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Wie is ek?:
A study
of Afrikaner identity
in New Zealand

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in
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Kris Finlayson

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Abstract

Afrikaners have had a tumultuous history since the Dutch arrived in what is now known as Cape Town. Using Barth's (1969) concept of ethnic boundary construction and maintenance, this research examines the state of Afrikaans identity in a New Zealand diasporic context. The research employs a novel approach to interview data collection, using a modified version of Wengraf's (2017) biographic narrative interview method in conjunction with a dual-participant interview method. This approach allows a multiplicity of subjective viewpoints, exploring Afrikaner perceptions, their experiences, how they see themselves fitting into their Afrikaans community and how this community fits into New Zealand society.

The findings from this study show that Afrikaners refer to a representation akin to a Barthian model of Afrikaner. Through interviews, participants implied this presentation which was then constructed into an analytic model for the study. The model they indicated consists of four key characteristics: heritage, faith as a cultural value, language and a conservative worldview. Participants referred to themselves against this model in order to ascertain how 'typical' they are regarding shared community behaviour and perspectives.

The study then discusses this Afrikaner identity in a New Zealand socio-cultural context. It discovers that even though New Zealand and Afrikaner-South African societies are vastly different, New Zealand's socially liberal worldview allows an easy transition for today's comparatively diverse Afrikaners. This transitional process and ethnic boundary modification was found to impact Afrikaner identity in varying ways, particularly related to areas of personal security, new relationship formation and hospitality, manner of speech, and how they perceived what members of New Zealand society think about Afrikaners.

Keywords:

Afrikaans, Afrikaners, Anthropology, Barth, Bourdieu, Ethnic Boundary, Ethnic Identity, Ethnography, New Zealand, Migrants, South Africa.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

This thesis is a love story in a way. It explores the heritage of the woman who is now my wife, the heritage of my children and that of the community I have been warmly accepted into. In 2005, I started dating an Afrikaner. Furious discussion quickly abounded with frequent miscommunication and the seemingly unknowable mysteries of the girl in front of me. As I had an interest in linguistics, I asked her to teach me Afrikaans and this, in turn, opened the gateway to a colourful and boisterous culture. The music, food, humour, traditions and customs became far more captivating than I had expected.

Although, at the time we met, I was only just beginning to feel drawn to anthropology, the more I socialised with Afrikaners and the more I asked about them, the more I began to realise that there are intentional and habitual ways of being Afrikaans that differed from my own worldview. Once I had begun to learn the Afrikaans language beyond the usual greetings and 'cuss' words, my informal research broadened to learn more about the culture and South African nation. Upon inquiring more academically, I found a less colourful (but just as complex) picture compared to that which had experienced. The narratives of identities in crisis and the lingering effects of apartheid that I had been reading about did not seem to resonate with the people I had interacted with; thus, the idea for this research project was formed.

To begin, I will first explain the research project's aim and relevance, terminology used, a brief history of Afrikaners and their language. I then discuss Fredrik Barth's (1969) concept of ethnic boundary construction and maintenance, which provides the means of interpretation through which I view my study's research data. Finally, I provide a short summary outline of the thesis contents.

Research Aim, Relevance & Format

This study examines the self-perception of Afrikaner-migrants; that is, how they view themselves in the wider community within which they live. As pointed out in the following chapter there is little academic writing on Afrikaners in New Zealand and no anthropological

works focussing on their identity. This project's primary aim is to remedy this omission in scholarship; and the timing of this is critical as the community has seen rapid growth over the past two decades. Since the 1990s, Afrikaans-speakers have been leaving their South African homeland *en masse*. The beginning of this departure occurred during and after the breakdown of a major, influential political regime – apartheid – that, as Vestergaard (2000) notes, effectively defined Afrikaners, as far as outsiders are concerned.

However, there is only a small body of literature on this subject. In fields such as linguistics, psychology, social work and economics, there has been research but none that explores identity as the complex, multi-faceted matter that it is. Through this research however, I discuss individuals' identities, constructed through being a member of a community and affected by many different factors which create and mould these identities in different ways. Despite these identities being *individual* constructs, they are also constructed through the support of a shared *community*, creating and maintaining similarities amongst individuals. These themes, coloured by the many different individual experiences, are what this project illuminates.

Identity studies are becoming more and more important as ethnic and social identities are shaping and changing faster than ever in a globalised world. Being Afrikaans is one such ethnic identity that needs further study. With so many Afrikaners leaving their homeland of South Africa, their identity may be prone to change as they encounter different ways of being. It is with this in mind that I developed my research question: What does it mean to be Afrikaans today, particularly within a New Zealand diasporic context?

In order to gain the perspective I was looking for, I needed to develop an effective method of 'data' collection. A standard question-and-answer interview method alone would fall short of the depth I required and participant observation was unlikely to work in a practical sense as the study's participants were spread across the North Island of New Zealand. To solve this problem, I modified a form of biographic narrative interview method developed by Tom Wengraf (2017). As I was expecting to ask participants deeply personal matters, I felt it was important to create a relaxed environment and this extends to the method in which I conducted interviews. After practising Wengraf's method on a family member, I found that it

made conducting interviews difficult (as it includes very unnatural ways of asking questions) which would exacerbate any potential discomfort, so I modified his method to deal with this problem, as I explain in chapter three.

A primary theme that emerged from the research was that there appears to be a shared ethnic representation of traditional Afrikaners. It was this representation that participants referred to in order to help define their own identities. My interview material was interpreted using a model of ethnicity developed by Barth (1969). The interview model proved most helpful in settling on the method of interpretation as both Barth and Wengraf's principal concern is that a study's participants' views be given primary importance.

Terminology

The term 'Afrikaner' is a contentious one, as its association with past political regimes means it has been historically associated with racist ideology (Theunissen, 2015). In some circumstances, this association may continue to linger in contemporary dialogue. The declaration of ethnicity in the New Zealand census (StatsNZ, 2013[1]), which includes 'Afrikaner' as an option, shows that there are 27,387 speakers of Afrikaans ('Language spoken') and yet only 1,197 Afrikaners ('Ethnic group'). This may indicate that Afrikaners view the term as a loaded one, linked to apartheid policy, or at least understand that others may take this view. All the participants in this study, however, accepted the term as legitimate and personally applicable.

It should also be noted that, although it was not specifically discussed, it is highly likely that all participants would self-identity as 'white'. Although this term is based on the academically defunct idea of 'race', its use in South African English is comparable to the New Zealand word, Pākehā[2], and is often used by South Africans. In short, the term is used to indicate a group of ethnicities (that is, English and Afrikaans speakers of European descent) rather than an over-simplified biological category. The same is true for the descriptors 'black', meaning those who are descended from one of the African tribes, and 'coloured',

[1] At the time of writing, a new census was undertaken in New Zealand. I would have liked to include this more recent data but unfortunately the results will not be available until October 2018, after submission of this thesis.
[2] Derived from the Māori language, meaning 'a New Zealander of European descent' though the term can be used to mean anyone not of Māori descent.

meaning one of mixed ethnic heritage, mainly white and the Khoi and San people who originally inhabited the Southern Cape[3]. This is the lingua franca for ethnic self-identification amongst most South Africans and it is not deemed to be racist.

As I explain in chapter five, the concept of Afrikaans identity, independent of migration, emerged from research interviews. However, to understand this ethnic identity, where it comes from, and the migrant identity that stems from it, some understanding of Afrikaans history is necessary. What follows is a brief, and by no means comprehensive, account of the formation of the population of Afrikaners in South Africa since Dutch arrival at the Cape.

A Brief History of Afrikaners

Although Afrikaans was only officially recognised and implemented as an educational medium in 1925, the history of the Afrikaans people begins in 1652, when Johan (Jan) van Riebeck arrived on what is now known as the Western Cape in South Africa. Van Riebeck arrived as part of an initiative to supply Java-bound ships, owned by the Dutch East India Company (VOC[4]). A small farming community comprised of *burghers* (married men who had been released from their VOC contract) was eventually set up under the VOC which supplied these ships. The burghers were routinely underpaid for their produce by the VOC and so black-market trading commenced, thus beginning an undercurrent of rebellion against the VOC (Giliomee, 2003, pp.1-2).

Within a decade of Dutch arrival in the Cape, slaves could be imported to the Cape. The first ship arrived in 1658 with slaves from Angola and West Africa and then the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). This impacted the new society dramatically, introducing new social strata: free citizens who owned slaves and no longer personally worked the land ascended the social hierarchy (Giliomee, 2003, p.12).

Throughout the late 1600s, French Huguenots (that is, Protestants escaping Catholic persecution) and German settlers began joining established Dutch farmers in the Cape.

[3] There are, in fact, two definitions for this term. For governmental use, the term ‘coloured’ means anyone not fitting ‘black’ or ‘white’ heritage; that is, anyone of Indian descent, for example, would be categorised as ‘Coloured’. In everyday conversation, however, they would be referred to as ‘Indian’.
[4] *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, in 1600s Dutch.

However, French and German settlers were assigned land on condition that they integrate, for example by using the Dutch language and following Dutch customs, while minimising the use of French and German (Giliomee, 2003). This mix of Europeans at the Cape plays an important role as, in his genealogical study, Heese (1971) estimated that by 1867, the ethnic makeup of Afrikaners consisted of approximately 36% Dutch, 34% German and 14% French with the remaining 16% comprising British and other European, non-European and those of unknown origin.

In 1707, the first recorded use of the term *Afrikander* (an archaic form of 'Afrikaner') among European settlers[5] is found in the story of the seventeen-year-old Hendrik Biebouw. He and his friends were racing around Stellenbosch[6] on horseback and, drunk, made a mess of the local mill. The *landdrost* (a local official in the Dutch Empire) reprimanded the men, hitting Biebouw with his cane, to which Biebouw exclaimed: "I shall not leave, I am an Afrikander, even if the landdrost beats me to death or puts me in jail. I shall not, nor will be silent" (Giliomee, 2003, p.22). The landdrost must have thought this to be a good idea as the men were put in jail and publicly beaten. At the census update in Stellenbosch a year later, Biebouw's name was struck from the list along with the annotation "gone".

In 1795 the British took political control of the Cape and disputes between the *Boers* (literally "farmers", often used to denote the Afrikaans ethnic group) and the colonial government resulted in the Great Trek of the 1820s and 30s. At this time, hundreds of Afrikaner families packed their belongings into their ox wagons and left the Cape colony for the interior of the land, driving their livestock before them (Giliomee, 2003). Travelling from the southern tip to the northern and eastern parts of South Africa, these families have since become known as *Voortrekkers* (literally "those who travel forth"). The Boer republics were then established, namely Natal, the Transvaal and Oranje-Vrystaat (Orange Free State). The latter two states achieved international recognition but all were eventually annexed by the British, resulting in the two Anglo-Boer wars. The second Anglo-Boer war eventuated in the defeat of the Boers and the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

[5] The term *Afrikander* had previously been used to denote indigenous or free 'blacks', indeed its literal meaning is 'African'.
[6] The second European settlement, after Cape Town.

The Nationalist Party, a primarily Afrikaner-interest political party, secured power in 1948 and went on to institute apartheid (literally "separateness") policy with the intent of securing Afrikaners' right to exist. Due to increasing black resistance and international condemnation, after over 40 years apartheid policies collapsed and the Nationalist Party ceded power in 1991, leading to South Africa's first democratic election of 1994 when Nelson Mandela's party, the African National Congress (ANC), rose to power and continues to govern to this day.

Since the Anglo-Boer wars, Afrikaners have been leaving South Africa for Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia and even South America (Hansen & Douglas, 2002). However, the past decade has seen the highest migration numbers, which has become colloquially known as the White Exodus or Second Great Trek. With increased fears for security and political dissatisfaction, approximately 270,000 South Africans have emigrated since 2006, with Australia hosting the majority at 190,000 or 26%. Other common destinations are Britain, Canada, the United States and New Zealand, which hosts 9% or 70,000 South Africans. Approximately half of South African migrants are Afrikaans-speaking (StatsSA, 2016, p.53).

