Die Taal is Gans die Volk?
Building a Common Afrikaans-Language Identity and Community in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Susan DeMartino
Advisor: Dr. Neville Alexander, PRAESA, UCT
School for International Training
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I would like to extend great thanks to Dr. Neville Alexander for taking the time to advise my independent study project. After his first guest lecture in our class, I was convinced that I wanted to examine some aspect of language in South Africa for my independent study project. While I did become overwhelmed with so many other interesting topics as I moved throughout the semester, I eventually did have to choose a topic and so I came to Dr. Alexander with a broad idea of looking at the place of Afrikaans in South Africa today.

Dr. Alexander helped me to focus my ideas into a study the renegotiation of what it means to speak Afrikaans in South Africa since 1994. He put me into contact with a number of wonderful South Africans who were extremely knowledgeable about Afrikaans and current language policies and issues in South Africa as well as extremely influential in current language debates in the Western Cape, where Afrikaans is a home language to just under sixty percent of the people. Without Dr. Alexander's help, my project would be bland and unfocused, and I thank him immensely for advising me in my most challenging primary research project yet.

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Abstract

The following paper examines some of the ways in which Afrikaans-speakers have begun to renegotiate Afrikaans-speaking identity and community in reaction to a perceived decline in Afrikaans in post-apartheid democratic South Africa.[1] It also examines the values of re-negotiating Afrikaans for a multilingual South Africa.

The data was obtained through interviews with four Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who connect with the language both as a mother-tongue speaker and as players in renegotiating its role through empowerment efforts, blogging, and creating positive language policy and programming.

I have concluded that the renegotiation of Afrikaans involves depoliticizing and consciously separating Afrikaans from ideologies of oppression, racism, standard-language hierarchies, and a history of linguistic conflict, while still recognizing that these ideologies exist and are significant barriers to de-racializing the Afrikaans movement and creating a true Afrikaans-community. However, successful creation of an Afrikaans-language community alongside the promotion of other language communities has great potential for successfully building a multilingual and multicultural nation of South Africa.

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[1] Giliomee, H. 2003. The Rise and Possible Demise of Afrikaans as a Public Language. *PRAESA Occasional Papers*. Cape Town.

Introduction

"It's not that [Afrikaans] has declined, in my mind, it has merely, shrunk to its proper size, I think. And that's rather difficult to accept, you know."[2]

The following paper examines some of the ways in which Afrikaans-speakers have begun to renegotiate Afrikaans-speaking identity and community in reaction to a decline in the use of Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. The title translates as "The Language Constitutes the Entire People" a saying used by language activists in the beginnings of Afrikaans language promotion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have chosen to examine this topic to better understand how Afrikaans-speaking South Africans view their own language and conceptualize their place in the new South Africa through it. I think it is a valuable topic area because it involves looking at how political and social changes affect the use of a language and the perception people have of it. Additionally, it offers a valuable look at how languages can consciously be depoliticized and separated from ideologies and how social change and diversity can be promoted to build a better nation of South Africa.

My objective in this paper was obtaining an understanding of how Afrikaans is being redefined and renegotiated in post-apartheid South Africa. My specific objectives were to examine what South Africa, and more specifically, the Western Cape, is doing to move Afrikaans away from a language symbolic of a particular socio-cultural and racial identity towards a more inclusive language community through dismantling the hierarchies placed upon the different dialects of Afrikaans, using Afrikaans as a means to empower poor mother-tongue speakers, and seeing Afrikaans as a model and a partner in moving the nine other African indigenous languages and other minority languages to become languages of upper-learning and science.

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[2] Nel, L. 2009. Interview. [Personal 23 April] by S. DeMartino. Cape Town. (Unpublished).

I have attempted to achieve this objective in two main sections: the first consists of three subsections: a literature review which examines language ideologies and Afrikaans as a tool for nationalism, a description of my methodology and the limitations of my study. The second section is the body of my paper, which have divided it into subsections which look at ideologies of Afrikaans, national legislation and recognition of historic linguistic conflict, depoliticizing Afrikaans, shifting towards English, the spectrum of the Afrikaans movement, examining the existence of and building an Afrikaans community, using Afrikaans as a model to develop the indigenous languages, and using linguistic diversity to move towards an integrated South Africa. I divided the paper into these sections to show my conclusions that the successful creation of Afrikaans-language community can be achieved through depoliticizing and consciously de-racializing and separating Afrikaans from ideologies of conflict and oppression, and that properly promoting diversity can be a successful tool for creating a multilingual South Africa.

Literature Review

My research necessitated drawing connections between a three main groups of literature. Some of the literature that might have provided a good context for me to embed my thoughts and my own primary research was available only in Afrikaans, a limiting factor to my compilation of secondary sources. However, the literature that I did find was overwhelmingly helpful, although I could find very little literature with extreme depth regarding the contemporary use of Afrikaans. This is obviously because this topic is extremely current. I looked carefully at ideas in the fields of sociolinguistics and language sociology which examine the link between language and society and social identity, including discourse analysis. I specifically looked at theories of language ideology and linked them with historically-based literature concerning Afrikaans as a piece of national identity for Afrikaners, and ideas about the use of Afrikaans in contemporary South Africa.

Among the historical literature concerning Afrikaans as a piece of national identity, I look to Louw,[3] who traces the union of the Afrikaans language with Afrikaner national identity throughout the twentieth century, which he divides into three major time periods of nationalism. The first, "effectively a struggle against Anglo cultural imperialism," happened between 1902 and 1947. This early Afrikaner nationalism reflected a perception that Afrikaans was threatened by the English language in the form of British imperialism. Looming threats of political and military conflict with the British, such as the South African War of 1899-1902, influenced to a great degree the importance of Afrikaans in national identity as a means of mobilizing Afrikaans-speakers against British control.

