable to me"*.

5. <u>RELIGION AND AFRIKAANS CHURCHES</u>

With the exception of two, all the informants identified themselves as Christians. Nearly a third of these informants were regular churchgoers and active members of their respective congregations. Approximately a third of the informants indicated that they attended church less often. Their attendance fluctuated between once a month, and even as few times as once in eight months. The other third saw themselves as Christians, but were in fact church-less. The tendency seen is entirely in line with the NG Church's findings that only 35% of their members regularly attend public worship *(The Kerkbode 25 November 2005:1)*.

The majority of informants specified that they belong to one of the three Afrikaans Sister Churches. Yet most of the informants were highly critical of these churches. Critical judgements such as: *"... the Dutch Reformed Church is primarily focussed on money"; "Afrikaans churches are old fashioned and arch-conservative"; "they are judgemental and super-critical"; "they are dictated to by old men from the Broeder Bond"; "they interfere in politics too much and try too hard to be politically correct"; "the Afrikaans churches are no longer strongly principled and god fearing"*.

All the informants felt that the Afrikaans churches ought to be less judgemental and show more compassion, Christian love and tolerance toward all South Africans.

From the interviews it soon became apparent that young Afrikaners hold two contrasting inner viewpoints about religion, namely a need for greater individualism and freedom of thought, set against a growing need for spiritual warmth, a fear of god and a feeling of religious tolerance.

6. <u>POLITICAL TENDENCIES</u>

Nearly one third of the informants were not registered voters. Nearly half of the informants who were registered as voters during the last general (2004) or local government election (2006) did not vote. Except for two, none of the informants had previously voted for the ANC at any stage of their lives. They also mentioned that they were not planning to vote for the ANC at a later stage. During the interview with him, mister Abrie Oosthuizen, leader of the Freedom Front Plus in the Free State, confirmed this tendency among Afrikaners.

The general feeling among the informants was that it was really important that Afrikaners do vote. They also expressed a strong need that Afrikaners start standing together, especially politically. Further more, they were unanimous that the ANC's overwhelming majority and the Afrikaner's inability to stand together, are the primary causes why Afrikaners are becoming increasingly politically apathetic.

Nearly half of the informants were of the opinion that the ANC is not doing too badly as a government. All the informants, excluding one, each listed more than one positive aspect about what the ANC government is doing correctly, although they were very critical of the government at the same time. The other half had only negative references and comments about the ANC government. Affirmative action is by far the most common point of criticism. Others include the extreme rise in crime; the deterioration of the infrastructure and public service; land reform; the quota system in sport; and the name changes of cities and towns.

More than eighty percent of the informants firstly identified themselves as South Africans, and only then as Afrikaners. They also preferred to refer to themselves as people from Africa, or a combination of that, rather than call themselves Westerners. Two of the informants who worked in England for longer than three years were especially outspoken about the concept 'Westerner'. They expressed opinions such as: *"England made me racist towards the English", and "I think that white people in Europe are worse than our kaffirs!"*

Eighty percent and more stated that, despite their negative criticism against the ANC-government, they still see a future for themselves in South Africa, and that they were not planning, nor had a need, to emigrate.

About two-thirds of the informants saw no need for an Afrikaner nation-state. One third supported or approved of the principle of a nation-state in some form. Only two informants were of the opinion that the nation-state principle could be practically applicable and feasible. One of these two informants has a land claim on his farm. He indicated an intense need for a Afrikaner nation-state where Afrikaners could decide about and for themselves.

A point of general consensus among all the informants was that at present there is no noteworthy political leadership among Afrikaners. According to them, mister Tony Leon (in that stage leader of the Democratic Alliance [DA]) was not an ideal political leader for Afrikaners. Among others, they referred to him as an "Englishman" and a "Jew". The majority of the informants indicated that they indeed voted for the DA, or would go and vote for them if they were to vote, just because there was no other political party or political leader for whom they were prepared to vote.

In answer to the question about who the informant considered to be the main opinion-shaper among the Afrikaners, two thirds could not provide a name, while the most general name that was eventually provided was that of Steve Hofmeyr, a singer. As well as Steve Hofmeyr , the group session offered names such as Johan Stemmet (a singer), Pieter Mulder (a politician) and Van Zyl Slabbert (a political commentator).

In evaluating the information provided by the informants, it seems that the greatest trauma of the post-apartheid Afrikaner in South Africa lies in the area of politics. The Afrikaner feels politically lost and emasculated. Previously Afrikaners had all the imaginable political power possible, and now they have none. In post-apartheid South Africa, the Afrikaner is continuously being confronted by unpleasant new political realities such as affirmative action and place name changes, which gives rise to a growing feeling of being second-class citizens.

The result of this feeling of political deficiency is that Afrikaners are slowly but surely reaching their point of saturation in regard to the ANC government's transformation and nation building actions. This also leads to a sensation of apathy and political despair among Afrikaners.

7. AFRIKAANS CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

Only one of the informants was a registered and active member of Afrikaans cultural organisations. Anna Engelbrecht related that she was a member of the Afrikaner Bond and the Boere Music Guild of the Free State. Only two of the informants could name five or more established Afrikaans cultural organisations. Among the informants, the best-known Afrikaans cultural organisation without a doubt was the Afrikaans Language and Cultural Association (ATKV). Practically all the informants offered the ATKV when asked to list at least five Afrikaans cultural organisations known to them.

Afrikaans cultural organisations such as the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (FAK), Ladies' Guild, AfriForum and Rapportryers were not even mentioned by any of them. Approximately 15% of the informants mentioned that they had previously belonged to the Voortrekkers, during their school years. The majority of informants did not know what the difference between the Afrikanerbond and Broederbond is.

Practically all the informants responded that they had never belonged to an Afrikaans cultural organisation, or that they had any intention or need to join one in the future. Irrespective of this, practically all the informants concurred that there was an right to existence for Afrikaans cultural organisations. For example, Anton Sanders said: *"If there were no Afrikaans cultural organisations, our language and culture will die out"*.

The most negative critique presented came from Anna Engelbrecht, who said that there were too many Afrikaans cultural organisations: *"Each Afrikaner with a fax machine established his own cultural organisation at one time. Most of these cultural organisations were more politically than culture-driven, and today they sit with leaders with egos bigger than the Afrikaner issue"*. Like the majority of the other informants, Dewald Delport's knowledge of Afrikaans cultural organisations was extremely erratic.

He felt that these type of organisations left him with a feeling of conformism ['verkramptheid'] and arch-conservatism. He said: *"To join an Afrikaans cultural organisation, is like joining the church council. It's 'boring' and exhausting. Nothing about it can be pleasurable"*.

During an interview, doctor Kobus Mostert of the Afrikaner Bond expressed the opinion that Afrikaners want to be world citizens and that they no longer have a passion for national matters – culture and cultural organisations are no longer important to them. According to him, there is *"a deep concern within the Afrikaner cultural household regarding the Afrikaner's future. As cultural leaders, we experience a chill towards Afrikaner culture. It is as if there is no longer a passion for own culture among our people. We are leaderless and directionless. We as Afrikaners are confused. The new South Africa was a shock to our systems, indeed"*.

From the responses of the informants, it seems that young Afrikaners have a poor knowledge of the nature and character of Afrikaans cultural organisations in general. Furthermore, young Afrikaners have a negative perception regarding the functioning of Afrikaans cultural organisations. Informants left the impression that they believe that there is a right of existence for Afrikaans cultural organisations, but that they have no desire or intention of belonging to any such organisations. It also seems that young Afrikaners are apathetic towards organisations or centres that promote the higher cultural affairs of the Afrikaner. Not even the euphoria of the De la Rey-song motivated them to join any Afrikaans cultural organisation.