A Brief History of the Afrikaans Language

It is generally accepted that the Afrikaans language was created through the relationship between the European farmer owners and their Dutch East Indian slaves. In an attempt to communicate, the Europeans modified their Dutch, teaching their imported slaves the basics of the language. This modified form eventually became used among the burghers themselves, thus forming what we know today as Afrikaans (literally "African [Dutch]"). Afrikaans as a spoken language had stabilised by the end of the 1800s but was yet to acquire a written form (Giliomee, 2003, p.53). The first discovered written form of the language, a school textbook from 1806, had used Arabic script (Davids, 2011, p.70). Up until the late 1800s, most native Afrikaners considered the Afrikaans language to have low social status and so Dutch was the preferred spoken vernacular among the wealthy as well as being most commonly used for writing purposes (Giliomee, 2003, p.216). In 1876, *Di Afrikaanse Patriot* (literally 'The Afrikaans Patriot'), an Afrikaans-language newspaper entered circulation, beginning a movement that would eventually lead to Afrikaans becoming as an official language (Giliomee, 2003, p.218). By 1925, the language was officially made a medium of instruction.

Although, in practice, its use was already well established in academic institutions, Dutch was quickly replaced (Giliomee, 2003, p.377).

Barth, Boundary & Ethnic Identity

This thesis employs a Barthian interpretation of my findings regarding Afrikaner identity formation. In his 1969 volume, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Barth theorised that cultural identities are constructed and maintained in two ways. Firstly, through reinforced characteristics possessed by members of the community. According to Barth, an 'ethnic group' is traditionally understood as denoting a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. (1969, p.10-11)

Essentially, Barth states that a population that sustains itself biologically, shares similar cultural values, communicates effectively and whose members are identifiable by each other, was generally considered an ethnic group in the anthropology of the time. However, Barth (1969) goes on to propose that, though this fits well with an empirical understanding of ethnicity, the 'checklist' identification system is insufficient to truly understand a population as an ethnic group. Barth's reasoning is that these four factors hold inherently preconceived ideas about the primary features of ethnicity and how it should look and act.

Secondly, Barth proposes that cultural identity is further constructed in contrast to other cultures. That is, marked differences from the 'other' signify one's own cultural identity by contraposition. Conversely, identification of similarities in understanding and judgement amongst any two individuals indicates that the two are, as Barth says, "playing the same game" (1969, p.15), and therefore able to further interact with each other in a wide range of ways. Brettel (2012) extends Barth's ideas showing that, in a diaspora, this means cultural

identities tend to be forged more deeply and stronger in times of contrast against other cultures than in isolation.

Afrikaners have, in a way, lived as a diasporic population and in combative contact with those around them, for the majority of their existence. First as Dutch, French and German settlers in the southern tip of the African continent among the Khoi and San people. Secondly, as Voortrekkers meeting the Bantu people (the Zulu) while escaping British rule in the Cape until the republic of South Africa was established. The apartheid years led to a consolidation of Afrikaans identity as separate due to politicisation by the Nationalist Party that instituted the policy.

Wimmer (2008) offers interesting commentary on the state of contemporary ethnic theory noting:

> Much of the earlier work in this tradition, including Barth's original collection of essays, was comparatively static and focused mostly on the features of the boundaries themselves and the processes of their maintenance. Newer research emphasizes the 'making' of the ethnic boundary either by political movements or through everyday interaction of individuals. (2008, p.1027)

Migrants, however, appear to span two sectors of ethnic identity theory, requiring both the maintenance of boundaries created generations ago (or, rather their modern interpretations of those boundaries) in addition to the creation of *new* identities, factoring in the new environment and the 'old' ethnic identity.

With the democratisation of South Africa, the politically-enforced identity, that had lasted for over four decades, collapsed and Afrikaans people became politically weakened within their own country. Although they had always been a minority population, the socio-political nature of the country changed so dramatically it effectively became a new nation, the New South Africa. Whether in diasporic conditions or not, Afrikaners have always had conflicted contact with other cultures, and through these relationships with other cultures, forged a strong sense

of selfhood and cultural identity. Brettell (2012) best describes a Barthian construction of migrant identities, writing:

> The act of migration brings populations of different backgrounds into contact with one another and hence creates boundaries. It is the negotiation across such boundaries, themselves shifting, that is at the heart of ethnicity and the construction of migrant identities. (p.164)

Barth's theory of ethnic identity as being created and continuously adapted through distinctions to "adjacent and familiar 'others'" (1994, p.13) is helpful to interpret migrant groups' ethnic identity, including Afrikaners in New Zealand. Upon arriving in the new host country, migrants are presented with an alternative socially accepted way of acting, speaking, living and thinking. The migrant then, consciously or not, decides whether to accept these new ways of being and take them on as his or her own, as part of the wider community. Without this contact, the need to make such adaptation decisions is unlikely to be so profound. This is the case with many of this study's participants. As will be discussed in chapter six, these changes have affected some more than others, depending on range of influences.

Turning now to the thesis as a whole, the following briefly describes each chapter. The data chapters (four, five and six) start with a contextual background on the study's participants, moving on to describe the Afrikaans worldview in South Africa from where they migrated and then focusing on how that transposes into the New Zealand social sphere.

Thesis Chapter Outline

Chapter one has outlined the aim and relevance of this study, offered a brief history of Afrikaners and their language and outlined the theoretical model used during analysis of interview data.

Chapter two discusses the literature relevant to this project. First, I discuss the literature on Afrikaners, focusing on topics including reasons for leaving South Africa, quality of lifestyle

upon migration, linguistic loss and outsider perceptions. I then go on to explore literature on Afrikaans identity in a *South African* context.

Chapter three outlines the design and process of the project from participant recruitment, data handling techniques and ethical considerations. I also explain the reasoning behind the interview process and demographic of interview participants.

Chapter four introduces participants and provides a contextual background to them through their immigration stories. These stories demonstrate the emotional toll and practicalities required during immigration to New Zealand from a South African background. It also gives a sense of the individual experiences which may impact on how they see their own, and others', identity as Afrikaner.

Chapter five describes the perception that participants collectively hold about what it means to identify as an Afrikaner. Participants referred to a representation of Afrikaner, which is investigated using Barth's (1969, pp.10-11) list of characteristics identified as indicating ethnicity in his seminal work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). The present study found that participants identified four primary shared characteristics which contributed to an Afrikaner's identity: heritage, culturally important religious values, language and social conservatism.

Chapter six describes the way Afrikaners in New Zealand identify themselves through five key themes: adjustment to life in New Zealand, perceptions of security, directness, hospitality and their perceptions of New Zealand society. This chapter moves from a Barthian description of ethnic characteristics, to Barth's theory of ethnic boundary construction and maintenance.

Chapter seven concludes this thesis with a summary of findings as well as my final remarks and reflection on the project from inception through to completion.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Research

Introduction

Despite the surge in South African migrant numbers to New Zealand in the past two decades, there is relatively little written on their condition and experiences in their new host country. This is also the case for Australia which hosts 26% of South African migrants, the largest group worldwide, compared to 9.5% living in New Zealand (StatsSA, 2016, p.53). However, overall, New Zealand's population consists of 1.3% South Africans (StatsNZ, 2013) whereas Australia's is 0.7% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Literature available from research carried out in New Zealand is primarily linguistic and experiential based. These explore factors of South African or Afrikaans-speakers' lives in New Zealand but all fall short of asking *who* they think they are, holistically.

Much of the current literature on the state of Afrikaners and its speakers in New Zealand offers a sobering picture with authors focusing on such topics as "linguistic longing" (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005) and the meaning of home in a foreign context (Meares, 2007; Forrest, Johnston & Poulsen, 2013). It seems that Afrikaans migrants remain indefinitely uneasy, to varying degrees, upon emigrating from South Africa. What follows is a discussion of academic literature regarding Afrikaans identity and migrant Afrikaners.

Reasons for Migrating

Reasons for leaving is a theme that is repeated throughout this literature, with family security being central. According to the literature, concern for family is both the primary reason for leaving South Africa (that is, the future of one's children) and the primary source of stress among migrants (the separation from relatives who stayed behind). Motivations are often referred to in terms of the 'push-and-pull model', based on Egon Kunz's (1973) modified version of the model pertaining to refugees. A 'pull factor', Kunz explains, is the driving motivation *toward* the country of choice (such as economic improvement) whereas as a 'push factor' is the cause for *departure from* the old home environment, such as war. The following is a discussion of these matters in current studies.

Focusing on the push-pull factors that cause people to migrate, Trlin, Henderson, North and Skinner (2009, p.282) found that South African migrant groups stated mainly 'push' factors (such as violence, crime and political instability) as reasons for moving to New Zealand. Such were these push factors that they were reported to have detrimental effects on mental health, continuing into their post-migratory experience.

Showing post-migratory justification for having come to New Zealand, Meares (2007), spoke with an Afrikaans-speaker, Ellen, in her sociological study on the South African community. Meares reports that Ellen, having arrived in the late 1990s, spoke in detail about the things that could happen that might incline her to return to their homeland, mostly citing factors related to family (such as becoming widowed and if her daughter, still in South Africa, were to have children). She indicates that she would nonetheless remain living in New Zealand. Ellen also justified her decision to migrate by way of comparison with friends still living in South Africa, saying "without sounding condescending now I feel… …they sort of very much the same, and that whereas I feel that we've gone through such a lot that, that I've just gone ahead, in life's travel..." (p.144).

Based on Afrikaans migrants' particular socio-political background, Bain's 2005 social work research report explains that Afrikaners may qualify as *anticipatory* refugees, citing Kunz's (1973) interpretation of varying refugee movements. That is, they are not forced out of their country by a specific political power or overt war, however they feel they are forced out through socio-political pressure. For example, the inability to gain employment because of the country's affirmative action[7] policy and fears for security were cited in interviews. Bain's participants also felt a strong attachment to the nation of South Africa, reflecting the narrative in van der Waal & Robins' (2011) study on Afrikaner patriotism. It seems that most South Africans would choose to remain in South Africa if they felt that such a choice was wise in terms of their family's safety and future well-being.

[7] *Affirmative action* in South Africa is the policy whereby those who were once underrepresented in certain key work fields will be actively employed over others to ensure a proportional representation of both ethnicities and physical abilities. This is required by state operated companies, businesses with 50 or more employees as well as those outside of the minima that choose to participate. Businesses are required to report equity figures to the government and prosecution or fines may be administered in the case of non-compliance (Mywage, 2017).

In their southern African migration study, Forrest, Johnston & Poulsen (2013) indicate that South African migrants to Australia also tend to leave South Africa out of fears for their security and due to loss of employment (that is, to a set of push factors). However, they also feel the draw to Australia specifically for quality of life and a higher chance of being employed (that is, to pull factors). The South African migrants in this study say that they have eased into Australian life fairly well and find Australians pleasant to live amongst, while conversely there has been some negative rhetoric from Australians towards South African migrants as being "brash and rude, condescending" (Forrest, Johnston & Poulsen, 2013, p.57).

Post-migratory Experience

Given the primary reasons for leaving South Africa, one would expect their felt quality of life in terms of happiness to markedly improve upon arriving in New Zealand. While it is apparent through the literature discussed in the previous section, that Afrikaans migrants are relatively free from the insecurity they are escaping, there are other factors that impact quality of life and so Afrikaners may not immediately adapt to New Zealand life so readily.

Acculturation trajectories of South African migrants to New Zealand, as reported in Duxfield's 2013 PhD thesis, highlight some psychological aspects of South African migrants' experiences of a new host culture. Matters such as employment, mental health, longing and loneliness can affect a migrant's identity and often these factors are felt at a community-wide level, as Duxfield states "For Afrikaans-speaking immigrants, the loss associated with separation from extended family members contributed to a loss of language, identity and tradition." (Duxfield, 2013, p.150) In order to compensate for this loss, she goes on to explain that:

> Some participants attempted to compensate for this [loss of identity] by becoming closely connected to other South African immigrants living in New Zealand, creating a kind of pseudo-family in order to foster maintenance of Afrikaans language and tradition for both themselves and their children. (2013, p.150)

Duxfield also shows that having children before migrating impacted significantly on those motivations. Feelings about New Zealand and their families' potential futures there were generally positive. Her research reports a marked decrease in stress levels and consequent improvement in mental health as migrants' stays in New Zealand lengthened.