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[3] Louw, P. E. 2004. Political Power, National Identity, and Language: The Case of Afrikaans. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 170: p44

Louw believes a second stage took place between 1948 and 1990, which "involved a peculiarly South African form of nation-building associated with apartheid."4 Louw believes that Afrikaans was "communicatively constructed" as a means to build a South African nation by the media, intellectuals, teachers, and journalists. At this point in history, Afrikaans became particularly symbolic of Afrikaner identity. Webb's words for this connection are particularly strong, believing that Afrikaans was, over time, "ideologised and mythologised into a White Man's language and a symbol of a particular socio-cultural identity" and in the past it was appropriated "by its white speakers and used for political manipulation and gain."[5] This was strong context for my own research, which showed that legacies of this mythologization exist today, in that there continue to be extreme difficulties in expanding the racial boundaries of Afrikaans. I would have liked to see some literature that looked ethnolinguistically at how previously marginalized speakers of Afrikaans view their own language. In my own time in South Africa I have engaged with quite a few so-called Coloured South Africans, many of whom live in the Bo-Kaap, who have told me that their version of Afrikaans is "a slang" and "not proper Afrikaans." In one of the few ethnolinguistic looks at a so-called Coloured community (although this community, Wentworth, is located outside of Durban and its members predominantly speak English as a first language), Kamwamangalu,[6] examines what linguistic means Wentworth residents use to express one's desired identity or identities and what effects social meanings and social histories have on the linguistic choices that the community members make. This article for the most part

[4] Ibid. p.
[5] Webb, V. 2002. Language in South Africa: The Role of Language in National Transformation, Reconstruction and Development. Amsterdam/Philadelphia. John Benjamins Publishing Company. p29, p166
6 Kamwamangalu, N. 2004. Language, Social History, and Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study of the ''Colored'' community of Wentworth. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 170(113-129)

reinforced my ideas about ideologies of English, Afrikaans, and the African indigenous languages but emphasized for the most part the conscious decision of many in the community in to use English to communicate an ideologized identity.

For the most part, literature on the changes in Afrikaans since 1994 fit in a mold of the author having a particularly emotional connection to the language; this obviously makes sense, as a researcher is going to write about something with which he or she has great interest. However, at times this inhibits the conclusions because many researchers have made the faults of the national government for being unsuccessful in truly promoting multilingualism out to be as if the leaders of the ANC were sitting around scheming on how to get the Afrikaners back for apartheid.

Louw looks at the period since 1990, when South Africa saw the beginnings of the collapse of Afrikaner political power, as the third period of Afrikaans nationalism, defined by "the decline of Afrikaans."[7] Louw believes that the post-1994 state "promotes assimilation into a common South African imagined community" which "encodes a strong sense of black African nationalism, 'Afrocentricism' and antipathy to 'Eurocentric' cultural forms and practices."[8] While I obviously do believe that 1994 changes have left many so-called Afrikaners feeling disenfranchised with the realization that they are a political and cultural minority in the whole of South Africa, I disagree greatly with where the imagined national community of South Africa is today and also believe that Afrikaans can be used to make this imagined community a real national identity. Additionally, Louw writes quite a lot about the increase in use of English as Afrikaans declines, which seems to be a key example of a lack of antipathy towards Eurocentric values. The continued marginalization of the indigenous African languages among mother-tongue speakers in favor of English

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[7] Louw, P. 2004. op cit. p.46
[8] Ibid p.53

education as a means of empowerment and opportunity also signals for me a shift towards some Eurocentric values.[9]

Louw also believes the shift away from Afrikaans has led to a "significant identity crisis for Afrikaners whose identities were constructed within the pre-1994 imagined community."[10] It seems that Louw means the issues of guilt and collective responsibility that stem from Afrikaners continuing to use their mother-tongue despite the oppression ideologies surrounding it, but I think a second crisis of identity stems from the decline in usage of Afrikaans in the public sphere since 1994. This subject has been approached most in depth by Webb and Giliomee. Giliomee[11] gives a strong historical account of how Afrikaans achieved a status as a public language (one of only four languages in the 20th century to do so) and what changes in its usage have occurred since 1994. While strong in history, "The Rise and Possible Demise of Afrikaans as a Public Language" has many of his own personal attachments to Afrikaans embedded in the writing and the section "Responses from the Afrikaans community," does not concentrate on the renegotiation of Afrikaans-based identities, or truly examine the use of Afrikaans in communities other than the so-called Afrikaner community, which continues to racialize Afrikaans and perpetuates the problems of promoting it. These are just some of the ideas which I attempt to call attention to in my paper. Lastly, Giliomee's ideas about where Afrikaans will go in the future depend "vitally on the degree of the loyalty its speakers have to the language with which they were brought up."[12]

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[9] Balfour, R. 2006. "A New Journey with Old Symbols": University Language Policies, Multilingualism, and the Politics of Language Development in SA and the UK. (Eds.) Webb, V., Du Plessis, T. *The Politics of Language in South Africa*. p.7
[10] Louw, P. 2004. op cit. p.54
[11] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[12] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit. p.27

Louw also posits about the future of Afrikaans, believing that it can be changed, by creating and sustaining Afrikaans cultural infrastructure, and to challenge pressures from the "elite" to remove the language. Something I question, in reference to Neville Alexander's 2001 work, Majority and Minority Languages in South Africa, is that Louw refers to Afrikaans as a minority language, and his suggestions for the future of Afrikaans are made upon this belief. Alexander writes that "even though Afrikaans and English are the language of arithmetic minorities, they are the dominant languages and manifest all the features of what are generally referred to by sociolinguists and sociologists of language as 'majority' languages." I think evaluating Afrikaans in the context of having been a majority language for the 20th century while also understanding that just because Afrikaans-speakers may feel their language is a minority language doesn't mean it actually is, especially in the Western Cape, where 60% of residents speak Afrikaans as a home language.

I look toward Melissa Steyn's[13] discourse analysis of resistance to post-apartheid transformation for better understanding how meaningful Afrikaans is in defining what it means to be Afrikaner. Steyn analyzes letters to the editor by so-called Afrikaners about Afrikaans, which many of these individuals define as the 'essence' of being Afrikaner. This use of the language as the essence of a racial and socio-cultural identity is one of the barriers to true multilingualism in South Africa. Steyn believes that the letters "reinscribe the Afrikaner mythology that secured a special place for the Afrikaner in the political, economic, and social life of the country, so that the ground gained through the apartheid era of systematic Afrikaner advancement is not lost in the new social order, while presenting Afrikanerdom as compatible with the New South Africa."

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[13] Steyn, M. 2004. Rehabilitating a Whiteness Disgraced: Afrikaner White Talk in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Communication Quarterly*, 52(2)

Lastly, I look to Webb[14] for ideas about language planning in South Africa today and the current debate surrounding Afrikaans. His book, <u>Language in South Africa</u>, is a wonderful look at the possibilities of multilingualism in South Africa and he offers many ways for Afrikaans to be promoted which do not coincide with the socio-cultural and racial identities that tend create conflict about language and group membership. Additionally, his rational look at where Afrikaans is today in South Africa is necessary in a sea of literature which reflects the emotional nature of the Afrikaans language debate.

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[14] Webb, V. 2002. op cit.

Methodology

The majority of the information used in this study was obtained through interviews with four Afrikaans-speaking individuals who are active in debates about multilingualism in South Africa today. All of the individuals I interviewed consented to be both voice-recorded and for their identities to be public in my final manuscript. I am extremely grateful this because it allowed me to get an incredible amount out of four relatively short interviews by allowing me to listen closely without worrying too much about scribbling every word they said in my notes. My study was legitimized by the fact that these individuals allowed for their identities to be public because they are all extremely knowledgeable about language issues in South Africa today from both personal and political standpoints.