8. <u>AFRIKANER HISTORY</u>

All the informants agree that the history of the Afrikaners is undeniably important to Afrikaners, especially if Afrikaners want to survive as cultural group. Just more than half of the informants are convinced that the ANC government is busy with a factual plan to neglect and/or "rape" the Afrikaner history. For instance, Nadia de Kok listed examples of how statues of Afrikaner leaders (such as doctor Hendrik Verwoerd) are being pulled down, how place names are being changed, and how the South African history suddenly has to be rewritten. According to her, this is all part of the ANC strategy to disparage the Afrikaner and his history.

The rest of the informants were of the opinion that Afrikaner leaders held up a distorted image of South African history to South Africa during the apartheid era, and that the ANC basically now have no other choice than to rewrite this version. Sarie du Plessis reacted as follows about the issue: *"I understand what the ANC is doing. The history that was presented to us as Afrikaner youth in the past, was subjective and geared towards apartheid. To me was told that people like Lukas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu were the only black leaders in South Africa. The origin and existence of the ANC was completely ignored and neglected by the apartheid history. So, it is understandable that the ANC now wants to rewrite the history"*. Piet le Roux also mentioned that he understood the fact that the ANC wants to rewrite the history. All he pleads for is that they do not go overboard and make the same mistakes that the previous apartheid government made.

An interesting fact that came up during the conversations was the informants' extremely meagre knowledge of Afrikaner history. During the interviews the informants were asked to explain who and what the following persons in the South African politics and history are, or were: F. W. Reitz, Pik Botha, Pieter Mulder and Alan Boesak.

Only about ten percent of the informants knew that F. W. Reitz was a previous Free State President. Only half the informants were aware that Pik Botha was a previous political minister, but only two knew which portfolios he held during his term of office. Very few of the informants knew who Pieter Mulder is. The majority of informants knew that doctor Alan Boesak was married to a white woman and previously was imprisoned for some type of fraud. Only a few could explain his political role and contribution to the South African history. Politically speaking, Boesak was unknown to them. Only one informant, namely Desire de Melcker, could answer all the history questions above correctly. During the group sessions this tendency regarding the poor knowledge of the Afrikaner history was confirmed.

The informants' feelings and opinions regarding the fact that the ANC government is starting to change place and town names was obtained as well. All were disappointed about this process. Only a few of them had an understanding about why the ANC was doing so. Lené van der Merwe mentioned that practically all the towns in South Africa only had Afrikaans or white place names. She said that the apartheid government had not

actually made any attempt to name places and towns in any other ethnic language. Thus she said: "*Most town names are authentic Afrikaans. We should anticipate that the ANC would want to correct this state of affairs*". However, the fact remains that all the informants are disappointed about the process of name changing. According to them all it is unnecessary and a waste of money.

When the informants were asked what the origin of their town or city's name was. The majority had no idea what it was. A few had an inkling of the answer. It was clear that, irrespective of the fact that they held a strong opinion that place names should rather not be changed, very few had any idea about the history or name of their place of residence.

A similar manifestation was discovered when the informants were asked their opinion regarding the meaning that public holidays, such as the Day of the Covenant (presently known as the Day of Reconciliation) have for the Afrikaner. All the informants were in agreement that this type of day was important to the Afrikaner and that they must be celebrated rigorously. The irony was that very few of the informants remembered whether they had ever attended the celebration of such a day (the Day of the Covenant or Republic Day). The individual informants who could remember such an attendance, admitted that it took place while they were at school and were compelled to attend. Since schooldays, not one of these informants had troubled themselves to attend a Day of the Covenant celebration, for example.

On the basis of the responses of the informants of this study, as well as the information gathered during the group session, it seems that young Afrikaners have an extremely inadequate knowledge of their own national history. It also seems that their general knowledge of issues regarding South Africa and especially the Afrikaner, is as poor. Thus it can be said that young Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa are relatively uninformed citizens.

9. **AFRIKANER LEADERS AND OPINION-SHAPERS**

All the informants agreed that at present there are no political or cultural leaders of note within the Afrikaner ranks, though everyone expressed the need for a strong, pragmatic Afrikaner leader.

From the responses collected in the pilot study, it is clear that young Afrikaners prefer singers, writers and actors as opinion-shapers above political, religious and cultural leaders. Therefore the informants were supplied with a list of Afrikaners from which they had to choose those they could associate with most effortlessly / best. They were required to motivate their answer. The list of names is as follows:

Koos Kombuis	-	Herman Giliomee
Steve Hofmeyr	-	Tim du Plessis (*Rapport*)
Francois Pienaar	-	Louis Luyt
Christo Wiese	-	Antjie Krog
Karen Zoid	-	Flip Buys (Solidarity Union)
FEW. de Klerk	-	Casper de Vries
Evita Bezuidenhout	-	Danie Goosen (FAK)
Piet Strauss (Voortrekkers)	-	Nataniël.

The informants reacted as follows to the question above: All the informants chose Koos Kombuis above Herman Giliomee. The majority did not know who Herman Giliomee was, and those who did, referred to him in a negative manner. For example, Jakobus Nel asked: *"Isn't Giliomee that guy in Stellenbosch who has a massive 'issue' about everything?"* Petrus Pienaar remarked: *"He (Giliomee), is too conservative in my opinion. He always sounds as if he is longing for the old South Africa. He is like an old gramophone that sticks".*

All the informants chose Steve Hofmeyr above Tim du Plessis as an opinion-shaper for the Afrikaners. Irrespective of the fact that most of the informants knew what the *Rapport* (newspaper) is, nobody chose Tim du Plessis (the editor of *Rapport*). None of the informants were of the opinion that Tim du Plessis of *Rapport* was a noteworthy opinion-shaper for the Afrikaners.

Practically all the informants chose Francois Pienaar rather than doctor Louis Luyt. They were all of the opinion that Francois Pienaar and Hansie Cronjé were the greatest sports stars of the post-apartheid era. Those few who chose Louis Luyt, did so because of the name he made for himself as businessman and sport administrator. None of the

informants knew or remembered that Luyt was also a politician at one stage.

The majority of informants chose the writer Antjie Krog above Christo Wiese. There was great appreciation for Krog's contribution as writer and activist. The other general feeling among the informants was that was they do not really know Wiese. Nearly half of the informants knew he was the boss of *Pep Stores,* but that was all that they knew of him.

With the exception of two informants, the group chose Karen Zoid above Flip Buys. Practically half of the informants knew who Flip Buys was, but few could associate themselves with him, or considered him an Afrikaner opinion-shaper.

Practically all the informants chose Casper de Vries rather than former State President F. W. de Klerk. Everyone mentioned that they had a high regard for De Klerk, especially after the political role he played in the termination of apartheid, but that they had now reached a saturation point in relation to him. The informants were of the opinion that Casper de Vries, as an Afrikaans comedian, sums up the Afrikaner dilemma in post-apartheid South Africa in a very humoristic but incredibly accurate manner. Maxie Mentz stated the following: *"Casper de Vries allows the Afrikaner to laugh at himself again for a change. He brings the humour back among our depressed and melancholy Afrikaners. He is like a fresh breeze, while F. W. de Klerk's contributions leave me with an increasing feeling of stuffiness"*.