This supports an earlier psychological study, conducted by Bennett & Rigby (1997), that indicates differences in life experience between two groups of recent South African migrants and those who have been in New Zealand for more than five years. In their study they found that recent migrants seemed to question their decision to move to New Zealand and cited a discomfort and unfamiliarity with New Zealand culture. Long-term migrants' major concerns were downward social mobility and a loss of lifestyle, standard of living and established career. Financial security, in different forms, were a concern for both groups of migrants, as well as the difficulty in creating new friendship bonds. Finally, both groups showed that separation from friends and family in South Africa remained the most difficult hurdle to overcome. This indicates that, as there is an inability to easily form new friendships, resulting in stress for South African migrants, family bonds are an important aspect of migrant needs. This aspect of forming new friendship bonds with New Zealanders is also referred to in chapter six.

Linguistic Loss

For a people whose language is a major element of their identity, loss of language represents one of the most significant trends across the experience of being an Afrikaner migrant. Although English is often considered more useful than Afrikaans, its relationship to Afrikaner identity is strong and remains so in the diaspora.

Two articles (from the same research) discuss the importance of the Afrikaans language in the community: Barkhuizen & Knoch (2005) and Barkhuizen (2006). Although Afrikaners are prepared for the inevitable outcome, they are despondent about loss of their language, either through future generations (which both articles describe as a "shift") or lack of personal use in their own homes (described in terms of "attrition").

Showing that English is considered to be of higher value in a *pre-migratory* setting, Hatoss, Starks & van Rensburg (2011) extend Barkhuizen & Knoch's research. Their study found, however, that once settled in Australia, Afrikaans-speakers begin longing for their linguistic heritage to return and so attempt to reclaim that part of their identity. For this reason, some effort is made to continue communicating in Afrikaans, such as attending Afrikaans-themed clubs and societies. Although, as expected, the decrease, or "shift", of Afrikaans language use among child migrants is considerable as 15 of the 22 children interviewed said English was their strongest language after less than a decade of settlement in Australia.

Sensed Perception by New Zealand Society

Being so closely correlated to historical Afrikaans national identity, yet so far removed from New Zealand's prevalent liberal ideology, it is possible that the issue of apartheid creates a degree of negative preconception of Afrikaners today. Whether this negative stereotype actually exists or not is debated regularly in online social forums, but it is certainly felt by some. The following research discusses this both from the perspective of the migrant Afrikaner and the host society in which they live.

In a study of 'white nation fantasy' perceptions among South African migrants in Australia, McKenzie & Gressier (2017) interviewed ten participants. Three of their interviewees identified as Afrikaners. Werner, one of the Afrikaans interviewees, offered a quote indicating a feeling of despondency, dejection and anger towards Afrikaners and white South Africans:

> I don't think there's anyone in the world who will deny the fact the Nelson Mandela is one of the better human beings . . . But you see all those movies about Nelson Mandela and all that, [but] where's our fucking movie? What about us? What about the price we paid? No-one ever fucking tells our story, and it's not as if we invented apartheid . . . but it's almost as if the last 350 years never happened, and they just conveniently take out all the white bits, and it's all now just black history. (p.5)

The authors offer an explanation of such comments, writing:

> all our informants actively rejected the notion that they were racist, and took great offence that Australians frequently presumed them to be so. Werner became quite agitated when recounting 'the number of barbecues I've been at, and people get some beers in them, and it's all "oh the fucking Abos", and I'm like, "fuck off! Just because I'm a white South African doesn't mean I'm a racist."' (p.6)

Werner reportedly continued by giving a 30-minute long, detailed history of South Africa until he gets to 1961, when they "kick[ed] the Poms out" (p.8) and then ignores the remainder of the apartheid era when he jumps to 1990 and Mandela's release from prison, which he states "everybody agreed was the right thing to do."

Meridee, another Afrikaans-speaking participant in McKenzie & Gressier's (2017) study, felt victimised for her Afrikaansness where she reported being overcharged by a supermarket cashier in Australia. She had spoken Afrikaans while in line to pay and, although "it was only the one bad experience" (p.18), Meridee attributed it to her being Afrikaans, indicating a perceived hostility towards Afrikaners by wider society.

In a New Zealand context, Meares & Gilbertson (2013) conducted research for a technical report for the Auckland City Council. In it they discuss social inclusion of some minorities across three Auckland suburbs. While only one South African migrant was interviewed, one of the suburbs included in the research is Albany. This is an area that houses many South African migrants, including two of the participants in my study. As such, a lot of the narrative and feeling toward them from their fellow neighbours is discussed in the study. This report differs from the other research discussed here as it describes others' perceptions of the South African community in New Zealand.

According to Meares & Gilbertson (2013), when speaking about ethnic diversity in the area, the feeling toward South African migrants is described as generally positive. This is contrary

to other research from the perspective of the Afrikaans-speaker[8]. This may therefore give a lopsided view of others' perceptions (for example, one from upper-middle class, family-orientated individuals) of the Afrikaans community and not be a firm indication of a nationwide view of Afrikaans-speakers. One interviewee responded with a positive perception of the community bonding together and creating strong neighbourhood ties:

> I think a neighbourhood that does real well is the South African neighbourhood which is just on the other side. You will often see a big BBQ going on outside the little African shop and all the South African community come together – they're a very strong neighbourhood. They will do things on their own outside of big organisations. (p.65)

In all, the report offers a positive view of the South African community in Albany from the perspective of other New Zealanders.

Afrikaans Identity in a South African Context

The majority of Afrikaans identity studies in post-apartheid South Africa still have a tendency to frame Afrikaners as in being in an *identity crisis*. For Afrikaners, as Alberts (2012) reports, this means they have "constructed profound senses of threat and anxiety" (2012, p.284) and create reversal narratives of denial to mitigate these perceived threats. However, it also seems to give a somewhat more varied and nuanced picture in that there are many different forms and ways of being Afrikaans in South Africa. I believe this may indicate that the Afrikaans community are currently in a state of instability and adjustment, still finding their particular and unified way of being since the end of the politically dominant Afrikaans nationalist identity.

Conducting his Master's study in anthropology after six years of democracy in South Africa, Vestergaard (2000) found was that there is no one unified or centralised way of being 'Afrikaans'. Since the advent of democracy, Afrikaans identity once again entered into a pioneering state with regards to the individual. According to Vestergaard, the pillar of

[8] It should be noted however that interviews with residents in the study "characterised [Albany] as a relatively wealthy area, inhabited mostly by busy working families and a transient population of students" (2013, p.19).

traditional 20th Century Afrikaansness – apartheid policy – was removed. With the nationalist agenda no longer available to connect one another, the individual is looking for acceptable ways of being within in the post-apartheid socio-political sphere in South Africa.

Apartheid seemed to have defined Afrikaners; there were some who passionately opposed the policy but their identity was still related back to it. There were Afrikaners who supported apartheid and those who did not (the latter having their identity called into question by the former). Apartheid unified certain social factions of Afrikaners (those for and those against the policy), while simultaneously separating those factions from each other and other ethnic groups. Now that democracy has ensued, the unifier is missing and the Afrikaans people are having to find new ways of navigating themselves without it. The history of apartheid, however, still seems to linger in the background, evident in comments such as "[i]t is not difficult to be an Afrikaner today, only if you have a guilt complex - which I don't have" (Vestergaard, 2000, p.122).

Vestergaard proposes a minimum of three contemporary ways of being Afrikaans (or rather a spectrum in which the three positions of right, centre and left can be identified). One attempts to define the boundaries of Afrikaner identity in a separating way, effectively keeping apartheid in an 'acceptable' way. Another is non-political and actively downplays the historic backdrop; perhaps more like what most would understand as 'an Afrikaans-speaker'. Finally, he proposes there are the anti-traditionalists, who propose to break down the nationalist ideals that have traditionally held Afrikanerdom together. Vestergaard (2000, p.12) calls this the "ambivalent" position yet it seems to be less uncertain and more of a position of inherent and inwardly directed cultural self-loathing.

Vestergaard's thesis also discussed the township of Orania, a small, independent Afrikaner-centric town in the Northern Cape province, designed to protect and grow Afrikaans culture, language, beliefs and traditions. Potential residents are interviewed and, if successful, have contractual requirements to adhere to the town's policies. In Orania, no work, manual or otherwise, is carried out by non-whites (not to be confused with apartheid policy, which was economically dependent on non-white labour). Vestergaard explains that Oranians live where they do and the way they do for fear of being expunged from society by increased dominance

of others. This fear correlates with other research available, though less centred on cultural destabilisation and more around the loss of the language and perceived contempt toward it by other groups in South Africa. While Barkhuizen & Knoch (2005) and Barkhuizen's (2006) aforementioned studies show that not all emigrated Afrikaans-speakers hold this view, it is likely that those in the diaspora (that is, those who add to the dissemination of Afrikaans, rather than reduce it) generally do not think of the loss of Afrikaans as an entirely negative thing, perhaps preferring personal and financial security over cultural longevity.

Offering a psychologically-oriented look at Afrikaners' identity struggle, Verwey & Quayle's (2012) study took place in the majority Afrikaans city of Bloemfontein and centred on the *braai*[9]. The braai-setting is important, as the researchers explain that it produces "the type of in-group talk that... ...is rarely spoken in public or mixed settings" (p.558). Verwey & Quayle reveal a more active dismissal of Afrikaner history, describing one participant in the study as aiding herself by decisively forgetting all that she had learned in school. Others, however, attributed Afrikaans and "all that shit" (p.561) with the negative. Many caricatures were made of Afrikaners of the past in an attempt to distance themselves from the stereotypical characteristics they saw as being forced upon them. One even went so far as to say that culture was not important to him in any sense, "my life is not about… where I came from, it is about where I am going…. I am not a big culture guy" (p.561). Finally, another participant in the study says "it offends me…. That's all that our culture is made of. That's all, our culture is racism…. We have no culture at all", showing that some Afrikaners today find the culture that they were raised in as being is a liability in post-apartheid South Africa. The same disdain is found with respect to the Afrikaans language, which has typically been a core determining facet of being Afrikaans. The force of anti-Afrikaansness shown by the participants seemed to surprise the researchers. However, Verwey & Quayle (2012) conclude that apartheid is still very much in the minds of Afrikaners. However, it is no longer based on race but on other contrasting matters, such as the way 'they' (black South Africans) are running the country. They further suggest that Afrikaners seem to have had enough of being yoked to apartheid-associated Afrikaner nationalism in theory but are not yet sure what else to be in practice.

[9] The braai, in its most basic description, is a wood-fired barbecue but its broader definition entails far more than this, most notably including the social sphere which takes place around the fire. This, I believe, is an important and under-studied aspect of Afrikaans culture which this study did not have the capacity to include in full.

From research undertaken for his PhD on Afrikaner nationalism, Blaser (2006, 2012) reports a not altogether contrary view but one that has a more positive outlook for the future of Afrikaans identity from the perspective of Afrikaner youth. Countering Verwey & Quayle's (2012) findings on Afrikaans culture and racism, one of Blaser's (2006) research participants said of the Afrikaans language "If you have a fierce love for Afrikaans it does not mean that you are a racist!" (p.8). However, we do see the fear of eradication returning where the same participant mentions that Afrikaans language schools are being forced into being dual medium and courses in Afrikaans at universities are being removed.

Other participants in Blaser's study felt that Afrikaans is modernising and becoming more and more prevalent in pop culture. While lingering feelings of negativity with respect to how others view Afrikaners, their youth are seemingly more positive than those who grew up during the apartheid regime and experienced its downfall during adulthood. Further, financial well-being was used by Blaser's interviewee as reason *not* to leave South Africa, which also supports other literature stating that unemployment in South Africa was a key factor for migrants leaving, thus indicating that financial stability is a primary aim, wherever the setting.

It is possible that Blaser's research, conducted almost two decades after the first democratic elections, is an indication of a plateau of normalisation of Afrikaans identity in South Africa today. However, in his psychology PhD thesis, Alberts (2012) found that an existential identity crisis among Afrikaans youth is still prevalent today with high levels of social threat and a sense of loss of the cultural self. He explains that this produces a "construction of threat narrative" (p.286) in order to substitute the now absent community unifier, Afrikaner nationalism based upon apartheid policy. Thus, the idea that Afrikaners have reached a plateau regarding their collective identity, remains uncertain.

In Blaser's 2012 article, he argues that in order to accurately portray the Afrikaans-speaker today, researchers must cease using traditional discourse, such as apartheid, as the sole or primary marker with which we measure Afrikaans-speakers' identity. Much like Barth's (1969, 1994) interpretation, Blaser goes on to say that there is a multiplicity of factors that

affect ways of being Afrikaans today and consequently no dominant story that should be focused on, “diversity, among Afrikaners, is rather the rule than the exception” (p.5).