Three of the four individuals I interviewed, Christo van der Rheede, Quintus van der Merwe and Louis Nel, were contacts recommended to me by my advisor, Neville Alexander. Additionally, I found an interesting blog entry by Conrad Steenkamp on the Mail and Guardian website and reached out to him for an interview for another perspective.

Louis Nel, an interpreter for the Language Unit of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, was the first individual I interviewed on Thursday, April 23rd, 2009. We spoke about the place of Afrikaans in South Africa today, changes in its usage since 1994, hierarchies of variations of Afrikaans, and Afrikaans-speaking identities.

Christo van der Rheede is the CEO of Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans, (In English: Foundation for Empowerment in Afrikaans). I interviewed him on Tuesday, April 28th, 2009 about the goals of the organization, its obstacles,

successes, the existence of an Afrikaans-language community and about multilingualism in South Africa.

Quintus van der Merwe is the Deputy Director and Head of the Language Unit of the Western Cape. I interviewed him on April 30th, 2009 about language policies in the Western Cape, promoting multilingualism, programs the Language Unit creates for the promotion of multilingualism, the use of Afrikaans in the Nama-speaking community.

Conrad Steenkamp, is an anthropologist, land reform specialist, author, and blogger on the Mail and Guardian website. I interviewed him on Wednesday, April 29th, 2009 about the place of Afrikaans in South Africa today from both the view of a parent and an intellectual, and the importance of speaking any language in personal and social identity.

Lastly, I would like to make a note that in my gathering of data and my write-up of it, I have truly attempted to keep from categorizing according to apartheid-style racial categories in a genuine effort to keep from further entrenching racist ideologies and categorization of individuals based on a property as arbitrary as the color of their skin. However, this is much easier said than done, and it has been troublesome in that much of history has subscribed to these categories and much of the literature before me has continued to use them as a means to quantify language usage among groups of people both historically and arbitrarily classed as different. I have attempted throughout most of my paper to draw attention to these arbitrary classifications instead of accepting them by using the words "people classified as," "people who have classified themselves as" (in the case of the census data), or "so-called" before using a term based upon racial classification.

Limitations to the Study

My study was limited by a number of issues; the three of greatest detriment were time constraints, an abundance of public holidays that made interview scheduling difficult, my choice to study a language that is not my own mother tongue or even one I speak at all. Had I had unlimited time (or even just a week longer), I think my project would have been stronger because I would have had an additional week for write-up, instead of having to schedule interviews during the time I had wanted to have finished a draft of my paper. Unfortunately, because of the public holidays, my interviews were much later in the four weeks than I expected. While the first two issues forced me to budget my time most carefully, the latter, as I realized about a week before my ISP was due, actually served as both a detriment and a benefit to my project.

One of the detriments of not being able to speak or read Afrikaans was that I was limited only to literature that had been translated into English. More than once, I found the English abstract of an article I thought would be wonderful for my paper but then realized that it was only available in Afrikaans. But I was lucky that one of my conclusions, that English is and will continue to be a powerful way of uniting South Africans of different mother-tongues, held true, because all of my informants spoke English fluently and were able to use it in interviews with me. But initially, I felt that there was a distinct benefit to not knowing Afrikaans: I felt I was able to be somewhat more neutral in the debates that are taking place than an Afrikaans-speaker or even a non-Afrikaans-speaking South African. I felt that some of the literature I had collected contained biases that were easily recognizable to someone not a native Afrikaans-speaker. Realizing this only reinforced my ideas of how important language actually is, and how attached people are to the language that they speak.

Lastly, being unable to speak Afrikaans helped me to recognize that I had some biases towards Afrikaans, and that early in the stages of deciding on a project topic, I was most focused on the legacies and ideologies of Afrikaans. It was during my interview with Christo van der Rheede, CEO of Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaanse (Foundation for Empowerment through Afrikaans), that I became really cognizant of my own biases, when he said something I will never forget.

> "Afrikaans has absolutely nothing to do with the past, with this oppression, with apartheid. Don't blame the language. Blame the people, with their ideologies, with their stupid ideologies, with their apartheid ideologies…and ideologies are dangerous because it represents the belief of one sector…if we want to be successful in South Africa, we must maintain the uniqueness, the unique character of each group of people and start toward this integrated society, not towards this assimilated society, but this integrated society, toward maintaining diversity and uniqueness."[15]

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[15] van der Rheede, C. 2009. Interview. [Personal 28 April] by S. DeMartino. Cape Town. (Unpublished).

The Status of Afrikaans Today
Fragile Identities from Historic Ideologies

South Africa is at a fragile place today in deciphering exactly what it means to be a rainbow nation and attempting to discover how its many distinct colors should fit together to make a nation with a unified purpose. Identities are at the heart of these issues, and South Africa's many languages, which represent additional differences between ethnic groups, can be both a dividing and a unifying factor.

> "I always compare South Africa with building a house. And we tend to put the roof on first instead of laying the foundation, instead of building the walls, instead of making sure that our foundation is solid. And the whole concept of non-racialism is like this roof that we want to put on first. Before we can get to non-racialism, we have diverse groups, with diverse backgrounds. How do we strengthen diversity, those pillars of diversity, so that becomes the foundation on which we build this new society, this new house? Then we need to look at our various building blocks, for example. Language is one of these building blocks."[16]

Language constitutes an important piece of a person's multiple identities and often causes people to broadly identify with those who speak the same language or same dialect of a language as themselves.[17] "Language is access to a whole culture, a cultural experience, a way of looking at the world."[18] It can be a powerful piece of culture, a symbol of a cultural group, and a powerful creator of a worldview upon its speakers. Recent linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistic studies have approached the idea that languages carry ideologies, defined at its most broad as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world."[19] That is, language ideologies are attitudes which speakers hold towards their own language or about languages in general. These attitudes link languages to membership in a group,

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Alexander, N. 1997. Multiculturalism and the Rainbow Nation. (Keynote Address to Amnesty International; UWC.)

[18] Steenkamp, C. 2009. Interview. [Personal 29 April] by S. DeMartino. Somerset West. (Unpublished).

[19] Woolard, K. and Schieffelin B. 1994. Language Ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 23: p.57

personal identity, to beauty, morality, conceptualizing knowledge and understanding and creating worldview.[20] Examining language ideologies is extremely useful in determining how Afrikaans-speakers conceptualize their identity and community in the wake of social changes which have greatly affected the use of Afrikaans.