In response to the question of which the informants preferred, Evita Bezuidenhout or professor Danie Goosen, more than ninety percent of the informants said that they could not / did not want to decide between the two. According to them they did not like Evita Bezuidenhout and they did not know who Goosen of the FAK was. The options of those informants who did make a choice were spread 50/50 between Evita Bezuidenhout and Goosen.

The informants' division of choice between professor Piet Strauss and Nataniël was approximately sixty percent for Strauss and forty percent for Nataniël. The majority of informants who voted for Strauss based their choice on the fact that they were in the Voortrekkers themselves, or that they knew his son Steyn Strauss, from university days.

Just more than a third of the informants saw Steve Hofmeyr as the main opinion-shaper for the Afrikaners. No political, religious, financial or cultural leader was chosen as somebody who they themselves would want to associate. Excluding the names of Pieter Mulder and Van Zyl Slabbert, who were identified by two informants during the group session, no political or cultural Afrikaner leader was ever indicated as an Afrikaner opinion-shaper during any stage of this empirical research study. It is very evident that there is a huge absence of imitable, charismatic political and cultural Afrikaner leaders in the post-apartheid era. Doctor Kobus Mostert of the Afrikaner Bond brought up the subject of the lack of imitable and outstanding Afrikaner leadership a number of times during his interview.

10. AFRIKAANS AS LANGUAGE

Among all the informants there was unanimity that Afrikaans is being injured in post-apartheid South Africa. Everyone was in agreement that the most fervent struggle for Afrikaans was being waged in education. Each informant referred to one or more incidents when their language rights were denied. Anton Sanders related that especially the black officials of the local municipality refuse to speak Afrikaans. He said: *"What makes me the hell in the most is the fact that I can hear that this 'dressed-up' 'ousie' (black woman) is battling her arse off to speak English, but she absolutely refuses to speak Afrikaans to me. And the worst is that I come across the same 'ousie' in the café later, where she is talking her head off in Afrikaans. At times blacks can be exceedingly obstinate"*.

Maxie Mentz related that she perpetually endures her worst frustration with Telkom. She says: *"Just try calling the Telkom enquiry service. Apparently nobody there can speak Afrikaans. And with my 'luck' I usually seem to get a black who can't even speak English properly. Really! Telkom, who are supposed to be South Africa's communication gurus, are really pathetic"*.

Only two informants could correctly answer the question about what the language debate of the University of Stellenbosch was about. The majority of the informants did not know anything about this language debate, or what it was in relation to.

All the informants defined Afrikanership and Afrikaner culture as, among others, "someone who speaks Afrikaans". Everyone considered the Afrikaans language as valuable and dear, and all the informants expressed the hope that their children would one day also have the wonderful opportunity of experiencing Afrikaans. Despite these informants' sentiments, their interactive involvement with Afrikaans was shockingly poor! In this vein, more than eighty percent of the informants indicated that the last Afrikaans book they read was their Afrikaans prescribed book in matric. Only three of the informants reported that they had bought an Afrikaans book during the past five years. Only two of the informants had attended an Afrikaans dramatic performance during the previous three years. From this research, it seems as if young Afrikaners no longer purchase or read Afrikaans books. Furthermore, they seem negligent and reticent to attend Afrikaans dramatic performances.

Practically all the informants attended at least one of the many Afrikaans art festivals, but excluding pop concerts, they showed no further interest in spending money on Afrikaans culture. Desire de Melcker describes the Volksblad Art Festival as: *"A gigantic flea market with a beer tent."* Petrus Pienaar's opinion of the Volksblad Art Festival was that it is only a booze party. He said: *"The 'timing' is wrong. The Volksblad Art Festival is held in July, when it is so cold you actually only want to drink OBS (Old Brown Sherry)"*. Wouter Basson maintains that all Afrikaans art festivals are the same: basically only *'flea markets'* with all kinds of *"pop concerts and small piquant restaurants"*.

The only obvious deduction that can be made from these observations is that pop concerts, flea markets and *"piquant restaurants"* are starting to gain *"high"* cultural status at Afrikaans art festivals, to the detriment of dramatic performances and literary discussions.

Less than half of the informants regularly read the newspaper. The *Volksblad* and *Rapport* are by far the two most popular newspapers. Some informants also enjoy reading the *Son.* Practically all the informants who do read the newspaper, admitted that they only scan the front page, sport, letter column, and *Snuffelgids*. Not one of the informants indicated that they ever read the editorial column of a newspaper. Lené van der Merwe of Bloemfontein, replied to the question on why she did not read the editorial

commentary: *"I really do not have the time to read someone else's opinion or summary of about something I already read in the newspaper"*. Piet le Roux's answer to the same question was: *"No, my goodness, those things are for the elderly with a lot of time, and yes, it bores me so much that I rather leave it be"*.

During the empirical research it became apparent that very few of the informants buy a newspaper for themselves. They admitted that they read it regularly if they got it from someone else. Desire de Melcker admitted that she read the co-operation's newspaper at work. Dewald Delport said: *"My grandfather regularly buys the newspaper, so I read the paper at his house in the evening when I take him his milk. In any case, I only read the Snuffelgids and sport"*.

Nearly half of the informants stated that they regularly read Afrikaans magazines. Only four of the informants disclosed that they buy Afrikaans magazines, that means that those persons who do read Afrikaans magazines, only do so on an *ad hoc* basis if they borrow or get a magazine for free. Generally, the *Huisgenoot* was the most popular magazine. All the informants reported that they had previously read the *Huisgenoot*, and that they still read it from time to time. Other magazines listed by the informants included: *Keur, Finesse, Weg* and the *Landbouweekblad*. In the rural areas, the *Landbouweekblad* was the most popular magazine.

From the information above, it seems that the young Afrikaners are reading less. The read few Afrikaans books and are slow to read Afrikaans newspapers and magazines. Those who do bother to read them, do so selectively. The dilemma is that the written word has always been a very effective medium for acculturation. In the past, the passing on and retelling of national myths and narrative mainly took place in written format (Giliomee & Schemer 2006:127). From the tendency recorded, it clearly does not seem to be the case any longer. The reality is that the Afrikaner is starting to loose one of the key elements that ensures culture bonding.

The only aspect for the support of Afrikaans to which the informants reacted overwhelmingly positive was Afrikaans music. All were unanimous that there was a huge improvement in Afrikaans music during the past ten years, and that it was the various different kinds of Afrikaans music that excited them and left them feeling

positive. All reported that they regularly listen to Afrikaans music and purchase Afrikaans CD's. Nellie Fourie recounted with pride that she has a Kurt Darren CD, and that not long ago she went to listen to Steve Hofmeyr at the Petrusburg Potato Festival. Dewald Delport, Maxie Mentz and Soekie van Wyk all said that they thoroughly enjoy Afrikaans music and that they had bought more than 100 Afrikaans CD's each.

The most popular Afrikaans television program is *7de Laan*. With the exception of two of the informants, everyone admitted that they regularly watch the program. The only other Afrikaans television programs that the informants watch from time to time, includes *Pasella*, *Egoli* and the nature program *50/50*. Two informants also said that they regularly tune to the DSTV Afrikaans pay channel *kykNET*. The informant who watched the least television was Petrus Pienaar. Petrus conveyed that at most, he only watched eight hours of television per week. He was also the only exception who admitted never watching any Afrikaans television programs at all. The time the informants spent watching television averaged between 14 to 21 hours per week. All the informants said they mainly watched English programs during this time. The majority indicated that *CSI* and *Desperate Housewives* were their favourite programs.