Since the inception of this project, it has been my express intention to carry out research with Blaser’s (2012) sentiment in mind and be open to themes emerging from interviews rather than drawing on potentially outdated ideas. I discuss this further in the following chapter on methodology, particularly in regard to the BNIM interview method. Given the previous research around themes related to Afrikaans identity, the reasons for migration, post-migratory experience, loss of the Afrikaans language and perceived impression of them from the wider society, what is missing is a holistic, anthropological look at how Afrikaans migrants in New Zealand view themselves within the context of their new country. Prior to the research presented in the following chapters, to my knowledge, there have been no anthropological studies on Afrikaans identity in New Zealand or anywhere in the diaspora. This research intends to fill this gap in the research field.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

The research methodology stemmed from my own experience prior to conducting the study. I had gained understandings of Afrikaner identity through my relationship with my wife and her family, Afrikaans migrants to New Zealand. Through spending time with members of the community and getting to know them, I came to understand some of the Afrikaner's plight, their highs and their lows. Through my relationships, I learned something of who they are, how they feel about themselves and also what they think others think about them. My own position in the community – an outsider married to a member of the community– thus formed my interest in the subject matter and informed the basis of the interview methods used to conduct research.

In this chapter, I outline the research design, the recruitment process, introduce the study's participants, and discuss the data handling process and ethical considerations. I go on to explain the two primary methods used, the partner interview method and the participant-led biographic narrative process, including the rationale behind their use.

Recruitment

I settled on eight interview participants, mainly because this was advised to be the maximum number of interviewees for a study this size. However, as the partner interview method reduced the interviews to half, I was open to including more participants than this. As it turned out, participant interest in the study was not as strong as I had hoped and so eight was the final number of participants included in the study.

Three forms of advertisement were used to gain participant interest in the study. I designed a poster (see Appendix A) to display in selected stores where South African products are sold. I used the same poster, resized, in a post for sharing across the many South African-New Zealand Facebook groups. Finally, I wrote an article (Finlayson & Langenhoven, 2017) (see Appendix B) about my proposed research to be included in *Kiwi-Brokkies* ('Kiwi Snippets'), an Afrikaans language e-magazine, distributed electronically among New Zealand-based

Afrikaans-speakers. In all of these I included an invitation to participate in the project. For every couple who inquired, I replied with a participant's information sheet (see Appendix C).

Through a mutual friend, I made contact directly with Daniël and Polina[10]. I had attended their church on one occasion a year earlier. I emailed them the same advertisement I used on Facebook, along with the study outline and asked if they would like to participate. They responded, agreeing to participate. As this relationship involved mutual friends, I made it clear to all concerned that I would not be relaying any interview material to anyone outside of the interview. I also outlined to Daniël and Polina that, although I would do my best to preserve anonymity, these mutual contacts would likely be able to determine who they are, should they read the final thesis. I made the same disclaimer to all participants in a more general way (that is, that their close friends and family may recognise them from their narratives).

Once contact had been made, I also emailed a form (see Appendix D) to ensure that all pre-determined demographic criteria had been met (such as age, country of birth and upbringing). Although I felt that this removed some conversation-starting questions from the early interview process, I had received a few inquiries from some who had misunderstood what I was looking for in research participants. The criteria used on the sheet were a result of the queries I received from advertisements. Sending the form earlier avoided any potential problems encountered later in the process.

Research Participants

Two couples involved in this research, Sherilee and Lachlan, and Daniël and Polina lived in Auckland. Annalie and Peter lived in Palmerston North and Tian and Natasha, just north of Wellington. As such, I flew to Wellington and travelled up to Annalie and Tian's interviews from there. However, to save a second trip, both sets of interviews with Annalie, Peter, Tian and Natasha were conducted within the same week. I met with Auckland-based participants between one and two months after the first. Here, I provide a short biographical sketch on each participant couple. However, a more in-depth account of the Afrikaans participant

[10] To preserve anonymity, all participants in this study are referred to using pseudonyms.

follows in the next chapter, *Migration Stories*, and the partner interview method is explained in the *Participant-led Biographic Interviews* section of this chapter.

Annalie and Peter

Annalie (65), moved to New Zealand in 1994 with her English-speaking South African-born husband of the time, as well as her three children. The marriage dissolved while in New Zealand and she has since remarried Peter (82), a New Zealander with an entrepreneurial and farming background.

Daniël and Polina

Daniël (47), came to New Zealand for work purposes via Russia, England and Germany. He met and married his Russian-born wife, Polina (41), while carrying out mission work in Russia. Daniël left South Africa for the first time in 1993 but returned on many occasions before immigrating to New Zealand in 2013.

Sherilee and Lachlan

Sherilee (34), arrived in New Zealand in 2006 when she was 22. At the time, she had a young daughter and was pregnant with her son. She met her husband, Lachlan (34), shortly after beginning work in New Zealand. They have one child together and, after gaining their citizenship, Lachlan intends to formally adopt Sherilee's two eldest children.

Tian and Natasha

Tian (31) had attempted immigration on a previous occasion with his then partner but they could not obtain work permits. After returning to South Africa, the relationship dissolved and he re-entered New Zealand on his own in 2013. He met his New Zealand-born partner, Natasha (30), and they have a son together and have purchased a home. Tian also has a daughter, who remains with her mother in South Africa.

Interviews & the Qualitative Process

As I expected interviews to cover some deeply personal subjects, I indicated to participants that meeting in their homes might be the best location but that the final decision about where they would feel most comfortable would be up to them. All participants chose to have the

interview in their home. For Tian and Natasha, the first interview was held in Wellington but their second interview took place via a Google Hangouts video call. Prior to starting the interview, I requested participants sign a hard copy of a consent form (see Appendix E).

As I had sensed that some people may feel uneasy about answering the first macro-biographic question (discussed further in this chapter), just prior to beginning the interview, I outlined the reasoning behind the format. I also reminded participants that they could decline to answer any question during both interview sets. Although no question was left answered, one participant requested I briefly turn off the voice recorder I was using in order to talk about a confidential issue. This information was not used in the thesis.

I began to analyse interview data as soon as possible after each interview. As interview locations were some travel distance away, I used the time spent on the trip home thinking over what was discussed and identifying the themes that arose. I had used a voice recorder to record each interview and I transcribed the audio within a few days following each interview, which I then used to complete further thematic analysis. I attempted to complete each transcription before conducting the following interview, though this did not happen in every case. The shortest interview was 38 minutes and the longest, two hours and 20 minutes. In the case of the latter, this included tangential discussion that the interviewees seemed to enjoy speaking about (and I found interesting). In short, we lost track of time.

Once I had completed the draft data chapters (four, five and six) for this thesis, I emailed all quotes used, as well as retold immigration stories, to participants to verify and request final permission to use. With the exception of one quote (which was of negligible value to the chapter it was used in), all were approved for use by participants. There were some minor adjustments to the retold immigration stories.

Other Material

In addition to interview data, I use material from pop culture-sources, such as music, television, poetry and social media. These sources are helpful in investigating agreement or discord in the community when compared with first hand interview narrative. Finally, as an outsider married to an Afrikaner in New Zealand, I draw on my own experiences and

observations, and have on occasion, as relevant, used personal anecdotes to illuminate those factors raised by interview participants.

Ethical Considerations

This project posed few ethical challenges and so a low-risk research ethics application was filed with Massey University's Human Ethics Committee in March 2017. Informed consent was obtained before any interviews took place and I reassured participants that I would do my utmost to protect their identity and therefore privacy. As such, I discussed the necessary use of pseudonyms with participants. Early in the project's design, I had spoken with a highly regarded member of the community who made me aware of the actual and/or perceived stigma of the Afrikaans people[11]. Although this did not become an issue, throughout the project's duration, I remained aware that my findings could appear to uphold this perception, thus causing potential 'harm' to the community.

Partner Interviews

In this study, I spoke with four couples, in which one partner is a native Afrikaans-speaker and the other is non-South African born[12]. Although the research is not specifically about relationships, I hypothesised that interviewing couples in which one partner is *not* Afrikaans would reveal elements of nuanced detail that native insiders to the culture may view as insignificant or simply not worth mentioning. The rationale was that these peculiarities contain rich data about the identity of the Afrikaans community.

It is important to note that this is not a study of intercultural relationships and that the relationship interview model was employed merely as a mode of data collection. The non-Afrikaner participant was an outsider informant, an 'outside-insider', to Afrikaner culture, having a privileged window into ways of being Afrikaans. The non-Afrikaans participant could be seen as having conducted his or her own informal participant observation simply by entering the personal sphere of an Afrikaner. Further, Afrikaners may become more aware of their own particularities through living with a non-South African-born partner.

[11] This stigma has been confirmed in comments on closed Facebook group posts regarding what Afrikaans immigrants should enter as their ethnicity on the 2018 census. Many have elected to choose options other than "Afrikaner".

[12] For succinctness, hereafter referred to as non-Afrikaans or non-Afrikaner.

Identity, Barth (1994) indicates, is at once individual and social and formed within ourselves *through* discourse and interaction with our community and society. As such, it is necessary to use multi-faceted approach to understand both the individual and collective aspects of it. While no-one can point to another person and declare "this is who you are", those within our personal and intimate sphere can describe how we identify ourselves with a certain degree of accuracy and in a subjective manner. This occurs in the similar way as an anthropologist who partakes in participant observation, learning how the other is by becoming an actor within their social sphere.

A colleague or friend would also be able to offer interesting insights into the identity of Afrikaners, but it would be far less intimate than the person with whom the Afrikaner chooses to spend his or her life. Here, I needed to partially disconnect the manner of data collection from the question itself that I intended to answer. The relationship demographic was not a part of the question, but the practicalities of such relationships did *inform* the question.

Mark Freeman (2007) refers to two forms of discourse as "small story" (everyday social exchanges) and "big story" (auto-biography and interview) discourse. Freeman states that the assumption is sometimes made that "small story" is "a kind of baseline of the Real" (2007, p.157). Such an interview method as I have used melds the two forms of discourse into one. It actively creates a social dynamic with the presence of an intimate "other", as well as a non-intimate "other" (that being myself, the interviewer) while maintaining the "big story" focus with auto-biographical narrative from the Afrikaans-speaker.

During his discussion of the identity of a resident in one of Brazil's asylums for the abandoned, anthropologist João Biehl (2013) used Catarina's view of herself to give an intimate and subjective idea of who Catarina is. However, Biehl did not *only* use her self-perception to describe her. He also spoke with Catarina's carers at the asylum, 'Vita', as well as her family; particularly when framing her identity with what she is *not*. While Catarina's self-perception was given more weight than any other's understanding of who she is, the outside-insider's discourse offered a relevant and contrasting view of Biehl's study of Catarina.

Collective identity is a dialectical matter; it is fluid, changing and constructed and reconstructed over years, decades and centuries, through interactions with members of one's own community as well as those outside of it. To reduce Afrikaner identity to a matter of simple interviews between myself and an individual Afrikaner could have easily given rise to superficial data. This manner of data collection offered an alternative, holistic perspective on the matter of Afrikaner identity and how it exists in practice in New Zealand society.

Michael Bamberg (1997) also writes about this construction of the self through conversation:

> ...due to the intrinsic social force of conversing - people position themselves in relation to one another in ways that traditionally have been defined as roles. More importantly, in doing so, people "produce" one another (and themselves) situationally as "social beings." (p.336)

A person is not isolated in and of him/herself but a part of a bigger social picture. Our self-definition is affected and created in relation to our discourse and experiences gained through interaction with others. This links to Barth's (1969) ethnic boundary creation which is rooted in the premise that ethnic identity is constructed, and subsequently maintained, in contrast to other ethnic groups.

It may be argued that the issue may arise where some of the detail reported by an Afrikaner's partner, may not necessarily be attributed to cultural phenomena and instead be a matter of individuality. The three-part interview method, explained in the following section, allowed for potential issue to be adequately addressed as the *Afrikaner participants* first chose what they believe is important to discuss.

Participant-led Biographic Interviews

Despite my fieldwork being based on interviews, I entered participants' homes having devised only one question. The format for the interviews was loosely based on the Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIM), developed by Tom Wengraf and outlined in the

BNIM Short Guide (2017). I discovered Wengraf's method while reading previous research carried out on Afrikaners, as Carina Meares had used the method in her 2007 study.