Much has been written about the racialized, nationalistic and exploitative usages of Afrikaans over the course of the twentieth century, when Afrikaans was used and deeply linked to the apartheid state as well as a symbol of the minority in power. Legacies of linguistic conflict in South Africa are exemplified by the 1976 Soweto Uprising, a reactionary protest where more than a hundred people died protecting their right to learn in their language of choice after the National Party decided that Afrikaans should be a compulsory medium of instruction in half the school subjects in Bantu secondary schools. This history of politicized languages and asymmetric power relations among languages in South Africa presents a large barrier to building a roof upon the pillars of linguistic diversity that van der Rheede speaks of.[21]

It is generally accepted that pre-1994 apartheid-era ideologies of Afrikaans, amongst its speakers and amongst South Africans who felt subjugated by the language, contained perceptions about oppression, racism, whiteness, and standard Afrikaans as the purest form. Afrikaans "was appropriated by the white political intelligentsia of the past as an instrument of political mobilization. In the process Afrikaans was ideologised and mythologised into a 'White Man's language.'" This caused its non-white speakers to be associated with a sub-standard language and the

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[20] Ibid p.56.
[21] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.

pure Afrikaans of the whites became a symbol of a particular socio-cultural identity (the Afrikaner).[22]

Indeed, all of the South Africans I interviewed referenced the existence of apartheid-era ideologies of Afrikaans. Louis Nel, who works today for the Language Unit of the Western Cape as an interpreter and translator, spoke about seeing Afrikaans as this symbol in his own lifetime.

> "When I came out of the army, I went through a stage, I think it was five years or something, that I didn't speak a word of Afrikaans. And that was a conscious decision. It wasn't by accident; I just decided one day that 'I don't want to speak this language anymore, because of all the associations.'"[23]

Language ideologies are critical to understanding changes in language usage that have occurred in South Africa since the fall of apartheid, both politically and socially, as well as understanding legacies of language conflict. Indeed, language rights are listed as one of the founding provisions of the South African Constitution of 1996,[*] commonly regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world.

Legislation to Combat Linguistic Ideologies

The acknowledgement of historical violations of language rights as one of the six founding provisions of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa show that legacies of language conflict exist and, at least in theory, a purpose of the new government was to mitigate these conflicts and provide linguistic equality for all speakers. The Constitution makes provisions for the protection of multilingualism and the promotion of South Africa's previously marginalized indigenous languages, attempting to remove ideologies that they are economically invaluable languages of only

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[22] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.29
[23] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.
[*] Republic of South Africa. 1996. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Parliament. Pretoria. (See Appendix 1: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: Founding Provision 6: Languages)

colloquialisms and lower-learning. This will become important later when looking at how to use Afrikaans as a model for stimulating the growth of these languages.

The Constitution also allows for the provincial governments to declare their own official languages of governing and pass their own language policies, provided that they are in line with the provisions of the Constitution. In the Western Cape, where the following research was conducted, the Western Cape Provincial Government created The Western Cape Language Committee, which states that the three official languages of the province are Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa.[24] One of the goals of the Western Cape Language Committee as stated in their Language Policy is "to foster respect and protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture, or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence."[25]

The Constitution also makes a provision for the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), which operates nationally to promote and create conditions for the development and use of the official languages as well as other languages used by communities in South Africa. Unfortunately, PanSALB has faced a lot of criticism for not following through on these goals, and the South African government has been criticized for being in direct conflict with many of the goals of PanSALB.

For instance, since 1994, the new democracy has attempted to de-racialize the country and move past apartheid-era oppression by embracing English in many levels of government and education, directly in conflict with the promotion of multilingualism. The South African government has put pressure on single-medium Afrikaans public schools after to teach courses in English, claiming that Afrikaans-

[24] Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Western Cape Language Committee, and Language Unit. 2004. Western Cape Language Policy. Cape Town.
[25] Ibid

only institutions perpetuated "apartheid-style racial exclusivity."[26]   The result has been a rapid decline in the use of Afrikaans and replacement by English in official contexts.

In reality, more so-called Coloured people speak Afrikaans as a mother-tongue than white Afrikaans-speakers, or so-called white Afrikaners, according to the 1998 census,[27] (although other statistics cite the number of speakers from these two racial groups as approximately equal)[28] and it seems that English is a much more racially exclusive first-language, as the fifth biggest language community of South Africa, after Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and Pedi, and the number of people who classify themselves as white who speak English as a home language is almost double the number of the next largest population category that speaks English as a home language, Asian/Indian.[29]   However, the Central Statistical Service states that approximately 49.1% of all South Africans seven years or older speak, read and write English, compared to 43.8% Afrikaans.[30]

Depoliticizing Afrikaans

Combating previously existing and future ideologies of exploitation and domination by languages are thus, at least in theory, clear responsibilities of the South African government, and the fifteen years after the fall of apartheid have seen the Afrikaans language in many ways depoliticized and separated from these ideologies and historic legacies, compared to where it was fifteen years ago.

The main cause of this depoliticizing, of course, is that the political powers enforcing and reinforcing these ideologies of Afrikaans were effectively demolished

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[26] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[27] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.70
[28] Ibid p.74
[29] Ibid p.68 and Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit p.18
[30] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.78

in 1994. The possibility that a minority government determined by the construct of race could come into power again after the events of 1994 is extremely unlikely. It is also impossible to discount the role of time. "People's perspectives on issues change as the older generations die out…folks that were at the political forefront are very simply not there anymore, and that in itself redefines the political landscape and removes some of the bitterness."[31]   In contemporary social situations, many Afrikaans-speakers are much more willing to speak the language "because it doesn't have that much of a tag to it anymore, it's not quite so obviously the language of the oppressor anymore. Nobody is using to force anything down anyone else's throats anymore."[32]

Another way in which Afrikaans has been depoliticized is that it has lost many of its exclusive government subsidies and backing, financial symbols which reinforced the power of the language. An item as simple as a sugar packet was used by the apartheid government to make the use of Afrikaans national, despite the fact that in 1994, only fifteen percent of South Africans (six million) South Africans actually spoke it as a first language.[33]

> "Before '94, you would have had this [sugar packet] in Afrikaans and English. Everything. They, they had ridiculously small print…so that the Coke can used to be equally bilingual…It used to be, they used to go down and make everything in absurdly small print to have everything in both languages on everything that they sold. It doesn't happen that way anymore. In that way things have changed."[34]

The fight to depoliticize Afrikaans is also associated with distinct efforts by non-governmental organizations, such as Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaanse, (in English: The Foundation for Empowerment through Afrikaans) which fights against historical legacies of suppression perpetuated in some usages of Afrikaans

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[31] Steenkamp, C. 2009. op cit.
[32] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.
[33] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit. p.1
[34] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.

today. "Afrikaans served a very specific purpose in the past and that was as an instrument of political domination, political power, to exert political power. Today, Afrikaans can no longer play that role."[35]

Shifting Towards English

The depoliticizing of Afrikaans is often associated with a decline in its usage and the increasing usage of English by entities as important as the South African national and provincial government and institutions of higher-learning, as well as things as simple as television advertising and billboards in an attempt to be racially inclusive by not being linguistically exclusive. This perceived "gradual functional decline" in Afrikaans in "official contexts"[36] has often resulted in emotional responses from the Afrikaans-speaking community, particularly so-called Afrikaners.