Less than half of the informants regularly watched the news. All the informants indicated that they preferred the Afrikaans news above the English version. Anton Sanders and Sakkie Gelderblom both said that news in South Africa tends to make one depressed. They recounted aspects such as *"too much homicide"*, *"rising petrol prices"*, *"municipalities that are going to ruin"* and *"blacks that are forever busy toi-toiing"*. Anton admitted that he avoids the news. He said: *"Why would I mess up my day by exposing myself to these disturbing things? I avoid the news and watch the weather report, and I do this because the weather is important to me as a farmer"*.

All the informants indicated that they listen to the radio each day. Nearly a quarter of the informants listen periodically to *RSG*. The greatest majority of informants (more than seventy percent) either listen to *Radio Oranje* (*OFM*) or *Radio Algoa*. Three of the informants stated that they only listen to English radio stations or programs. The only two English radio stations named were *Radio 5-FM and 702*.

From the information above, the deduction that can be made that young Afrikaners are increasingly less likely to listen to or watch Afrikaans radio stations and television programs. Young Afrikaners' exposure to Afrikaans entertainment programs is actually disturbingly poor. This tendency seems to be symptomatic of the present-day young Afrikaner. All the elements that could contribute positively to cultural transfer are being ignored or avoided by them.

11. <u>EDUCATION</u>

All the informants indicated that, in their opinion, the standard of education in post-apartheid South Africa has declined. Sarie du Plessis listed aspects such as *"poor discipline among Afrikaner children", "overcrowded classrooms"* and *"curricula that are perpetually changing"*. She said: *"it is tragic to see how Afrikaans high school learners battle to spell or read properly. The majority of them are plainly not up to standard"*. Wouter Basson explained that his mother is a teacher at an Afrikaans high school in Pretoria. He said: *"My mother would tell you that it is practically impossible for a learner to fail. The poor child still hasn't mastered his grade eight work when he is summarily transferred to grade nine, where the additional school work is more difficult. What do we expect? With such a system, we will later have illiterate persons with matric"*.

All the informants were in post-apartheid South Africa for a portion of their schooling. In reply to a question based on the information gathered, when the informants were asked whether they were of the opinion that their own schooling and academic qualification was of a lower standard, the answer was "no" each time. According to the informants, the actual decline started after they had left school.

With the exception of Nellie Fourie, all the informants indicated that they were in possession of a matric qualification (grade twelve). Nellie only had grade eleven.

It is clear that the informants share the viewpoint that education for Afrikaner children in post-apartheid South Africa is starting to decline. If these informants' perception of the education issue is correct, it means that the next generation of Afrikaners will read and write even less than the present group of young Afrikaners, due to their inability to read

and spell properly. They will therefore be a generation that will be primarily reliant on culture-alien television programs and international entertainment, where reading and writing factors will be seen as irrelevant or of no value. The chance that sensible acculturation of exclusively Afrikaans cultural content will take place, will be exceedingly slim.

12. <u>CRIME</u>

The informants unanimously felt the crime had increased drastically since 1994. They also agreed that the ANC government was incapable of addressing the crime issue successfully. According to the majority of informants, the increasing crime rate alarms them and due to this some have seriously considered emigration.

All the informants were of the opinion that crime does not present more or less often in any specific race group in South Africa. According to them, Afrikaners in a post-apartheid South Africa are just as inclined to crime as black people, for example.

However, the majority of informants were of the opinion that farm murders were indeed racially and politically motivated. Jannie Jacobs said: *"It is 'obvious'. Ninety percent of the victims of farm murders are always defenceless old whites, and ninety-five percent of the perpetrators caught are always young blacks"*. Lené van der Merwe noted that she had never heard of a white person ever being arrested for a farm murder.

Maxi Mentz stated that she truly believes that there is a deep-seated hatred of white Afrikaners among blacks, and that this hatred is fulfilled by farm murders. She said: *"...the frequency and violence of farm murders confirm my belief. I do not buy the argument that there is no connection between farm murders and politics"*. She added: *"We all still remember the 'ANC-slogan' 'Kill the Boer! Kill the farmer!'"*

According to this empirical research, it seems clear that the informants have lost their trust in the ANC government in regard to crime prevention and management. They also hold the opinion that farm murders are racially driven. It is obvious from the study that crime is one of the primary factors that leads to Afrikaners considering emigration. The growing crime rate is causing alarm and anxiety in Afrikaners. This was especially

apparent in informants who had been exposed to some incident of crime themselves.

13. <u>AIDS</u>

Most informants were of the opinion that AIDS does not present more or less often in any specific racial group in South Africa. Desire de Melcker said: *"A person tends to think that blacks are more exposed to or acquire AIDS easier than Afrikaners, for example, but a person forgets that there are more blacks than Afrikaners. Here in Springfontein alone, I know of three Afrikaners who have AIDS. AIDS is not only a black man's disease at all"*.

Petrus Pienaar recounted: *"It upsets me if people think that AIDS is a black man's or gay's disease. For example, I know of a farmer from Reitz who has AIDS, and he is not gay or black at all"*.

The specific informants who were of the opinion that blacks are more prone to acquiring AIDS than Afrikaners, expressed themselves as follows: *"Blacks have no inhibitions. They would have sex more readily than we Afrikaners"*. And: *"Blacks are the poorest portion of the South African population, and poverty drives especially black women to prostitution, and we know that prostitutes' risk of acquiring AIDS is so much greater. Therefore blacks are more apt to become the victims of AIDS"*.

The tendency mentioned above shows that the majority of young Afrikaners in the Southern Free State are of the opinion that AIDS is a disease that presents with equal frequency in all South Africans, in opposition to what President Mbeki (2004:14) maintained about this.

14. <u>NATION BUILDING</u>

Only two informants could supply a near correct description of what is meant by the term "nation building". Only these two informants had an opinion about nation building at all. Piet le Roux maintained that the ANC government approaches nation building incorrectly. Soekie van Wyk said: *"The government is busy forcing nation building onto us Afrikaners. We must simply swallow everything that the ANC does and thinks.*

Whether they change our towns' names or mess up our rugby teams, we must simply accept everything for the sake of nation building. As a member of the ANC myself, I get fed up at times with nation building and the so-called rainbow nation. And I do not hesitate telling fellow-'comrades' this".

If the informants' opinions and emotions about subjects such as affirmative action, land reform, place name changes, quotas in sport and such are taken into account, it is clear that the ANC government's attempts at nation building is leaving a bad taste among Afrikaners. It is clear that the majority of informants are of the opinion that the ANC government does not take their needs as Afrikaners into account at all. Dewald Delport fervently stated that: *"The ANC goes overboard totally with their insensitive campaigns and attempts at making us all second-class blacks".* Lené van der Merwe reacted as follows: *"All the ANC is achieving through nation building, is changing innocent Afrikaners into reborn racists. All of us are fed up with things such as quotas in sport, and the changing of place names".*

15. **APARTHEID**

All the informants had one or more reference or opinion regarding apartheid. For some, it was mainly about separate development, while for others there were elements of denial of human rights present; or of being in charge, connected to an embarrassing second-class existence just because someone's skin colour wasn't white enough.

All the informants condemned apartheid, and some noted that they found it difficult to accept that their parents were fervent supporters of an apartheid government. Two female informants recounted that their husbands had had to complete two year's national service at that time. According to them, the government basically stole two years of their husbands' lives, which is why they now feel done in and bitter towards the old NP government. Furthermore, they feel that the apartheid government of those days misused their husbands' naïve loyalty.