Guided by this approach, interviews were split into three sub-sessions. The first sub-session focuses on macro-biography and begins with a Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQUIN). The question is fairly standardised but modified to suit the research question. The SQUIN I intended to use to initiate interview narrative was:

> Would you tell me your story? You can start back in South Africa up until now and include all those events and experiences during that period of your life that were important for you personally. I'll just listen while you tell your story, I won't interrupt at all. Please take your time. I'll just take some notes in case I have any questions after you've finished telling me about it all.

Although I attempted to construct the SQUIN in as natural a format as possible, during its first use, this felt uncomfortably scripted and so the wording used relaxed significantly thereafter. The SQUIN was designed to gain a life narrative from the point of view of the participant. The participant determined how much or how little to offer, where to establish the focus and how to arrange the biography. This allowed me to 'get out of the way' and for the participant to have control over what was said. The participant thus decided what is relevant or important and what is not. This was the major deciding factor in using this method, as outlined in the section on apartheid further along in this chapter. I took notes throughout this sub-session for use during the next, but I offered no interpretation, opinion or interjection in any way while it was being verbalised.

In sub-session two, which took place directly after the first, any Particular Incident Narratives (PINs) that require further elaboration were then asked about by the interviewer, using a similar format to the first sub-session, only this time directed at micro-biographic narrative.

According to BNIM methodology, the questions must be posed in the order which the participant has mentioned them. For example, in his biographic narrative, 'Petrus' (a hypothetical participant) might say that "my mother stopped talking to me upon deciding to

move to New Zealand" and then go on to mention that his friends congratulated him on that same decision. Once Petrus' biographic narrative in sub-session one is complete, the interviewer may then ask for further detail about why he thinks his mother stopped speaking to him and, only then, inquire about the friends.

With BNIM, it is important not to return to the former topic (in this case, the mother) once the interview has progressed to the latter (the friends), thus holding to the participants' self-directed chronology, irrespective of where they fall in an absolute linear timeline. The reason given by Wengraf (2017) for this strict requirement in ordering is that the participant's understanding and explanation of the PIN can be quite dependant on its placement within his/her narrative. In the hypothetical example, it may be that Petrus felt his friends' opinions were more justified than his mother's, thereby giving more weight to his decision to migrate. Perhaps Petrus chose, intentionally or not, to end this PIN on his friends' opinion in order to convey this unequal distribution of influence.

Further to the ordering of PIN questions devised during sub-session two, according to Wengraf (2017), the words employed during the formation of the question should be kept as close to that which the participant has him/herself used. Returning to 'Petrus', he has used the words "talking" and "move". In forming a question on this particular narrative, I would then need to use forms of the word 'talk' and 'move', as opposed to alternatives such as 'speak' or 'migrate'. The participant has chosen his/her narrative order and word use for their subjective purposes and the job of this method of interviewing is to elicit as much detail about that same 'subjectivity' as possible.

However, the over-arching principle I chose, prior to conducting interviews, is that the conversation should remain comfortable for the interview participants and myself. I believe participants are more likely to offer rich information about their experiences and identity in a comfortable atmosphere as opposed to a formal, official or rigid one. PIN question order was relatively easy to follow but there were a few instances where I returned to a point that a participant had brought up earlier. I chose to return to previously mentioned topics mainly due to my understanding that narratives are not always constructed independently. They interweave within each other and so ignoring a previous statement may have rendered part of

the following narrative incomplete. Exact word-use was much harder to maintain. Being cumbersome and distracting, I relaxed on upholding this rule. This diversion did not seem to impact on the data.

The initial biographic narrative and the strict requirements of question formation for sub-session two are devised around the notion of *Gestalt*, or 'wholeness'. Using this method, the interviewer has his or her potential agenda removed and instead opts for the participant guiding the telling of their own story. This allows the researcher access to greater description, one in which the parts are situated within their whole (Wengraf, 2017, p.90).

Finally, sub-session three, which took place between one week and two months after the first interview sessions, was a more traditional question-and-answer interview. By this time, I had conducted all biographic interviews, and began to analyse them to find emergent themes, so I could use these to ask for further elaboration from each couple. As with the first two interviews, sub-session three was also conducted with both partners present, however this interview required considerably less interaction from the non-Afrikaans partner.

As I have described, this interview method moves sequentially from a very individualised, subjective form (sub-session one), to a dialogical, co-constructive one (sub-session two) and then rounds the discussion out in a more collective, holistic and objective manner, thus giving many different perspectives from, about and through the group of participants.

Partner Interviews and 'Gestalt'

As explained earlier in this chapter, the partner interview method was informed by my own interaction with the Afrikaans community in New Zealand. However, it does render Wengraf's concept of *Gestalt*, or 'wholeness', problematic as the non-South African participant may interrupt the Afrikaner in order to elaborate on a certain point, thereby breaking the Afrikaner's natural biographic rhythm. This was a risk I was prepared to take, believing that the threefold dialogue would give deep, specific data even if the break in *Gestalt* does occur. Interjection did take place on many occasions but, apart from one instance, I do not believe that the Afrikaner's *Gestalt* was severely affected.

Before commencing interviews, I emailed Wengraf on how best to arrange this interview method where more than one speaker is present, he suggested the best way might be to "interview each partner separately using BNIM" (T. Wengraf, personal communication, July 25, 2017) and to promise confidentiality at the time (though obviously it would be clear in the writing who had said what). This formula renders the purpose of my dual-participant narrative obsolete and, after seriously considering Wengraf's suggestion, I decided to settle on a modified version of BNIM for this project.

The Issue of Apartheid

One of the primary causes for my interest in the BNIM method was the subject of apartheid. Most studies on Afrikaans identity, whether taking a central or peripheral focus, include apartheid as an important consideration. Having spoken to many Afrikaners, it appears the community feels that South Africa's infamous historic law of separation has been unjustly used as a lens through which the world views the Afrikaner population. An Afrikaans friend, who was in his mid-twenties at the fall of apartheid, once confided to me that it is "A bit like being blacklisted and trying to prove that you are not as bad as everyone says" (personal communication, 2017). It was comments such as these that led me to investigate interview techniques that would remove unwarranted association with the policy but that would include it where appropriate and necessary. That is, only the participants themselves would bring it up as a point of importance.

As previously discussed, the BNIM method removes the barrier of preconceived ideas from an outsider's perspective. As much as I also believe that Afrikaners are too frequently referred to in terms of apartheid policy, the reverse may also have been true. That is, that my ideas of who Afrikaners are frame the picture I paint of them in my writing. This method worked to reduce both barriers.

All interview methods employed were specifically chosen for one reason: deep, specific data collection with a multitude of perspectives. Speaking with those who are in constant contact with the cultural phenomena, both communal and individual, and speaking with them in a variety of ways was intended to give an intimately vivid picture of the participants and the cultural identity within which they view themselves.

The following chapters are derived from the research. Initially, I retell immigration stories of Afrikaner participants. I then go on to explain Afrikaner identity characteristics and what it means in a New Zealand context.

Chapter Four: Migration Stories

Introduction

Migration significantly impacts the identity of those who experience it. Each migrant, whatever his or her origin, has a unique migration story and these are as individual as the migrants themselves. Many however, have similar features and can indicate trends among a group of migrants as well as providing a researcher with an important contextual element for further analysis. It can also be easy to lose sight of the participants as real, 'flesh-and-blood' people without these vital contextual backstories. Also, keeping in mind Barth's (1994) recommendation that ethnic identity studies should be carried out factoring both the community *and* the individual, it is for these reasons that I have included migration stories.

Additionally, life stories may assist the host community to better understand migrants and their experiences before and after arriving in their country. This understanding regarding the motivations and challenges of immigration may then assist the host community in welcoming migrant populations and helping them to resettle more easily. Finally, as I will further discuss in the next chapter, storytelling is an important feature of Afrikaans culture and I wish to reflect that cultural feature here by recounting these migrant stories.

In writing these stories, I have taken what was said to me during interviews and rearranged it chronologically as well as lightly editing for ease of reading (how one naturally speaks and writes are rarely the same). That said, these are the stories of participants, as told by them. I have attempted, as much as is possible, to retain the voice of the storyteller as well as the emotion conveyed during the initial telling. These are told from the standpoint of the Afrikaans participant. Although, in some cases, additional wording or information was gleaned from the non-Afrikaans partner. Aside from a few early contextual matters, the stories generally cover the period from the conception of the original idea of moving, up to a year or two after having done so.

Annalie's Story

I begin with Annalie's story. While each story involves biographical disruption to some degree, Annalie's is certainly one of the more affecting migration stories I have heard, both

during this study and throughout my association with the community. Most discussion centres on her husband, who is not the same man she is married to today. She arrived in New Zealand, at the request of her then husband, an English-speaking South African.

We had arranged to meet in Annalie's home for lunch prior to conducting the interview. Annalie had made a meaty soup, pea and lamb, I think. Being a cooler day, I was particularly grateful for something warming. Her dining room was spacious and airy, and displayed South African artefacts with pride, meticulously arranged on sideboards and china cabinets. The antique furniture around me had clearly arrived with her, South African furniture being quite distinct. It tends to be rustic or bold in design and solid in construction, often featuring 'claw-ball' feet common on 17th century Dutch furniture. Annalie's cabinet housed a collection of pottery with an ornate ostrich egg perched on top. Expecting to 'get to work' after lunch, I was still nestled comfortably in my chair eating lunch when Annalie started on her story. Caught unawares and fearful of missing detail, I rushed to retrieve the voice recorder stuffed in the bottom of my overpacked bag.

I came to New Zealand very much against my will. My husband's parents have both passed away but I remember, even from when we got married, they were not very patriotic South Africans. His grandfather came from Scotland and they always talked of "One day, when you leave the country…" Even before we had children, his mother gave us a big South Africa book from the Reader's Digest. A picture book, I think, to say "When you leave the country one day, you'll at least have this book to take with you."

For my husband's family, the thought of leaving was easy but for me it was never a question if I would ever leave the country. My husband just didn't have those roots and he wasn't a family person. He was working with someone who sort of 'planted the seed' and so he came home with a folder all about New Zealand. There was an immigration agent there in Port Elizabeth where we lived. We went to see him and then the ball just rolled. Within two or three weeks, my husband came to New Zealand with that same friend to job seek. He was offered a position as a university accounting lecturer and phoned me, saying "Put the house on the market and resign your job."

That was October and by the end of November we moved out of the house. It just rolled and I didn't feel I had any say in it. I felt totally out of control. He told me to start emptying the house; I started packing and started taking stuff to the dump and cleaning and he then said, "Get an agent and put the house on the market." Oh! I sobbed my heart out when we had that first open home and people came in. They know you're immigrating even though we told the agent not to tell them.

I remember praying one morning, I said "If our house sells today, then that would be the right thing. Then it's a sign." And it was sold that day. But I just felt I had no say in it; and the tears I cried just to say goodbye to my friends and to my family! But I wouldn't not have come because my first duty was to my husband and my children.

My family didn't understand that. I felt completely torn between them and my husband. My mother had, what we thought was, an ulcer that turned out to be pancreatic cancer and that was a reason they said I can't leave. She actually passed after I came here. But, as a wife and a mother, I had no choice but to stand by my husband.

My one brother hardly wanted to speak with me then, and when we came here he wouldn't write. He just sort of ignored me; it was very hurtful. My parents thought "How can a person with faith leave your country?" And I had to explain to them that our forefathers left their country to go to South Africa. My first duty is my husband, I couldn't not come with him and I had a duty to put my children here in a school. At that time my dad was very much relying on me emotionally because I was his only daughter and the closest to him. Also, Christmas was always at our place so I felt that I had really hurt them.

So it was difficult. My husband was always focused on his work; his work was everything. Whereas I felt everything was pulled out from underneath me. For him to support me emotionally didn't matter, he was an only child so life sort of revolved around him. I would ask him, "How would you feel if your mum died when you left?" And he said "Oh, don't ask me that!" Now, I realise maybe I expected too much of him. At that time, I had very good friends and a very good job as an accounting teacher at a secondary school. Men always

have their jobs but for a woman to move, suddenly all those things that nurtured her – her familiar friends, her familiar hairdresser, her familiar everything – that's all gone.