A responsibility of PanSALB is to "investigate complaints about language rights violations from any individual, organisation or institution."[37] Of the fifteen language violation complaints followed up by PanSALB in the 2006-2007 Annual Report, thirteen of them focus on violations of Afrikaans rights, and the majority of the thirteen are complaints about the use of English instead of Afrikaans in the public domain. Tensions between English and Afrikaans have been ongoing throughout the history of South Africa and are by no means unique to the post-apartheid era. "People have not stopped fighting the Boer War yet; they still think that, you know, Queen Victoria's troops are behind every bush."[38]

"In terms of its status, English is by far the dominant language of the country, and is South Africa's most important non-primary language."[39] English symbolizes

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[35] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.
[36] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.83
[37] Pan South African Language Board. 2006-2007 Annual Report. Pretoria.
[38] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.
[39] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.75

economic opportunities that non-whites were deprived of under apartheid and access to the global economic system and so many former Afrikaans-speakers have shifted towards English, both as a status symbol and in belief it will lead to better economic opportunity. Additionally, adoption of English, as the language of South Africa's liberation is used as an emotional distancing from the oppression of the apartheid era, was a seemingly "predictable consequence of white Afrikaner callousness and brutality."[40] Shifts towards English among the South African middle-class have been one way many South Africans have emotionally dealt with the legacies of Afrikaans.

However, shifting towards English is not the answer to removing Afrikaans from the oppression of the past, and those who do so are "simultaneously distancing themselves from their own roots"[41] as well as preventing the growth of multilingualism in South Africa, contributing to a monolingual South African assimilated identity and perpetuating the idea that Afrikaans is a symbol of solely the Afrikaner. "All that they've really done is not teach their children Afrikaans."

Racial Exclusivity and Linguistic Inclusivity

Despite the national shift towards being more racially inclusive and the resulting decline in the use of Afrikaans as a symbol of racial exclusivity, there has been no overwhelming national realization that Afrikaans is spoken by members of all racial categories. Even today, unfortunately, there seems to be "still quite a large degree of attaching Afrikaans to one particular ethnic group"[42] In actuality, as stated above, Afrikaans is a first language to an approximately equal or even higher number of so-called Coloured South Africans than White South Africans, and it is not a homogenous language, and never has been. In fact, in the late nineteenth century,

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[40] Steenkamp, C. 2008 22 Oct . Alien Nation: Middle-Class Linguistic Migration. Thought Leader. Mail and Guardian Online.
[41] Steenkamp, C. 2009. op cit.
[42] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.

Afrikaans was derided by High Dutch and English speakers because of its 'impure' racial origins, because of it was born as a way for members of different racial categories to communicate with one another[43] as a mixture between the Dutch colonists, the Khoe and San peoples, and Malay-Portuguese-speaking slaves.

A popular theory among creolists is that Afrikaans is a 'semi-creole' or 'creoloid,' in that before the official founding of the Cape Colony in 1652, contacts between the Dutch and the Khoe peoples occurred and forced the creation of a pidgin language, called Khoikhoi Dutch.[44] This already existing pidgin had large influences on the pidgins used after the founding of Cape Town by slaves brought from around the Indian Ocean. Giliomee also cites a second theory which emphasizes the role that the Dutch language played in the formation of Afrikaans, which states that Afrikaans is the result of a "deviation from a basic Dutch root" because of influences from Malay-Portuguese-speaking slaves and indigenous Khoe speakers.[45] As early as 1671, Europeans visiting the Cape Colony commented that the Dutch spoken there didn't sound like the Dutch of Europe. By the late-18th century, it had come to be called Cape Dutch and resembled what is now Afrikaans.[46]

Today, due to developments in the late 19th and early 20th century against Anglo-imperialism, the Afrikaans spoken by Afrikaners is considered to be standard, but in fact, there are multiple dialects with different vocabulary and sentence structure, including Cape Afrikaans, Orange River Afrikaans, Griqwa Afrikaans, among others.[47] Historic obsessions with purity have engendered an ideology which still exists today that holds these dialects as steps in a hierarchy rather than variations

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[43] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[44] Ibid
[45] Ibid
[46] Afrikaanse Taalmuseum. Paarl. South Africa.
[47] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.74

in how Afrikaans is spoken in different geographic locations.[48] The steps in this hierarchy continue to intersect with racial categories and the decline in Afrikaans and the association its promotion has with being inherently racially exclusive has only perpetuated these hierarchical thoughts. "[Racial] categorization itself hasn't hurt Afrikaans as much as the insistence by one racial category that Afrikaans is purely their property and everyone else is speaking it as a result of their leniency and their kindness."[49] This can be seen in patronizing comments such as 'Oh, you speak such good Afrikaans,' by many standard-Afrikaans-speakers to speakers who look as if they speak a non-standard version of Afrikaans as a mother-tongue.[50]

The Afrikaans Movements

In my research, I have found that there are currently three clusters of views on a spectrum of attitudes towards Afrikaans in South Africa. The first is a continuation of the racist beliefs of the Afrikaner nationalism movement of the twentieth century, and an attempt to regain lost national and political power through a pride for Afrikaans as defining what it means to be a white Afrikaner. Members of the Volkstaad movement subscribe to these beliefs in their hopes to create a separate state for Afrikaners in South Africa. The struggle for Afrikaans by this group often involves playing the victim of lost political power and disenfranchisement, "but they are still in a very strong economic position, a very strong cultural position."[51] As these Afrikaans-speakers are the most militant about their views, it is their views that are often believed to be that of the majority of the members of the Afrikaans movement. Indeed, "there is a definite suspicion among skeptics about the motives of

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[48] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.
[49] Ibid
[50] Ibid
[51] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.

the Afrikaans movement— that the struggle for Afrikaans is fundamentally an attempt by whites to regain lost power."[52]

These thoughts make it difficult to use Afrikaans to cross racial divides because they divide speakers of Afrikaans and prevent a contemporary Afrikaans language community from forming. Additional difficulties arise when the promotion of or pride in Afrikaans continues to be linked with racial identities and that the in Afrikaans signals the decline of so-called Afrikaner culture.[53] Contemporary discourse analysis of letters to Rapport has found that Afrikaans is still "by far the strongest sense of a unifying, defining "essence"" of what Afrikaners consider to be their culture.[54] This has created much wariness among intellectuals that "a struggle for Afrikaans could give birth to a revived Afrikaner nationalist struggle leading to ethnic warfare and the collapse of democracy."[55] The powerful historic connections between identity, language, nationality, and violence as a means of preserving all of these that make promoting Afrikaans difficult. A shared use and connection to Afrikaans becomes harder to achieve when feelings tend to be that ownership over something as critical to identity through one's mother-tongue is being broken in on.[56]

On the opposite end of the spectrum are those who intend to shift away from Afrikaans because of its oppressive legacies. This tends to perpetuate beliefs that Afrikaans is a language which is exclusively used by one racial category. Another reason for this deep association between Afrikaans and the Afrikaner community has been the perceived lack of concern amongst non-Afrikaners for their language. Statistics that show 83% of so-called Afrikaners upset with the way their language is being treated by the government, compared to 32% of those labeled Coloured and

[52] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.246
[53] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[54] Steyn. 2004. op cit. p. 158
[55] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[56] Nel, L. 2009. op cit.