Only one informant stated that, as an Afrikaner, she regrets apartheid. Soekie van Wyk said that apartheid was *"unchristian and wrong, and caused unalterable damage to black people, as well as to the relationship of friendship between black and white".*

During the empirical research, all the informants stated that apartheid belonged in the past, and that they, themselves, had no direct share in it. All agreed that the present government is presently applying reversed apartheid. The informants had opinions such as: *"The ANC is busy curing the white apartheid disease with a transformation disease"*. Jakobus Nel summarised this reversed apartheid as follows: *"It does not matter how you look at things like 'affirmative action' and black empowerment, the implication remains – it is blatant apartheid against white Afrikaners."*

16. <u>TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC)</u>

Practically all the informants were of the opinion that the whole TRC process was unsuccessful, one of the ANC government's many money-wasting exercises. According to the majority, they wish this whole "circus" were finally over, as they cannot see any role and benefit from the TRC any longer. The TRC was a highly unmemorable failure. All the hart-rendering scenes that took place at some of the TRC hearings made no significant impression on the informants, and furthermore, the informants believe that the personal circumstances of those victims of apartheid who gave testimony at the TRC are still pitiable and wretched. They feel the government did nothing to really assist these people.

According to Jakobus Nel the TRC's biggest success was: *"To expose the NP government as a 'semi-gestapo-government' with all the illegalities of clandestine operations such as Vlakplaas, while the ANC's misdeeds in places such as Quatro camps in Angola are simply ignored"*.

During the group session, the news that former minister Adriaan Vlok washed reverend Frank Chikane's feet was extremely actual. This gesture of the former minister was thoroughly debated. Finally, the group decided that they understood why Vlok did this, but that they thought his actions were excessive and ridiculous.

The informants felt that basically the TRC created a perception in the international forum that the Afrikaners were *"super evil"*, while the ANC was forced by unbearable apartheid circumstances to occasionally perform some illicit deed – which they only did because there was no other choice for them. The ANC was thus only a victim of

circumstances, while the "Afrikaners' hands dripped blood". The informants question the objectivity and motives of the whole TRC-process. To them it was a costly and extremely futile exercise.

From the above, it can be deducted that certain Afrikaners question the bona fides of the TRC, because they describe it as subjective and prejudiced. It seems that these Afrikaners are tired of being blamed for all the problems of the past, and that they refuse to carry the blame for the South African society any further.

17.   LAND REFORM

Practically half of the informants were totally against land reform. In their narrative they noted that they did not understand the ANC government's reason and work method in relation to land reform. They cannot understand why blacks must now receive farms "free", while they, as Afrikaners, never had the same privilege. Maxie Mentz related how her great-grandfather bought their farm from the previous Griqua leader, Adam Kok. Dewald Delport, against whose farm there is a land claim pending at present, was bitter about the whole process and the aim of land reform. He said: *"I bought my farm with my police salary. At first, when I just started farming, I milked sixteen cows, but these days I milk more than sixty cows. This farm didn't just fall into my lap. I worked bloody hard for my farm. Now the ANC wants to buy it for a ridiculous price and give it away for free to one or other group of blacks. Why can't kaffirs also start working and saving for a change? Why must they get everything on a tray for free?"*

The rest of the informants showed sympathy toward the government's process of land reform. They all understand why it is taking place, although they take offence with the manner in which the process is being managed. Anna Engelbrecht is of the opinion that the government is creating an unbearable situation in agriculture. She said: *"How can you expect from an Afrikaner farmer to be positive when there is an endless delay in resolving land claims? A farmer feels like a bird on a branch. They are all left to the mercy of unsympathetic officials and vindictive judgements of rash politicians, as done by the previous minister of agriculture".* Desire de Melcker told me: *"I understand why the government are implementing land reform. At present more than eighty percent of all agricultural land in South Africa belongs to white farmers and that is wrong. However,*

the white farmers are successful, while all the black upcoming farmers are a failure. They are dying of misery on their wretched farms. All are the picture of letdown. And it isn't the farmers' fault; it's the government's fault. The government is busy cutting viable farms into uneconomical fragments, and then the ANC expects a black farmer without the necessary capacity to be successful on these farms. You are going to see how good agricultural land is transformed into new squatter camps, because that is what the ANC's land reform now implies".

All the informants agreed that the whole issue of land reform could effortlessly deteriorate into a second Zimbabwe. According to them, the Afrikaners are going to become the victims of the ANC government's incompetence. Wouter Basson said: *"If land reform is a huge failure, as is the case already, the ANC will blame us. We will become the pigs in the land reform story, and, as is the case in Zimbabwe, we will be the 'suckers' at the bottom of the barrel".*

In answer to the question whether the informants feel that there is a future for Afrikaner farmers in post-apartheid South Africa, more than ninety percent of the informants said an unqualified "yes". Anton Sanders reacted to the question as follows: *"Yes, I am a young farmer, and I actually do very well. To farm is hard work, and there are always risks involved, but seen objectively everything is going very well and I think things will improve even more in the future".*

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of informants are disgusted by the way in which the ANC government is handling land reform. It seems that the ANC government's inability to ensure effective service provision is the primary reason why Afrikaners have a negative perception about them. It is just this inability that creates alarm among the Afrikaners, especially when it comes to a sensitive matter such as land reform.

The positive side of this sensitive issue is that the majority of these Afrikaners at present still have a positive perception of the future of Afrikaner farmers in a post-apartheid South Africa. In other words, it seems as if the Afrikaners' positive perception of the future of the Afrikaner farmer at present is still stronger and larger than the fear experienced

18. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, QUOTAS IN SPORT AND BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT(BEE)

All the informants believed that affirmative action debases Afrikaners as an ethnic group. All made negative remarks regarding at affirmative action. Soekie van Wyk said: *"Even as a member of the ANC, I am against affirmative action, quotas in sport and BEE. To me, any reference, judgement and classification on the basis of skin colour, gender or language is an injustice and that must be avoided at all costs. You cannot implement one form of racial discrimination to correct another form of racial discrimination, as racial discrimination per se is a diseased issue"*. Piet le Roux asked: *"When does a black stop being a 'previously disadvantaged person', because I know blacks who are promoted from the one high post to another, and each time the call upon their 'previously disadvantaged' status? Is Cyril Ramaphosa still 'previously disadvantaged'? On the grounds of what does a black matriculant qualify for affirmative action today? They have never experienced apartheid?"*

More than eighty percent of informants answered "no" in regard to a question whether any of the informants had ever individually been injured by any form of affirmative action. This response was insightful, namely that all the informants had a negative perception of affirmative action, while few of them had ever been directly harmed by it.

This manifestation, as described above, was best explained by Maxie Mentz: *"The fact is that all the indications are there that affirmative action is apparently here to stay forever, and to me as an Afrikaner, it's clear that affirmative action is going to harm me at some stage or other. Even if not myself as such, then my children will definitely be affected and wronged"*. Wouter Basson's response was: *"At the tempo that the government is forcing different kinds of affirmative action on us, it won't be a hundred years before it will affect me. First it was affirmative action, then it was quotas in sport and now it is BEE on farms and BEE in the business world. If it keeps on like this, later it will be BEE in the marriage as well"*.

All the informants felt that the ANC government had had sufficient time to correct all the old apartheid problems of the past, and that practices of "reversed discrimination" such as affirmative action and quotas in sport must be phased out now. Everyone further

maintained that they were absolutely in favour of the principle of equal opportunities. The informants also declared that they had an absolute repugnance in any form of discrimination, irrespective the ideal motives thereof.