When we first arrived here, it was '94. There were not as many South Africans then and the ones that were here lived closer to Wellington City, but we lived further out. We wanted a suburb where the children didn't go to school by train, so they had to go to school in the suburb where we lived. I think this is very important when you're a new immigrant because they need to be able to make friends in their community. The suburb we lived in was quite popular for that; eventually there were quite a lot of South Africans there.

It was very difficult to fit in with three children who had their own way of settling in. That's when I decided I'm not going to pursue teaching, as I had in South Africa. I felt that I wanted to have my feet on the ground and be able to earn something, financially, before our children started university. So I went to study to become a legal executive.

It was a three-year course but I did it in one year; all six subjects. I put everything into it, studied day and night. At that time, I was also a 'connection person' for new South African immigrants. So a South African family from Durban contacted me and I managed to get them a rental house which was about fifty metres from us. Later though, what I hadn't realised is that the woman wanted my husband. The day I finished my last exam, she left her husband and mine disappeared with her; I didn't know where they went.

My dad sent me money to go back to South Africa so I went with the children to go and visit but he ended up saying that I'm safer here. He realised New Zealand's the best place for a single mum. I didn't have a job then but I miraculously got one at a law firm in Wellington City. I found that to be an extremely difficult place to work. It was a job where there were two people who didn't like each other and they didn't want another person there either. I was there for nearly two years when my doctor said he's going to refer me to Work and Income[13] for the sickness benefit because my weight just dropped and I was quite frail.

[13] The New Zealand government agency for social welfare.

My doctor said I had all the things that cause stress: Immigrated. Lost a parent. Husband left. Poverty. He said I needed a break but I was not going to go on a benefit because it's degrading. But I had my appointment with Work and Income on a Monday at 8 'o clock and when I came home from that, as I had been job hunting, a solicitor phoned me to go and see him and he offered me a job that I could walk to. It was from nine 'til three and my little one could come after school and sit in my office and then, when we moved to Palmerston North, I got a job at Fonterra which I loved. I was there for many years doing administration.

As an immigrant, I think you can never forget why you are doing it because you're going to arrive here and after so many weeks, you're gonna ask yourself, "Why have I done it?" But the best immigrant is a poor immigrant because you cannot go back when you come to a dip. It's very sore; your heart hurts. But every dip is shallower.

Sherilee's Story

Of all the study's participants, Sherilee, gave the clearest picture regarding her naivety about what she would find upon arriving in New Zealand. She also seemed the most consciously aware of her change in identity, evident in statements such as "acclimatise or die" and "I think living in New Zealand has changed me." Like Annalie, Sherilee initially resisted emigration yet chose to follow family out of respectful duty to her parents, a feature of Afrikaans identity that I discuss in the next chapter. Although Sherilee moved with family she had to immigrate under her own visa application due to the law regarding migrants with dependent children, a feature consistent with Tian's story as well.

Sherilee greeted me at the front door with a smile and minimal fuss, motioning for me to go up the steps to their living area. I took my seat opposite her husband, Lachlan, at the dining table. Apart from one large modern art print of a multi-coloured elephant placed on the lounge wall, there was little décor that tells of South Africa. I inquired about the elephant as I noted the link to Southern African fauna but Sherilee assured me it is not a relic from South Africa but purchased in New Zealand for its colour. Their children had been sent to bed, though I arrived at only 7pm. After glasses of water were poured and coffees made, Sherilee began her story.

I was stroppy, I didn't want to go anywhere and was quite happy where I was. I had my friends and I was just perfect. But my parents refused to leave without me, so what was I to do? Within six months of having started the conversation, we moved. We immigrated to New Zealand.

Not long after I had graduated high school, a family friend came to New Zealand and he called and said that he could get my dad a job. That was what started the conversation about actually moving our whole family to New Zealand. So I immigrated with my mum, my dad and my sister. My father came in August 2006 and we followed in the December after.

I didn't know anything about New Zealand. In South Africa all we knew about New Zealand was that the people play rugby and they play it well. There was this guy, with the big hair. What's his name? The rugby player... Tana Umaga![14] That guy! I just expected everyone to look like that 'cos that's what New Zealand rugby players kinda look like. He was a star in that with his dreadlocks and everything. That's what we expected to see when we got off the plane. So there was just no concept of what New Zealand was like; and at that age – I was about 22 – even though I had my daughter, my social circle was really important to me.

We travelled four months after my father so it wasn't like there was any prep. There was no Facebook so I couldn't go and have a look to see what people actually did here. Google was relatively outside of our realm; we didn't even have proper internet in South Africa! We had dial-up.

I was pregnant with my son and had a two-year old daughter so I couldn't immigrate under my parents because I had dependent children. I had to come under my own steam. I had to get my own work permit and apply for immigration myself. So I started working after I had my son, about six months after arriving. That's kinda where I met Lachlan. I lived with my parents for four years after we got here though.

[14] Umaga was the captain of the New Zealand rugby team, the All Blacks from 2004 and he received New Zealand's Player of the Year award in 2000 (All Blacks, n.d.).

You know, immigrating as a single parent is hard. It's tough. It probably contributed to me not sounding like a South African anymore. 'Cos you have to acclimatise or die, essentially. You fit in or you go home. I think living in New Zealand has changed me. I'm a lot more relaxed, a lot more laid back. It shaped me to be a very different person and I don't know what kind of person I would have been if I'd stayed in South Africa.

I worked in a bank – in one of the biggest banks in South Africa – so that was lucky for me because I worked in a call centre there and, at the time, call centre skills were high in demand here. So I managed to get a job with a very small ISP[15] *which got bought by a bigger company that was an accredited employer. So I pushed my way into a management role and got a talent visa through that.*

But Immigration kept giving me a limited working visa for one year and then I had to reapply and it took them two months every time to give me an answer. I had to actually go and sit there and look at them until they gave me an answer because my job was going to be given away. Immigration just kept declining my residency application so they kept giving me one year and then every time I went to renew it, they just caused massive issues. So I went to see an immigration lawyer in Ponsonby, which cost me $10,000. It was worth every cent.

Fortunately, I was earning quite a lot of money back then because of that management position. So that wasn't a problem; I just threw everything I had at it and the immigration lawyer got me a five-year talent visa and, within three months of that, I got permanent residency. So it was a hard slog. It was a really hard push to get it done but it's done now. And this is definitely home.

The first year is the hardest. If you've made it past the two-year mark, you've probably made it. Some South Africans struggle to integrate and they're the ones that return pretty quickly after they arrive. We came over with nothing. We just had suitcases and I think that helped the immigration process because I grew up with a silver spoon in my mouth. My parents had their own businesses that they worked really hard for; so we were comfortable, by no means were we poor. We didn't live in a gated community like a lot of the wealthier people in South

[15] "Internet Service Provider"

Africa, but when I turned eighteen I was given a car, you know? But coming here with absolutely nothing, I think that helped a lot. It grounded us.

When I went back to visit, as I went through customs in South Africa, the man there stopped me to look at my passport and he was like "Oh, are you married to a Kiwi?" – and this is before Lachlan and I were married – and I said "No, but I have a Kiwi partner." And he said "So we're not good enough for you anymore?" And I was like "Well no, not really!" And then, when I came back, the customs guy here went "Welcome home" and I just about kissed him I was so happy! Like, "You're lovely!" Yes, this is home.

Tian's Story

Tian's story is quite different to Annalie's and Sherilee's in that his choice was delayed as well as being an entirely independent one, although the decision still centred largely around family matters. It also differs in that he had tried to immigrate before returning to try again, the second time successfully. This, however, is not uncommon across the four participants, as is evident in Daniël's story to follow. Tian's account also starts much earlier in his life than other participants' as the dissolution of his mother and father's marriage, and his relationship with them individually, was integral to the eventual move.

Tian's partner, Natasha (who liaised with me to organise the interview), offered to meet over a meal, an ordered pizza. Their toddler son played on the floor in the lounge with music in the background. South African artefacts were dotted sparsely around the house, picked up on their holiday trips together. Natasha in particular spoke fondly of those. We chatted over dinner, mainly about my research and our attempts to teach our children Afrikaans. Once the last wedge of pizza was eaten, Natasha moved their son to his bed and we began the interview.

My parents split up when I was around sixteen and my dad and I moved to Cape Town, then I moved in between my mum and my dad's house for a few years. After finishing high school, I went back to Bloemfontein and lived with my mum, step-dad and my sister and lived in a little flat at the back of their house.

Then they made the move to New Zealand in 2008 and they were here for about three years before I decided to join them. When they moved, I'd only just moved to Cape Town and had a pretty good job there with benefits and all that kind of thing. I guess that was kind of like a big deal for me to finally be able to just like have my own little place, you know? So that's why I didn't go with them initially.

When I joined my mum and step-dad the first time in 2011 with my, now, ex-partner and my little girl, we were in New Zealand for three months but we couldn't get visas sorted so we went back to South Africa and lived in Cape Town for another few years. We were struggling back then, you know? In South Africa. We were staying with her parents, and I just thought we could take a chance and make a better life on this side. And then it just so happened that when we came over we couldn't get visas, so we went back to South Africa.

Then, in 2013, my dad passed away and my relationship with my ex wasn't great. It was a really unhealthy, abusive kind of relationship so I thought it would be best to pursue a better life for myself and my daughter's future in New Zealand. So six months after my dad passed, I moved to New Zealand again.

I spoke to friends of mine at the time who had lost their parents as well; you lose something to hold on to. My dad and I always had a very open relationship and he wasn't there anymore to have that with. So I guess I tried to find someone else. My mother was still alive and she was over here, you know? I guess that I was kind of trying to fill the void.

My dad and I were close. He always used to tell me, "Do what makes you happy. Do what you think is right. As long as it's your decision, at the end of the day, you can take responsibility for it." I took those words and tried to find a way to move past his death and on to better things. I think, when my dad passed away, it just got to a stage where I kind of had to reflect on my current relationship and what would be best for my daughter. So I decided to ask my mum if there's any way that she can help me to come over and try something new.

I guess the exchange rate was a big appeal too, you know? With the thought that you could kind of save and go back and have lots of money. Before I came here, I kind of still had the

mentality that you would come here and sort of just move back home again one day. I don't think I really had it in my head that I'm moving to another country and have to leave everything behind.

So at that stage, my partner and I were still kinda together but had decided that we're gonna take some time apart and see what happens. But then we ended the relationship and I remained here in New Zealand, initially on a student visa. For that, I just had to pay international study fees[16] and attend a polytechnic just to stay in New Zealand on that visa. Business management wasn't really like an interest of mine but it just happened to be one of the cheapest courses and I could get a qualification.

But then I was fortunate enough to meet my current partner, Natasha. She was actually a family friend of my mum and my step-dad at the time, as my step-dad worked with her dad. We had started communicating even before I came to New Zealand, just as friends online, you know? So I came over here, we hung out and then eventually got together. At first, I was living with my parents and Natasha was with her ex-partner, they split up and that's when we got together. Once we were together for a year, I managed to get a working-class partnership visa[17] through our relationship.

Once I got a work visa, my options were kinda open, so I started to apply for positions and that's how I got my current job and I've been with them for about three years now. Recently we bought a house here in Wellington, so we'll probably be here for a while.

My daughter's still in Bloemfontein with her mother. I couldn't take her away from her mother at the time I left. So, unfortunately, for now she has to stay with her mum which sucks. The plan is to bring her over; she's turning eight soon and I think she'd go to high school when she's thirteen or fourteen. So the hope is that she would come and live over here for high school but I still need to start that conversation with her mother.

[16] Tertiary study fees are subsidised by the New Zealand government for citizens and permanent residents.
[17] "Partner of a New Zealander Work Visa", a visa available to those who are in a relationship with someone who holds New Zealand citizenship, residency or is a holder of another visa (New Zealand Immigration, n.d.).

But dealing with immigration is just a big pain in the ass; it's so much stress. So stressful. You don't know if you're going to get a permit or not, and during my application we were running out of money. We had to provide a lot of proof 'cos they don't really care even if you say you're married. Even if you do have a spouse and you're married, you still have to prove your relationship with cards and pictures and letters. It's kind of like I'm in the situation where I'm relying on Natasha, trying to get a visa. It felt like people will think I'm taking advantage of the situation. But, anyway, at the moment I've got residency provided that I get a new passport, because mine is expired.