23% of Africans,[57] perpetuate this lack of connection that non-Afrikaners, specifically those labeled as Coloured, have with Afrikaans. On many levels, the national government, which uses English as a lingua franca and symbol of racial inclusiveness, contributes to these beliefs.

In the center, there exists a realization that there is a need to redefine the role of the Afrikaans language to create a community of its speakers that is not defined by racial categories as well as rebuild the respect for the value of Afrikaans as a mother-tongue. These people believe that South Africa's linguistic diversity can be an asset to the country if it is not used to exacerbate conflict between ethnic groups, and by building upon diversity as a way to reach a common South African identity and the elusive ideal of a rainbow nation.

Building a "New, Inclusive, Afrikaans Community"

Die Burger, an Afrikaans newspaper in high circulation in the Western Cape, has begun to use the word 'Afrikaanses' to "embrace all speakers of Afrikaans."[58] While this effort to include all Afrikaans-speakers obviously stems from an economic necessity to broaden the readership of Die Burger, the word itself has been highly contested. Many intellectuals believe that it is too early to say there is a true Afrikaans-language community, especially one with a common identity. But a non-racial community of Afrikaans-speakers is a future goal that eventually lends itself to building a roof upon South Africa's pillars of diversity.

In the Western Cape, where 60% of residents speak Afrikaans as a first language, conscious language planning steps are being taken by organizations to promote multilingualism and equality between the three official languages by

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[57] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[58] Ibid

redefining Afrikaans today and moving past the legacies of Afrikaans by promoting

Afrikaans in ways which minimize conflict and maximize the value of diversity to the

whole of the nation.

> "We're slowly, steadily, building a new, inclusive, Afrikaans community. And that is one of the main purposes of [Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaanse]: moving away from a Coloured identity, moving away from a white identity, an Afrikaner identity. Moving towards a, what we would describe as an Afrikaans-language identity, a common Afrikaans-language identity. That for me is significant. And I think that will be the next phase. I mean, this is the next phase, towards, a common, South African identity. And we will get there. Because there's no way you can embrace a common South African identity if you are still entrapped in a separatist identity."[59]

Essential to building this future community is the recognition that South

Africa is at a fragile place in its shift towards embracing multiculturalism, one where

there exists a crossroads between integration and assimilation, or the so-called

'American Way' and a potential 'African Way.'[60] The movement towards English

and away from Afrikaans and the indigenous languages reflects this possible future of

assimilation into a common South African identity without individuality.

Legislation in the Western Cape has been extremely important in the steps

towards achieving these ideals. Language rights legislation is not national legislation,

and the provincial government of the Western Cape has made language provisions in

its constitution that are unique to the province, which involve having a Language Unit

and a Language Committee, which has eleven members proportionally representing

speakers of each of the three official languages and South African Sign Language.

The Language Unit of the Western Cape has multiple programs dedicated to

achieving these goals and, for Afrikaans specifically, focuses on creating awareness

of historically-ignored variations of Afrikaans, thereby depoliticizing the use of

Afrikaans and removing it from the hold of the socio-cultural identity of the

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[59] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.
[60] Ibid

Afrikaner. For instance, in August 2006, the Language Committee held an Afrikaans Dialect and Storytelling Festival in Beaufort West, "aimed at reviving the oral tradition in the Afrikaans language as well as instilling pride in the different dialects of Afrikaans spoken in the Western Cape."[61] Promoting creative uses of Afrikaans are an essential way to depoliticize the languages and change the perceptions individuals have of it. Afrikaans has even been used as a lingua franca in Khoe communities and as a means to reach out to the Nama language community to teach others this endangered language.[62]

The Language Committee and Unit also use programming to promote the use of Afrikaans in rural areas of the Western Cape, for learning and reading disabilities. While English tends to be the lingua franca of the more educated and urban middle-class, in the rural areas of the Western Cape, Afrikaans is predominantly spoken.[63] Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaanse, advocating development from within communities rather than from outside them, has made efforts in promoting and developing Afrikaans as a means of empowering its poorest speakers, by giving Afrikaans "back to the masses."[64]

Consciously dissociation of Afrikaans from these ideologies and moving forward requires realizing that there is nothing inherent about the Afrikaans language that has oppressed or suppressed others. "Afrikaans has absolutely nothing to do with the past, with this oppression, with apartheid."[65] Removing blame from the language and instead placing it on the apartheid ideologies and the beliefs of a minority is central to creating an Afrikaans-language community. Barriers to achieving this lie in

[61] Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. 2007 May. Uniting the Rich Diversity of the Western Cape Through Culture and Sport. Western Cape.
[62] van der Merwe, Q. 2009. Interview. [Personal 30 April] by S. DeMartino. Cape Town. (Unpublished).
[63] Ibid
[64] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.
[65] Ibid

feelings of disempowerment and "a sense of false ethnic bondage"[66] perpetuating poverty in the so-called Coloured community by preventing the poor from grasping the opportunities that lie in the Afrikaans-language industry.

Christo van de Rheede, CEO of SBA, explained these ideas quite clearly. "I am an Afrikaans speaker. I've never suppressed any person in my life. I've never been in the position of political power. Give my language back. Let me use my language to empower the masses out there." SBA sees value in "promoting the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction"[67] and emphasizing the values of mother-tongue education through basic labor market language skills and using Afrikaans as a language of science and higher learning. A goal of SBA is to continue to develop the Afrikaans language industry and show that there are values and benefits of speaking Afrikaans and show that English is not the only language with an economic value in South Africa.