19. CONSUMER CULTURE

As previously noted, one of the most evident aspects observed among the informants during the empirical research was their established consumer culture, and their epicurean life- and world viewpoints. Nearly half of the informants verbally indicated that their consumer behaviour is not affected by brand awareness. The opposite was actually true. Especially the clothing worn by the urban informants during the interviews indicated that they were affected by brand and fashion awareness, as did the vehicles driven by the rural informants.

According to Foucault (1980:214) a consumer culture is essentially the result of a post-modern society. Throughout the interviews, all the informants presented with post-modernistic behaviour. They were either individualistic, materialistic or free-thinking, or had a critical outlook on society.

20. EMIGRATION AND EXPECTANCY OF THE FUTURE

Excluding one informant at the group session, not one of the informants indicated that they considered emigration. All mentioned that they see a future for themselves in South Africa. They all had positive expectations of the future, irrespective of their frustration with issues such as affirmative action, rising crime rates, place name changes and the government's actions to marginalize Afrikaans as language.

More than fifty percent of the informants had been overseas before. Nearly half of these worked overseas for a period of longer than a year. All the informants who worked abroad, stated that they had enjoyed it, but that they had no need to do so on a permanent basis. Maxie Mentz and Wouter Basson related that they both filled senior posts in England. Maxie explained: *"I think the British are very lazy. They are not our type of people. To them, an enjoyable visit means sitting in a pub or club drinking beer. They do not know what things like having a barn dance, or a 'braaivleis'* [barbeque] *is. There is*

nothing like cordiality in the Europeans." Wouter Basson recounted how the Europeans and Americans experienced the Afrikaners as outsiders and interlopers. He said: *"They always want to tell you how en what you must do. They think because you come from Africa, you must be brain dead. Especially the Americans are extremely know-all. You would swear they are these vast geniuses, while the majority actually belong on a 'Jerry Springer Show'"*.

In reply to a question what would have to happen to an informant before he or she would consider emigration, most informants (nearly sixty percent) answered: *"Crime"*. Other factors listed, included: *"a good job offer", "if I can no longer find work in South Africa"* and *"if it would ensure a better future for my children, I would consider it"*.

The countries indicated by the informants as popular choices for possible emigration include countries that have English as a official language. Nobody chose a country in Africa or South America as somewhere they might like to emigrate to. The only non-English country listed for possible emigration was the Netherlands. It is clear that to the informants, the ability to understand the language (English) is an important factor in identifying their choice. Western values, norms and lifestyle were the other factors which had a large influence on the informants' choices.

As mentioned before, all the informants were positive in their response to whether they think there is a positive future for them in a post-apartheid South Africa. Soekie van Wyk stated: *"We Afrikaners might not live as well as we were used to in the apartheid era, but our living standard in a post-apartheid South Africa is far better than that of residents in other parts of the world. People in Europe do not nearly have as many servants, motor cars and holiday homes as we do in South Africa"*. Anna Engelbrecht added the following: *"I think that even after twelve years, Afrikaners in the new South Africa are still better off than any other black community. We do not live in squatter camps; lack of employment is a mere eight percent among whites, while it is more than forty percent among blacks. We white people like to complain. We complain with a loaf of white bread under the arm."* Wouter Basson had the next to offer: *"You only need to go and live in England to discover how many privileges you have here in South Africa. South Africa is still the land of milk and honey"*.

21. <u>CONCLUSION</u>

It was never the aim of this study to analyse the differences between urban and rural, male and female, or younger and older informants. In the anthropology it is assumed that the previously mentioned differences have important and far-reaching influences on social and cultural structures, opinions and relationships. Therefore it was decided to conclude this chapter about empiric research with some comments in this regard.

No significant differences could be identified between the urban and rural (city) informants' responses, narrative or opinions. All were similarly outspoken about affairs like affirmative action; their knowledge of Afrikaner history was as poor; and even though everyone was firmly in agreement about the conservation of Afrikaans, nearly all admitted to practically never reading Afrikaans books. Similar tendencies exist regarding the use of electronics (computers and cell phones), as well as visits abroad and the academic qualifications of the informants. Discernible differences were found in clothing and vehicles, but are of a practical character, and would rather represent pragmatic diversity than cultural and value-selection.

As was expected, there were clear differences regarding age. Younger informants (18 to 21 years) were more outspoken that the older informants (25 to 30 years), but were more idealistic and tolerant. From the interviews, it was clear that the older informants were more realistic in their outlook on life and behaviour, and that they had a better understanding of the formal and informal social, cultural and political tendencies. It seemed that individual values were better internalised, while they also seemed more responsible and applied. The mentioned differences represent typical generation variations, and no tendencies, dispositions or inconsistency in regard to the Afrikaner must be read in this.

Male and female informants demonstrated no significant differences in this study. It was clear that the young Afrikaner female in the post-apartheid South Africa is fully emancipated. No cognitive or emotional differences between the responses of male and female informants were noted.

The fact that the three listed variations played a minimal role in the group that was examined does not suggest that the Afrikaner be seen as a homogenous group. This most probably represents a definite regional (read Free State) context or significance. Representative research in the broader Afrikaner universe is necessary before any national deductions can be made in this regard.

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHO SERVED AS INFORMANTS

Prof. Piet Strauss   National leader of the Voortrekkers[25] and Moderator of the NG Church of South Africa.

Dr. Kobus Mostert   Head: Executive Director of the Afrikaner Bond[26]

Mr. Kallie Kriel   Head: Executive Director of AfriForum[27] and a Executive Member of a prominent and predominantly white labour union, Solidariteit.

Prof. Danie Goosen   Chairperson of the FAK[28] (Federation of Afrikaner Culture), and a Executive member of AfriForum.

Mr. Abrie Oosthuizen   Leader of the VF+[29] Political Party in the Free State, and member of the Free State Legislature.

Ds. Charles James   Minister of the NG Church at the Hugenoot Community, Bloemfontein.

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[25] Voortrekkers – An Afrikaner youth cultural organization which operates in the same manner as the Boy- and Girl Scouts.

[26] Afrikaner Bond – The Afrikaner Bond is the new name of the old Broederbond, which was an exclusive white Afrikaner cultural organisation. Since 1994 coloureds and women are allowed to belong to the Afrikaner Bond. The Afrikaner Bond top leadership structures still exists out of white Afrikaner male only.

[27] AfriForum – This is a minor activist organisation. 90% of its members is white Afrikaans speaking people.

[28] FAK – Federation of Afrikaner Culture.

[29] VF+ Political party – It is a political party which primary aims to negotiate an own home land (independent state) for white Afrikaners.

APPENDIX 4: CORRESPONDENCE

LETTERS ATTACHED OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE FIVE ARTICLES FOR PUBLICATION FOR THIS STUDY

ARTICLE 1

357

Waardes as kultuuraspek van die Afrikaner[1]
Values as a cultural aspect of the Afrikaner

In krisistye is kultuur geen luukse nie, maar die hoogste vorm van selfbehoud. Want kultuur staan vir interne orde, en interne orde is die fondament van alle beskawing.