Daniël's Story

Daniël's account is certainly the longest in terms of years, spanning 24 years and six countries, including New Zealand. He had also attempted to move here unsuccessfully before migrating successfully some years later. Daniël's motivation for moving, however, was unique.

During the day leading up to Daniël and Polina's interview (which was my first research interview) I felt the onset of a cold and during the car ride to north Auckland my voice had all but failed. Polina offered tea and coffee while Daniël and I chit-chatted and I met their three children. Their home was spacious, and the décor white, but somehow avoided being stark. Placing a plate of broken chocolate pieces on the coffee table, Polina mentioned that it is Russian custom to always serve a sweet with tea. She then instructed her children to remain in their bedrooms and I began recording Daniël's story.

I had qualified as a missionary, so I quit my job and went to Russia. I didn't know anyone there but I had to meet a group that did missional training in Kiev. So, in September 1993, I arrived at the airport in Moscow – couldn't speak the language – and after about three or four days there I made my way to Kiev where I received training with a group called YWAM[18].

Soon after that I felt that I did not want to work with international ministries anymore. I didn't want to be around the Americans running it, I wanted to be around the Russian people.

[18] YWAM refers to "Youth With A Mission", an international Christian mission organisation.

So I decided to find a Russian church but the group I was with did not like that idea; they wanted to keep everything together with them.

YWAM had American leadership in the Ukraine. So you had a foreign leadership wanting to do mission work in a local context. My whole idea from the beginning was that I wanted to get to know the Russian people and I do not want to be seen as someone who comes down on the Russians with my knowledge. I really just wanted to be one of them and serve in such a manner but at YWAM, all the Americans went to an English-speaking church. I went one Sunday and then I said "This is not where I want to be. I want to go and sit, and not understand a word, but I want to be with the Russians." It just became more evident that I have to leave YWAM and the next logical step was to find a Russian church, where I can work alongside a local Russian pastor and help in whichever way I could.

So I left and went back to South Africa and returned again to Russia, settling in Saint Petersburg - that was 1995. I worked there as a tennis coach, together with another South African missionary, and later that year I met Polina. The tennis club that we ran was just across the street from the Salvation Army, where Polina was translating, and me and this other coach wanted to meet someone who spoke English. Eventually, in 1997, Polina and I got officially married in Russia.

The following February, Polina found out that she's pregnant and expecting our first son. At that stage, we were still living in Saint Petersburg but we had to leave Russia to go to South Africa for better medical treatment for Polina, and so he was born there.

Then I spent two years studying theology in England at the London Theological Seminary. After London, we went back to South Africa where I pastored a church in the northern part of South Africa, and from there, we decided we wanted to go back to Russia. So that period of our life is just coming-and-going and coming-and-going and things just happening in-between; we just had to do the work that was in front of us.

The visa situation in Russia changed so that I either had to take Russian citizenship and give up my South African citizenship or we had to come and go every three months. That just

wasn't going to work for our family. So we went back to South Africa where I helped out in a church for a while, and during that time, we had a little girl. So we have two children born in South Africa and one born in England – the English-born chooses which side he's on according to who wins the rugby, though now he's very much for South Africa.

In 2008, I received a call to go to Germany and we spent five years doing church planting[19] *work there. Then, we got called by God to live in New Zealand and we've been here now close to four years.*

I had actually come here, before going to Germany, to see what our options were. Obviously, it was a time when quite a few South Africans were leaving for New Zealand. So I thought, maybe I'll come over here and meet some of the Reformed Baptist pastors and see what opportunities there are in some of the churches here, but also with the possibility of maybe doing church planting. So I came alone for a month. Polina was still pregnant with our daughter so she stayed with the two boys back in South Africa while I tried to find work either in a church or a lab, as I had studied medical technology at university. But nothing realised. A month is kind of quick.

I did get to meet most of the Reformed Baptist churches, in the North Island at least. The church where I pastor now held a camp that I went to and spent a weekend with them. I met the previous pastor and the congregation but nothing happened then. So I went back to South Africa and I had just arrived when a church in Germany asked if I could help replant their church, which had split into three. After we established that church and it started growing, we found that we had some different interpretational views on how the Lord's Supper[20] *should be administered. The situation just became clear that I won't be able to minister with a clear conscious anymore. So we prayed, "Okay Lord, now what?" And about a week or two after that, I put my resignation in.*

Then, I received an email from an elder here – a guy who had visited me in Germany – which read something like:

[19] A term denoting the establishment a new church congregation.
[20] An important Christian ritual involving bread or a wafer-like food substance and a small cup of wine or grape juice.

> *Daniël,*
> *Hope you're doing well. We know that you're enjoying your ministry in Germany. It's probably an unfair question to ask but would you consider a call to New Zealand?*

So I wrote back and they invited us to come over in May, that year. I was to spend about five weeks here but I got sick on the plane. So sick I didn't know where I was. I had a fever of over forty. It was like I was floating in the air. I didn't know where I was.

So there we were. They paid for us to come and I couldn't preach that Sunday, I couldn't preach the next Sunday. It was just horrible, I felt so bad. But we at least had five weeks and eventually the church got to know us and we got to spend some time with the people in the church. Then we left and went back to South Africa. Sometime in June they called us to say that the church had officially voted on calling me as a pastor. So that was it. So far, so good. They did say I had to commit to five years, which we were happy to do anyway. Five years is actually coming up in a year's time so we need to renegotiate.

And, that's it. That's our 24-year long migration story.

Conclusion

A common factor across these stories, with the exception of Daniël's, is that originally, participants had not wanted to come to New Zealand, rather it was a decision that felt forced upon them by family members. This contradicts the current trend in Afrikaans migrant literature which, as explained in chapter two, indicates that Afrikaners intentionally move from South Africa due to 'push' factors, specifically fears for their personal security (Bain, 2005; Forrest, Johnston & Poulsen, 2013; Trlin, Henderson, North & Skinner, 2009). However, in the case of Tian, he made the decision independent of family members' requests but eventually moved to New Zealand because they were here. In Daniël's case, New Zealand was not his first choice, instead preferring Russia. However, each of the four Afrikaans participants have well and truly settled in New Zealand, both legally and in terms of attitude. Like Meares' (2007) study participant, Ellen, discussed in chapter two, I believe my study's Afrikaans participants would be reluctant to leave New Zealand under many

circumstances. This mindset is important to note as Tian touches on the “mentality” he had when he migrated with an initial assumption that he could simply move back at will.

The attitude of integration links with an observation made by all participants regarding their level of assimilation into New Zealand society after immigration. Pointing out an indicator of a potentially successful migration, Sherilee indicates that those who migrate with a mindset of permanence and a willingness to “integrate” fully into New Zealand’s wider society are likely more successful. She also noted that, “If you've made it past the two-year mark, you've probably made it.”

Except for Daniël, who was the most ‘prepared’ for immigration, all participants appear to have changed significantly in outlook through immigration. Annalie’s personal circumstances throughout the migration process, she indicates, demanded an adaptation in mindset in order to survive. Sherilee states outright that New Zealand has changed her to become more relaxed. Tian, though not saying it in so direct a manner, indicates his life here is a more relaxed and comfortable fit for him, having taken his father’s advice and actioned it: “Do what makes you happy, do what you think is right.” This indicates an intentionality in regard to the migration process, altering one’s way of thinking and interacting to suit the environment.

These stories demonstrate some similarities with current academic narrative on the subject of the post-migratory condition of Afrikaners in New Zealand. Psychological studies (Bennett & Rigby, 1997; Duxfield, 2013) as outlined in chapter two, show that Afrikaners can become anguished early in the immigration process but this generally alleviates after time. What is not present in current literature are accounts of the change in identity status after this mental anguish has alleviated and Afrikaners become more settled in their new country.

The next two chapters will discuss in further detail the key characteristics of Afrikaners, as described by participants, and their relationship to these ‘norms’ after migrating. In the next chapter, the characteristics of ‘typical’ Afrikaners irrespective of the migration process are related, and in chapter six further detail in a post-migratory setting is explored, showing how participants identify and navigate their ethnic boundaries in their new social context.

Chapter Five: Key Characteristics of Afrikaners

Introduction

A depiction of a 'typical' Afrikaner arose from all interviews. This representation appeared to be a model that participants compared their post-migratory identity against. The characteristics of this representation correlated closely to Barth's list of cultural components that indicate an ethnic group. That is, the representation comprises of factors relating to biological self-sustainability, cohesive cultural values and language (Barth, 1969). Although many factors that described Afrikaners emerged from interviews, only those which participants indicated as vital to being Afrikaans, or highly likely to be possessed by Afrikaners in South Africa are, discussed here.

The representation consists of four major shared characteristics: a common European heritage, a culturally important Protestant Christian belief, the Afrikaans language and a socially conservative worldview. Actions carried out and attributes possessed by the representation seemed to have both negative and positive connotations. Where the specific attribute lies on the positive-negative scale was opined in accordance with each participants' personal worldview. However, holistically speaking, this representative Afrikaner appeared to be neutral. Some of the qualities are thought to *generally* be possessed by Afrikaners but not actually *essential* to each individual Afrikaner. Others, however, such as those discussed further in this chapter, were spoken of as integral to being Afrikaans.

In this chapter the representation is discussed using Barth's understanding of the traditional descriptive model for ethnic groups. I go on to explain these descriptions offered by the study's participants throughout interviews, elaborating with other material such as music, poetry and social media posts. I also include a brief section on storytelling in Afrikaans culture. This topic appeared to be a source of nostalgia for one participant and was referred to by others. Storytelling is closely linked to language and falls within Barth's ethnic characteristic, being a mode of cultural communication. In the next chapter, I discuss the descriptive model in relation to Barth's maintenance of ethnic boundaries post-migration.

Descent, Heritage & History

Heritage was outlined by participants as a vital requirement to be associated with the Afrikaans community. Every participant remarked on a pronounced distinction between South Africans with English heritage (referred to as “English South Africans”) and Afrikaners.

Pierre Bourdieu theorised that groups of people operate within social spaces he called ‘fields’. In order to effectively operate within these fields, they employ forms of ‘social capital’ and any given embodiment of capital will in turn only have significant value within its particular social field. The Bourdieusian definition of capital is anything, objects or embodiments, which allows the possessor to move within the field (Moore, 2012). That is, in a group of people, a certain item or attribute can assist an individual in moving advantageously (or not) within a specific social field.

This works in a similar way to a nation’s economy. For example, in a particular country, such as South Africa, a form of currency (that is, the rand) is loaded with socially accepted value and assists its owner to move within the applicable field (that is, the South African economy) in ways that benefits him or her. However, should one try to move that capital, the rand, outside of its field, South Africa, its value is potentially worthless, or at best, uncertain.

Returning to apply Bourdieu’s theory, within the Afrikaans social field, surnames appear to fit Bourdieu’s model of social capital, in that possessing a more common (or “big”, as Daniël calls it) Afrikaans surname, such as Pretorius, can assist one in, metaphorically, moving advantageously within the field of the Afrikaans social environment. Like any economic field, there always exists inequalities in the possession of capital and these inequalities in the Afrikaans social field were alluded to during interviews.

Daniël directly linked being Afrikaans to a matter of exclusive heritage and pointed the surname out as the most obvious indicator of this heritage, indicating they are a form symbolic capital for Afrikaners:

> Surnames play a huge role in [determining who is an Afrikaner], you know, the Pretorius’ and Erasmus’ and all the Afrikaans surnames. Because that's a

> clear distinction between someone who is called Smith, you know? Du Plessis, they would be because of the French influence but there was a clear distinction between English surnames and Afrikaans surnames.

Without any links to European heritage, one cannot be an Afrikaner. Descent primarily originates from the Dutch but also French (the Huguenots) and German links were considered acceptable as strong Afrikaans family lines. The word “European” was used by participants to distinguish these families from those who had mainly British heritage. The reason for this division is largely historic with sometimes quite detailed reference made to the Anglo-Boer wars. This appears to be a longstanding characteristic as W.J. Burchell noted in 1822 that they “were not of English but of German, Dutch or French descent” (1822, p.21).