Afrikaans as a Model for the South African Indigenous Languages

Another way to free Afrikaans of its historic ties to conflict and control is to use the positive parts of its history to plan for the promotion of the Bantu languages. Contemporary language planning in South Africa attempts to keep languages from being a barrier to community welfare[68] and reach the state of multilingualism and linguistic equality enumerated in the Constitution. The Bantu languages have been marginalized since the arrival of Europeans to South Africa in favor English and Afrikaans as languages of upper-learning and science. Legacies from the apartheid

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[66] van der Rheede, C. Undated. Poverty in Disadvantaged 'Coloured' Communities in South Africa—The Solution? Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans. p.4

[67] Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans. Undated. Educator Focus: Funding Proposal For Development Programmes.

[68] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.37

era such as the Bantu Education Act perpetuate a stigma against mother-tongue education as disempowering.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Afrikaans was consciously built up to compete with English and Dutch as a language of upper-learning and science, only one of four languages during the twentieth century to have been elevated to this level. Before it reached this level, Afrikaans was a language derided by English and High Dutch speakers because it believed to have been generated from 'impure' racial origins as a means of communication between the racial categories that many Europeans at the time had begun to divide the people of the Cape Colony into.[69] Early Afrikaans was a symbol of this ill-revered cultural, linguistic and racial mixture and exchange.

> "The promotion of Afrikaans did not begin with 'sociolinguistic fact-finding,' research on the social status of the language, the development of language planning skills, or any of the other tasks which language planning scholars usually propose as necessary pre-planning steps."[70]

The Afrikaans-speaking community was the major factor in shifting the use of Afrikaans, and even before it was used as a nationalistic tool for the apartheid government, it had reached a high degree of social and economic value because of the hard work of the community in transcription and grammar development.[71] Continuing to develop the economic value of Afrikaans and the Bantu languages through printing learning handbooks in these languages, using them on the radio and television, and realizing that the moment only English is chosen, only the elite get access to school and to a better life.[72]

SBA works with and supports Zulu and Xhosa language associations which also work toward economic empowerment through the mother-tongue. The Western

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[69] Giliomee, H. 2003. op cit.
[70] Webb, V. 2002. op cit. p.161
[71] Ibid p.167
[72] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.

Cape, as the only province with language legislation,[73] is in a good position to promote pride in one's mother-tongue and the identities and community that people obtain from speaking a language.

Afrikaans in a Multilingual South Africa

> "The values of our Constitution and the process of nation building are seriously undermined by our lack of willpower to collectively develop the Afrikaans language and build a new Afrikaans reality where skin colour and descent are irrelevant."[74]

In many ways, there is a lack of willpower to collectively develop the Afrikaans language. The shift towards English contributes greatly to the overwhelming idea that the preservation of Afrikaans involves heated emotion and a connection to Afrikaner identity. Organizations such as SBA and governing bodies such as the Western Cape provinical government lead this movement toward re-negotiating Afrikaans in ways which minimizes the possibility of ethnic conflict in the new South Africa, and instead attempt to combat ideologies of Afrikaans head-on: by promoting equality, fighting against discrimination, and encouraging integration and democratization and the creation of an Afrikaans-language community. However, the national government still lacks national language legislation and contributes to the idea that English is the only language with which one can make change, and shows "lack of political will in the leadership of South Africa to seriously implement national ideals expressed in the constitution."[75] This implicit push towards assimilation is not a step to achieving the eventual goal of non-racialism and instead remains a barrier toward achieving multilingualism and equality for all languages and people in South Africa.

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[73] van der Merwe, Q. 2009. op cit.
[74] van der Rheede, C. Undated. Poverty…op cit. p.4
[75] Webb, V. 2002. op cit.

Effective promotion of Afrikaans and significant steps by the national government can build up the pillars of diversity that South Africa's community stands on and attain the roof of non-racialism and rainbow-nationhood that South Africa yearns for. In order to do this it is necessary to build upon the multiple identities within language and culture and use them to build new connections, identities and perceptions about the values of language and diversity.

> "If we want to be successful in South Africa, we must maintain the uniqueness, the unique character of each group of people and start toward this integrated society, not towards this assimilated society, but this integrated society, toward maintaining diversity and uniqueness."[76]

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[76] van der Rheede, C. 2009. op cit.

Conclusions

My objective in this paper was to obtain a better understanding of how the use of Afrikaans in understanding identity and community is being redefined and renegotiated in post-apartheid South Africa. I have concluded that the major players in the language debate in the Western Cape seek to positively promote Afrikaans and deal with its decline by fostering the creation of an Afrikaans-language community that lacks socio-cultural and ethnic boundaries. There are many barriers to achieving this goal: a long history of linguistic conflict and politicization of South African languages, ideologies of Afrikaans involving oppression, racism, and standardization, and the shift of many towards English as a means to move away from the problems of the past. Additionally, the national government has indirectly reinforced many of the ideologies of Afrikaans.

The government and organizations in the Western Cape lead the way in the renegotiation of Afrikaans and creation of an inclusive language community. These steps involve a conscious depoliticizing and separating of Afrikaans from ideologies of oppression, using Afrikaans as means to empower the poor, promoting variations of Afrikaans, and using its historical buildup as a model for the African indigenous languages. Renegotiating the place of a community in South Africa which was located on multiple sides of socio-cultural and racial fault lines under apartheid is a useful step in creating a non-racial South Africa with multiple diverse identities. In conclusion, a successful renegotiation of the place of Afrikaans in South Africa today through the creation of a future Afrikaans-language community has great potential for successfully building a multilingual and multicultural nation of South Africa.

Recommendations for Further Study

This story opens up a lot of areas for further thought. In particular, the areas within examining Afrikaans and South Africans society within sociolinguistic and linguistic sociology are numerous, and good research into it could give an even better idea of how these forces truly interplay. Additional research on language ideologies among different communities of Afrikaans-speakers in the Western Cape could give great insight into the hierarchies and ideas about standardization and purity that still exist in the Afrikaans-language communities today and recommendations on ways to plan against them.

I can also see value in examining these ideas with case studies of Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaanse programs and conducting interviews with Afrikaans-speakers who use the programs to empower themselves through their mother-tongue. A strong sociolinguistic and development-oriented study could examine the power of language on identity and social change in this context. Additional value could come from observations from and interviews with those that partake in Language Unit programs which celebrate and promote the use of Afrikaans in depoliticized and non-standard ways.

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Appendix I

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
Founding Provision 6:
Languages

1. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

2. Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

3.
   a. The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

   b. Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

4. The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

5. A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must
   a. promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of
      i. all official languages;
      ii. the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
      iii. sign language ; and
   b. promote and ensure respect for
      i. all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
      ii. Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

Appendix II

<center>**Western Cape Language Policy**
June 2004</center>

1. PURPOSE

To give effect to

- sections 6 and 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996);
- section 5 of the Constitution of the Western Cape (Act 1 of 1998);
- the Western Cape Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998);
- the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995);
- the National Language Policy Framework (2003);
- the Batho Pele principle;
- *IKapa elihlumayo* (growing and sharing the Cape), the development strategy of the Western Cape;
- the South African Government's call for social cohesion;
- the development of the provincial and national economy.