(Hennie Aucamp 1994:19)

J P van der Merwe
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J.P. van der Merwe

Jan Petrus van der Merwe is 'n doktorale student in Antropologie aan die Universiteit van die Vrystaat. Die tema van sy doktorale studie is: *Afrikaners in Postapartheid Suid-Afrika – 'n Antropologiese perspektief.* Verder doen hy ook gereeld, op 'n deeltydse basis, navorsing vir die Universiteit van die Vrystaat, vir IIASIA (International Institute School for Institutes for Administration – kyk http://www.iiasiisa.be), die Afrikanerbond, en vir die African National Congress. Jan is verder 'n voltydse Raadslid in die Mangaung Plaaslike Munisipaliteit, waar hy verantwoordelik is vir Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling, Toerisme en Landelike Ontwikkeling. Jan is in 2004 deur die Europese Unie versoek om as waarnemer op te tree in die Britse Algemene verkiesing.

Jan Petrus van der Merwe is a doctoral student at the University of the Free State, Department of Anthropology. The theme of his study is: *Afrikaners in Post-Apartheid South Africa – An anthropological perspective.* On a part time basis Jan is doing research for The University of the Free State, for IIASA (International Institute School for Institutes for Administration – see http://www.iiasiisa.be), for the African National Congress and for the Afrikanerbond. Jan is a full time councillor for the Mangaung Local Municipality for the portfolio of Economic and Rural Development and Tourism. Jan was invited by the European Union during 2004 to be an observer during the British General Elections.

ABSTRACT
Values as a cultural aspect of the Afrikaner
The concept of "value" (waarde, wert, valeur, etcetera) is as old as human thought itself, and probably comprises the most important point of dispute in the recognition of anthropology as a science pertaining, inter alia, to "values".

Joubert (1984:114) states that, in the philosophy of science in general, the concept of "values" is used to refer to ideal, preferred qualities, or the criteria for practising science. Examples of such values include truth, logic, empiricity and objectivity, amongst others. In the philosophy of history,

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[1] Desnieteenstaande die problematiek in die daarstelling van definisies, veral binne 'n postmodernistiese konteks, is daar tog besluit om in hierdie artikel van die standpunt uit te gaan dat die Afrikaner 'n blanke groep met 'n eie kultuur is. Afrikaners is waarskynlik een van die mees resente voorbeelde van etnogenese. Verteenwoordigers van verskillende volke uit Europa is in 'n bepaalde konteks, binne 'n bepaalde lokaliteit saamgevoeg en het 'n eie identiteit ontwikkel. Die rol van die lokaliteit (die suidpunt van Afrika) is in die geval van die Afrikaners van besondere belang en het 'n belangrike bydrae tot die Afrikaner se identiteit gelewer.

Att. Marietjie

SA Akademie vir Wetenskap & Kuns
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DATUM 2008/09/15
BTW.NO 4910124256
SA Akademie

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17	Bladsye	R 150.00	R 2,550.00
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ARTICLE 2

POSTED

29 July 2009

To Whom It May Concern

This is to state that Jan P. Van der Merwe's paper on "Values as Part of The Afrikaner Identity", has been accepted for publication in *Identity, Culture & Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue*. It will most probably been published in Volume 10, Number 3, November 2010 issue. The said journal is a publication of Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal and International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Professor Imtiaz Ahmed

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CODESRIA

Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique
Conselho para o Desenvolvimento da Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais em Àfrica
ودراسات تنمية البحوث الاجتماعية في افريقيا

13 May 2009

Mr. Jan P. Van der Merwe
P.O. Box 29311
Danhof
Bloemfontein
9310
Republic of South Africa

Dear Mr. Van der Merwe

Thank you for your contributions.   Please find attached the letter as requested.
Regarding your article "Values as part of the Afrikaner Identity." It will be published
during 2010.   Correspondence regarding the placing of the said article will be
communicated through to you on a later stage.

Professor Imtiaz Ahmed

Co-Editor,
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POSTED

ARTICLE 3

Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique
Conselho para o Desenvolvimento da Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais em Àfrica
ﻣﺠﻠﺲ ﺗﻨﻤﻴﺔ ﺍﻟﺒﺤﺚ ﺍﻻﺟﺘﻤﺎﻋﻴﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻓﺮﻳﻘﻴﺎ

13 May 2009

To Whom It May Concern

This is to state that Jan P. Van der Merwe's paper on "An Anthropological Perspective on Afrikaner Narrative and Myths", has been accepted for publication in *Identity, Culture & Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue,* Volume 10, Number 1, July 2009 issue. The said journal is a publication of Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal and International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

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ARTICLE 4

Univerzita
Pardubice
Fakulta
filozoficka

Pardubice August 4, 2008

JP Van der Merwe
PO Box 29311
DANHOF
9310
Free State Province
Republic of South Africa

Dear Mr van der Merwe,

It is a pleasure to confirm in writing that your text "Religion as
part of Afrikaner identity", submitted some time ago for
publication in the new journal Modern Africa, was accepted
after a regular scrutiny by at least two specialists. However,
being not responsible for technical questions I cannot give you
exact date of publication. I shall inform you once I have these
details available.

I wish you success in your work and research endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Petr Skalník
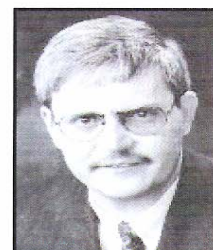Editor for social studies
Modern Africa

ARTICLE 5

Moraliteit as deel van Afrikanerwaardes[1]
Morality as a part of Afrikaner values

J.P van der Merwe
Departement Antropologie, Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein
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Daar was 'n sterk sin van wat reg en verkeerd was en wat 'n 'goeie' en 'slegte' Afrikaner was. Op 'n filosofiese vlak, volgens hulle, was jy of vír, of téén ons. Ek is, saam met al die ander soos Breyten Breytenbach en N.P. van Wyk Louw, as 'n slegte Afrikaner beskou. Die 'establishment' het op alle gebiede, ook identiteit, voorgeskryf en bepaal wat geld al dan nie.
(Van Zyl Slabbert *Rooi Rose,* Januarie 2005:40)

Jan Petrus van
der Merwe

Jan Petrus van der Merwe is 'n doktorale student in Antropologie aan die Universiteit van die Vrystaat. Die tema van sy doktorale studie is: *Afrikaners in Postapartheid Suid-Afrika: 'n Antropologiese perspektief.* Verder doen hy ook gereeld, op 'n deeltydse basis, navorsing vir die Universiteit van die Vrystaat, vir IIASIA (International Institute School for Institutes for Administration – kyk http://www.iiasiisa.be), die Afrikanerbond, en vir die African National Congress. Jan is verder 'n voltydse raadslid in die Mangaung Plaaslike Munisipaliteit, waar hy verantwoordelik is vir die portfolio van Ekonomiese en Landelike Ontwikkeling en Toerisme. Jan is in 2004 deur die Europese Unie versoek om as waarnemer op te tree tydens die Britse Algemene verkiesing.

Jan Petrus van der Merwe is a doctoral student at the University of the Free State, Department of Anthropology. The theme of his study is: *Afrikaners in Post-Apartheid South Africa: An anthropological perspective.* On a part time basis Jan is doing research for The University of the Free State, for IIASA ((International Institute School for Institutes for Administration – see http://www.iiasiisa.be), for the African National Congress and for the Afrikanerbond. Jan is a full time councillor for the Mangaung Local Municipality for the portfolio of Economic and Rural Development and Tourism. In 2004 Jan was invited by the European Union to be an observer during the British General Elections.

ABSTRACT
Morality as a part of Afrikaner values
What is morality? The Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal *describes it as: "That which relates to the sense of what is good and right (moral)". "Moral" is further defined as: "According to good mores: virtuous."*
The question that arises is: Who or what decides what is good and right, or what is virtuous? For example, there is a Khoi-San saying that goes: "Good is when I steal other people's wives and cattle; bad is when they steal mine" (Stewart 2004:184).

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[1] Desnieteenstaande die problematiek in die daarstelling van definisies, veral binne 'n postmodernistiese konteks, is daar tog besluit om in hierdie artikel van die standpunt uit te gaan dat die Afrikaner 'n blanke groep met 'n eie kultuur is. Afrikaners is waarskynlik een van die mees resente voorbeelde van etnogenese. Verteenwoordigers van verskillende volke uit Europa is in 'n bepaalde konteks, binne 'n bepaalde lokaliteit saamgevoeg en het 'n eie identiteit ontwikkel. Die rol van die lokaliteit (die suidpunt van Afrika) is in die geval van die Afrikaners van besondere belang en het 'n belangrike bydrae tot die Afrikaner se identiteit gelewer.

SA AKADEMIE
VIR WETENSKAP EN KUNS

2009-05-01

Geagte Outeur

ARTIKEL:	Moraliteit as deel van Afrikanerwaardes
E-POS:	jvdm@motheo.co.za
AANTAL BLADSYE:	14
VIR PLASING:	Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe, Jaargang 49, Nr 2, Junie 2009

Geagte Outeur

Hiermee bladproewe van bogenoemde artikel wat vir publikasie goedgekeur is in die SA Tydskrif vir Natuurwetenskap en Tegnologie van die SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. U word versoek om die proef noukeurig na te gaan vir korrektheid. U kan korreksies op die proewe aanbring en faks aan Lanie (012) 328 5091. Ek moet self nog die proewe lees en daar kan miskien nog enkele formaatveranderings wees.

Indien slegs enkele veranderings dui asseblief hieronder aan (u kan bladsye met korreksies ook faks).

BLADSY	KORREKSIE

*NB: Indien ons op **Donderdag, 7 Mei 2009** nog nie van u verneem het nie,*
sal die artikel onveranderd geplaas word

VERKLARING VAN KOPIEREG.
Ek verklaar hiermee dat die kopiereg vir bogenoemde artikel oorgedra word aan die SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

OUTEUR: _____ DATUM: _____

Posadres vir komplimentêre uitgawes: _____

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Poskode:

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Baie dankie vir u gewaardeerde insette tot ons Tydskrif. U sal weldra twee komplimentêre kopieë van die gedrukte Tydskrif per pos ontvang.

Vriendelike groete
Ina Gräbe
TGW: Redakteur

Januarie 2009-01-28

SUMMARY

The aim of this study is to conduct an investigation from an anthropological perspective, on the impact that post-apartheid South Africa has had on the Afrikaner's judgement of value, as well as on his identity-formation. Afrikaner values comprise therefore the central theme of three of the main articles, while narratives, myths, religion and identity represent the focus of incidence of the other two articles.

Up to and including 1990, an official Afrikaner identity existed, which was largely determined by a grand narrative that was constructed around church membership, an association with political power and party membership, as well as membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. After 1994, the loss of this official identity, has marginalised Afrikaners and plunged them into an existential crisis. In this regard, this study will point out two factors, namely that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual ties with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and the Afrikaans language in the post-Apartheid dispensation are in a process of changing, even becoming attenuated; that Afrikaners are increasingly pursuing a new, cosmopolitan identity and way of life.

Although commentators differ regarding the question as to what effect the post-apartheid dispensation had, and is still having on Afrikaners, it is undoubtedly true that the political and social transformations that South Africa has undergone since 1994 have indeed been far-reaching in nature and that these transformations largely took the great majority of Afrikaners by surprise. Afrikaners clearly were not prepared for the changes that ensued, with the result that after a period of fifteen years they are being confronted with the dire necessity to reflect on their values, their solidarity, their identity, as well as their role and place in the "*new*" South Africa.

Recent anthropological information on the Afrikaner is limited – Afrikaans anthropologists have largely neglected the study of the changes that the culture and identity of Afrikaners have undergone since 1994. As a result, the contributions of Afrikaans-speaking anthropologists to the discourses surrounding current issues that affect the Afrikaner (religion, morality, identity, narratives and myths), and the characteristics of the so-called "*new*" Afrikaner, are relatively limited. In this regard the

broad aim of the current study is to conduct a comprehensive ethnographic investigation into the current tendencies in Afrikaner culture and identity. Afrikaner values would thus be used as the point of departure from which the ethnographic material will be explored.

KEY WORDS:

Post-modernism

Values

Morality

Afrikaner

Culture

Identity

Apartheid

Religion

Narratives

Myths

South Africa

Globalizing

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om, vanuit 'n antropologiese perspektief, ondersoek in te stel na die impak wat die post-apartheid Suid-Afrika op die Afrikaner se waarde-oordeel en sy identiteitsvorming het. Afrikanerwaardes vorm daarom, in al vyf hierdie meegaande artikels, die sentrale tema.

Daar het tot en met 1990 'n amptelike Afrikaner-identiteit bestaan, wat grootliks bepaal is deur 'n meester narratief wat gekonstrueer is rondom kerklidmaatskap, verbintenis tot politieke mag en partylidmaatskap en lidmaatskap van kultuurorganisasies soos die Broederbond. Die verlies van hierdie amptelike identiteit ná 1994 het die Afrikaner gemarginaliseer en in 'n bestaanskrisis gedompel. In hierdie verband word daar in hierdie studie daarop gewys dat die Afrikaners se emosionele en intellektuele bande met die Afrikaanse kultuur, kerke, politiek en die Afrikaanse taal in die post-apartheid besig is om te verander, selfs te verskraal en dat hulle toenemend 'n nuwe, kosmopolitaanse identiteit en leefwyse nastreef.

Ofskoon kommentators verskil, oor wat die invloed van die post-apartheidsbedeling op die Afrikaner was en nog steeds is, is dit ongetwyfeld so dat die staatkundige en sosiaal-maatskaplike transformasie wat Suid-Afrika sedert 1994 ondergaan het, inderdaad besonder omvangryk was en die oorgrote meerderheid Afrikaners tot 'n groot mate onkant gevang het. Afrikaners was duidelik nie voorbereid op die veranderinge wat gevolg het nie, met die gevolg dat hulle nou, na 'n tydperk van vyftien jaar, dringend gekonfronteer word om te besin oor hulle waardes, samehorigheid, identiteit, rol en plek in die *"nuwe"* Suid-Afrika.

Resente antropologiese inligting oor die Afrikaner is beperk – Afrikaanse antropoloë het die bestudering van die verandering wat die Afrikaner se kultuur en identiteit sedert 1994 ondergaan het (en nog steeds besig is om te ondergaan), grootliks verwaarloos. Dit het meegebring dat Afrikaanssprekende antropoloë se bydrae tot diskoerse oor hedendaagse kwessies wat die Afrikaner raak (godsdiens, moraliteit, identiteit, narratiewe en mites asook hoe die sogenaamde "nuwe" Afrikaner lyk), relatief beperk is. Die breë doel met die onderhawige studie is dan om 'n omvattende etnografiese ondersoek te loots na huidige tendense in Afrikanerkultuur en Afrikaneridentiteit. In dié verband is daar besluit

om Afrikanerwaardes as die invalshoek te gebruik tot die ontsluiting van die etnografiese materiaal.

KERNWOORDE:

Post-Modernisme

Waardes

Moraliteit

Afrikaner

Kultuur

Identiteit

Apartheid

Godsdiens

Narratiewe

Mites

Suid-Afrika

Globalisering