2. GOALS

2.1 To promote the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English, by the provincial and local governments[1] of the Western Cape;

2.2 To elevate the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of historically diminished status used by the people of the Western Cape, such as the Khoi and San languages;

2.3 To ensure that the Western Cape is a caring home for all by promoting multilingualism;

2.4 To support the Batho Pele initiative of impartial service delivery by

promoting equal access to public services and programmes by removing communication or language barriers;

2.5 To give increasing effect to the equal constitutional status of the three official languages of the Western Cape;

2.6 To empower and affirm speakers of previously marginalised languages;

2.7 To eradicate the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa in the public service by resourcing and promoting the development and awareness of its official status;

2.8 To foster respect and protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence;

2.9 To ensure social cohesion and improve relationships by promoting language diversity;

2.10 To contribute to iKapa elihlumayo (growing and sharing the Cape) through training and service in languages understood by different language groups;

2.11 To promote and ensure respect of other official languages (eg seSotho) and heritage languages in the Western Cape;

2.12 To create awareness about the needs of the hearing impaired;

2.13 To develop language resources by enabling and supporting the training of language professionals.

2.14 To encourage language use that is accessible to all.

3. POLICY PROVISIONS FOR THE USE OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF THE WESTERN CAPE BY THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

3.1 The official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. These languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees. The Western Cape Parliament must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Provincial Parliament and any of its committees. Sign language interpreting must be provided where necessary.

3.2 The official record of debates of the Provincial Parliament must be kept in the official languages in which the debates took place. Translations of any sections of the record into any of the relevant official languages must be made available by the Secretary to the Provincial Parliament within a reasonable period after the debate.

3.3 All legislation, official reports and resolutions of the Provincial Parliament and its committees must be made available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament may make practical arrangements to cause legislation, official reports and resolutions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.

3.4 A bill introduced in the Provincial Parliament must upon introduction be available in at least two official languages. A system must be implemented which rotates the choice of two languages equitably amongst the three official languages of the Province. The Secretary to Parliament must keep a centralised register in order to regulate the rotation of the languages in bills to be introduced to the Provincial Parliament.

3.5 A notice of motion or a formal motion in the Provincial Parliament must be available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament may make practical arrangements to cause motions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.

4. OFFICIAL NOTICES AND ADVERTISEMENTS

4.1 All official notices issued by the provincial government for general public information, must be issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Local government must give due consideration to the language preferences of their residents in this regard.

4.2 All official notices and advertisements published by provincial and local governments must, in case of publication in the Provincial Gazette, be published in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. When published in other newspapers, it is sufficient to publish such documents, notices or advertisements only in the language in which the newspaper concerned appears. If there is no newspaper published in a particular language, such notices or advertisements must be published in that official language in another newspaper.

5. COMMUNICATION WITH AND SERVICES TO THE PUBLIC

5.1 Every organ or institution of the provincial or local government must, in its oral, written and electronic communication with and rendering of services to the public, ensure that these are carried out in the most appropriate manner, with the assistance of interpreters and translators and other technical means such as simulcast and subtitling, in any of the three official languages of the Western Cape, depending on the language usage and needs of the residents.

5.2 Any member of the public in the Western Cape may

(a) use any one of the three official languages of the Western Cape in his or her communication with any institution of the provincial or local government, and

(b) be served in any of the three official languages at or by any institution of the provincial or local government where there is a substantial need for communication and services in that language based on the language needs and preferences of the community, and it can reasonably be expected of the institution concerned to communicate and render services in that language, with due consideration to the National Education Language Policy

5.3 In the case of written and electronic communication between the provincial and local governments and residents, the provincial official language of the residents' choice must be used. If the provincial or local government initiates the communication, the language profile of the *target audience* will determine the languages to be used. Subject to periodic language audits, provincial and local government publications shall be issued in the language/s of the target audience.

5.4 International communication on the part of provincial and local governments will usually be in English or in the preferred language of the country concerned.

6. INTERNAL COMMUNICATION

6.1 Provincial and local governments must in their various structures each reach sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal **oral** communication, intra- and inter-departmentally, subject to the proviso that no person shall be prevented from using the language of his or her preference, at any given time.

6.2 Provincial and local government structures must in their various structures each reach sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal **written** and **electronic** communication, intra- and inter-departmentally, provided that every effort be made to comply with the language code of conduct.

7. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local governments must determine the language usage and preferences of their communities within the enabling provincial language policy framework.

Upon the determination of the language usage and preferences of the residents, local governments must, in consultation with their communities, develop, publicise and implement language policies.

8. PRIVATE SECTOR

8.1 Provincial and local governments shall encourage and advise private enterprises to develop and implement their own language policies in accordance with the framework of the Provincial Language Policy.

8.2 Provincial and local governments shall endeavour to promote the most important languages of trade and tourism such as German, French and Japanese. Provincial and local governments shall advise non-governmental organisations and the private sector in this regard, e.g. in regard to planning and the formulation of policy.

9. IDENTIFICATION SIGNS

Where an organ or institution of the provincial or local government uses signage and directions to identify any of its offices or facilities, such signage and directions must be in the three official languages of the Western Cape. The three official languages of the Western Cape must be used equitably on road signs and direction signs on roads that do not form part of the RTRN. As far as local road signs, direction signs and street names are concerned, due consideration must be given to local communities' language use and preferences.

[1]*Provincial Government refers to the executive, legislative, judicial and administrative functions of the provincial government.*

Appendix III

Interview Questions

Tell me about yourself and your connection to Afrikaans.

What other language(s) do you speak?

What language(s) were you educated in?

In what language(s) or "areas within languages" do you consider your ability to communicate to be strongest?

What language(s) do you speak at home?
        Job?
        Amongst friends?
        Amongst family?

If you have children, what language do you speak with them at home?
        What language are they educated in at school?
        How did you choose this medium of instruction?

What opinions have you seen of parents with regards to Afrikaans-language instruction in schools?

Why do you think the Afrikaans language debate exists and persists?

What changes have you seen in the use of Afrikaans since 1994?
        (Government, business, education, personal uses, etc.)

Have you ever heard others speak ill of Afrikaans? How do you feel when you hear this?

How do you feel about speaking Afrikaans when you are in an English-speaking environment?
        (Inadequacies)

What connections do you think non-white Afrikaans-speakers have toward their language?

What opinion do you have of the term "Afrikaanses"?

How do you think racial categories affect the Afrikaans language debate?

What changes have you seen in English/Afrikaans translation since 1994?

How is Afrikaans used in the Khoe and San communities?

What Afrikaans literature/newspaper do you read? Radio, television? What language do you prefer to get your news in?