However, Daniël, whose grandfather migrated to South Africa from Lithuania and married an Afrikaner, demonstrated that the issue of surnames and heritage is more complex while recounting his school years:

> …growing up with a surname like [Arendt], half of the Afrikaans-speaking kids couldn't really understand that there's a difference in spelling between an [“eagle”], you know in Afrikaans you spell [A-R-E-N-D], but you say it ["ah-rent"]. But that was my nickname, you know? [Arendjie, "little eagle"]. Instead, my surname's actually [Arendt]. I don't know if that played a role but I do feel my affinity is with the Afrikaner people. When I'm in South Africa, I don't feel I'm a Zulu or I don't feel I'm a Kleurling [Coloured] and I don't feel I'm an Englishman or a German or a Portuguese. I feel myself an Afrikaans Afrikaner. So definitely, that's my identity.

While not personally having one of the “big Afrikaner names”, such as Fourie, Pretorius, Nel or Venter, does not mean one cannot claim to be Afrikaans, it certainly helps to associate one’s identity to, and foster affinity with, the Afrikaner community. The previous quote also illustrates that Daniël appeared sure of his identity as an Afrikaner. However, upon asking him if he would refer to himself as an Afrikaner, his response became more ambiguous:

> Our own family situation is quite mixed, so I do see myself as an Afrikaner in the sense I grew up Afrikaans and those were the people-, my family relations were all Afrikaners. So I do see myself as an Afrikaner but because my grandfather was an immigrant from Lithuania, I'm very much aware that I am the second [Arendt] that was born in South Africa. So I don't have, from my father's side, the strong links with the Voortrekkers. From my mum's side, a little bit but also very, very distant. Um, so I don't share everything that the Afrikaner people would, you know, hold up and say "This is the ultimate Afrikaner". But I do consider myself one. I do, yeah.

Daniël indicates here that there is a difference between how one can identify *individually* in relation to other ethnicities, compared to how one can identify *socially*, within the Afrikaans community. That is, Daniël claims his identity as an Afrikaner in the context of South Africa, yet the degree to which he is Afrikaans in comparison to other Afrikaners is less certain due to the heritage that his surname indicates. When asked whether his feelings regarding how he fits in with Afrikaner people would be changed had his father's immediate family not been recent immigrants, Daniël describes the potency of Afrikaans surnames for ethnic identity and its potential value:

> I think, because the males carry the surname, if there was like a surname – if I was Pretorius[21] – then there would have been an obviously stronger link to that. Maybe. But even on my dad's side, I mean, we have some of the big Afrikaner names in our line, from my dad's mother's side.

While not having a typically recognisable Afrikaans surname, Daniël shows that at least having a history of that heritage, a historic link to those names, is an important factor and links this to a patriarchal trend in that surnames are carried on through men. This may indicate a potential cause for Daniël's differing views on his own Afrikaansness. Although he has a strong heritage connection to the Afrikaans people, the name he goes by is no indicator of this, making his links somewhat less obvious than it would be for other Afrikaners. As such, his links to Afrikaans heritage requires further explanation than others within the

[21] The most common Afrikaans surname in 2017 (Name Statistics South Africa, n.d.).

community would normally require. This has perhaps resulted in a difference between how he feels individually, as opposed to how he feels socially.

Both Daniël and Annalie pointed out a sense of hierarchy when speaking about Afrikaans heritage. In his quote above, Daniël mentions "*big* Afrikaner names" [emphasis added] and shows that his lack of an Afrikaans surname may relate to his slight ambiguity in relation to being a part of the Afrikaner community. Annalie, when asked about how she would define who an Afrikaner is, spoke about hierarchy in terms of Dutch names in comparison with those of French origin:

> Obviously, first of all, born in South Africa, and the real Afrikaner has got the Afrikaans language as their mother-tongue. And then there are the, their roots are often Dutch, [but] my own roots are more French Huguenots, if you have a look at my surnames.

Annalie's switch between us-and-them terminology, coupled with her change in intonation while speaking, shows she feels that those of French origin are often lower in Afrikaans cultural hierarchy than those of Dutch heritage. However, later in the interview, she does confirm that she would nonetheless refer to herself as an Afrikaner (though this is further complicated with length of time away from South Africa, as discussed in the next chapter). This indicates that there are varying levels of Afrikaansness and that navigation of this characteristic is highly nuanced.

Christian Religion & Belief

A Christian belief system was also described by participants, as a dominant feature of Afrikaans identity. Every participant had attended a church in the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church), the NGK, tradition. This is the primary Afrikaans-language church in South Africa and, as indicated by the study's participants, is the expected church of choice for Afrikaners in South Africa. According to Professor Peter Lineham (personal communication, May 8, 2018), the NGK is most similar in doctrine to the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand [PCANZ], however, as he added "it would be more conservative than the PCANZ". According to the study's participants, the main defining

feature, in comparison with many other Protestant Christian denominations, is the NGK's practice of infant baptism. Many Protestant churches will only offer the 'believer's baptism', referring to baptising only those who are old enough to understand the sacrament and make an informed choice for themselves.

Even though options to attend Afrikaans churches are available in some areas[22] none of the participants have chosen to attend. Two, Annalie and Daniël, chose to attend non-NGK churches before immigrating. Tian, however, ceased to attend church altogether in South Africa and Sherilee still believes in the Christian faith but has not found a church denomination that aligns with her personal doctrinal beliefs. She spoke favourably about most of what the Baptist church preaches except she wanted to continue practicing infant baptism, which is antithetical to Baptist church doctrine (McBeth, 2009, p.13). Despite all having left the NGK church, participants were unanimous in describing Afrikaners as churchgoers. This included Tian, who is an atheist and said "Yeah, I grew up in a *typical* Afrikaans household, you know, going to church and that" [emphasis added]. Daniël, a Reformed Baptist pastor who was raised in the NGK church, directly linked the church to Afrikaans social culture when speaking about his father's beliefs. Throughout our interviews, Daniël seemed to indicate that he felt his father was more typically Afrikaans than himself and used him regularly to describe typical Afrikaners:

> My father's religious convictions, they are real and sincere but it's very influenced by his politics as well. And he took it extremely hard when, after apartheid, the church that he used to belong to and trusted just turned around one day, saying "Everything that we taught in the past was a lie and now we want to repent of those things." And some of those things they had to repent of, which is fair, but they just went overboard. So he saw the church – and he still does, I think, even now – as a political vehicle and it used to be like that in South Africa […] My dad worked as a civil servant and if you apply for a civil service position on your application form, you had to say which church you

[22] As of late 2017, I could find two Afrikaans language churches (it is possible the third was an unadvertised, home-based church). Neither of the two *Afrikaanse Christen Kerke* (Afrikaans Christian Churches) identified a denominational position and perform all forms of baptism, "kinder- of volwasse doop en ook kindertoewyding" (child or adult baptism and also child dedication) ("ACK North Shore Inligting," n.d.).

> are in. You were employed, very often, as a result of what you tick in that box. Like what you did in New Zealand maybe ten, fifteen years ago there is a sense of a nominal Christianity that's very much part of the culture and far more in South Africa than here. Even now still, I think being Afrikaans means you are either in the Dutch Reformed Church or the *Gereformeerde Kerk* or *Gevormde Kerk*[23], one of those three. So it was very much cultural.

Both Annalie and Sherilee also position the church as an important social sphere for Afrikaners:

> *Annalie:* [For Afrikaners], their church is [very much a] part of their social milieu. My children made an early interesting comment where they say, "In South Africa, you put on your CV what church you belong to. It's part of your social [sphere]... Where, in New Zealand, it's not that important thing. 'Cos if you're a Christian here, you really mean it". It's not just part of another social group where they sort of compare it with belonging to Rotary or Lions[24] or whatever. Your church is part of your group.

> *Sherilee:* I'm not your quintessential South African. I don't go to South African church, I don't hang out with only South Africans. It's just the expectation: when you're Afrikaans, you go to church with all the other Afrikaans people. There are a few South African churches [in Auckland]. I tried going to one because I felt I should, 'cos that's how I was raised. And I hated every minute of it, so I didn't go back.

Sherilee also goes on to reveal a part of the social dynamic of the 'Afrikaans church' as well as the core reason for her having "hated every minute of it":

> *Sherilee:* All of the ladies stand and gossip afterwards about other people. It's just not my scene. It's not my thing.

[23] All three denominations are versions of the NGK.
[24] Both Rotary International and Lions Club International are secular humanitarian clubs, often holding social functions for its members and their local communities.

> *Kris:* You said that you "hated it". What was the part that you hated?
> *Sherilee:* It was the gossiping, probably? It was just the gossiping. It's, literally, after the service you go and have tea and cake and all of these little groups of people and there's no way of penetrating those groups unless you are introduced.
> *Lachlan:* Unless there's some stature.
> *Sherilee:* Yeah. Or you're someone important that can get them somewhere. It was just not my thing at all, I didn't enjoy it. I went to the Baptist church down the road […] but they don't believe the same things as I do so it was kinda hard. I thoroughly enjoyed it but it was quite hard. 'Cos I believe in christening my children.

The belief system informs the social values expected of each Afrikaner, as Polina, Daniël's wife explains "It's [a] very solid, good family structure and family authority is very clear and evident. The parents are to be obeyed and the parents have to be honoured. Whether you're Christian or not, that's the standard."

A particular Christian belief system appears to create a clear demarcation between Afrikaners and English South Africans, evidenced in Annalie's pointing out that her father tolerated their move to a Methodist church:

> I grew up in the very staunch Dutch Reformed Church. So I grew up in a very strong Christian home… you don't do this and this. But [my father] looked past that but when I moved to Port Elizabeth [and] went to the English [Methodist] church.

She explained that the move to their Methodist church, and later a Baptist one, occurred due to marrying her English South African husband.

Language

The third Afrikaans characteristic described was that of language. Afrikaans, although related to 1600s Dutch, is a unique and distinct language, with particular grammatical structures,

culturally-specific idioms and ‘loan’ words derived from the South African environment and other encountered languages.

Afrikaans as Afrikaners’ main language was referred to as a basic requirement by all participants. So much so that participants often glossed over this point as quite obvious and, perhaps, therefore unimportant to them, beyond a brief mention. However, it always featured early in the discussion on traits and qualities possessed by Afrikaners. Of what makes someone Afrikaans, Annalie said, “Obviously, first of all, born in South Africa, and the real Afrikaner has got the Afrikaans language as their mother-tongue”. This was similarly confirmed by Daniël, “Obviously, people who speak the language. Afrikaans is a language.”

Suggesting a correlation between worldview (further discussed in the following section) and language, Annalie went so far as to distinguish English from Afrikaans-speakers in terms of being culturally progressive, saying that native Afrikaans-speakers are much more traditional than their English-speaking fellow South Africans:

> I would say [Afrikaans-speakers are] very traditional, very much holding onto their culture […] now, we all have to learn a second language at school but you learn it on a second language level so everybody from South Africa can at least speak a bit of English. Or if you are English speaking as your first language you go to an English school and you learn Afrikaans on a second level, so we can all speak both a little bit. But the Afrikaans [people are] very much more traditional.

Annalie also shows that there is still a varying level of Afrikaansness with respect to language, “…and the *real* Afrikaner has got the Afrikaans language as their mother-tongue”. Sherilee supported this, saying that an Afrikaner is “a person from South Africa who predominantly speaks Afrikaans. Although in saying that, I don't predominantly speak Afrikaans anymore.” Sherilee went on to refer to herself as not being typically Afrikaans, yet identified as an Afrikaner nonetheless.

Afrikaans is a language that was created in a multilingual society and so any discussion of it must be contextualised in this setting. While Afrikaans has, in the past, enjoyed elevated status as one of only two primary languages, since 1994 with the democratisation of South Africa, it became one of eleven official languages. Preference, however, often tends to be given to English. Afrikaans-speakers have now come to pepper their everyday speech with English words. Though this is not uncommon in other languages around the world[25], many Afrikaners feel that the Anglo-intrusion into Afrikaans has reached a crisis point. Alongside the more widespread 'usefulness' of the English language, Afrikaans seems to be abandoned in various situations. In 2016, Cecilia Steinberg, an architect in Cape Town, wrote a Facebook post about this very issue in the form of poetry (see Appendix F). As of June 2018, just over two years after the original posting, the post has been shared over 9,500 times across the social platform, indicating formidable accord amongst Afrikaans-speakers. The post was shared along with comments such as "Dis 'n jammerte dat dit gebeur met ons taal 😡" [It's a pity that this is happening to our language], "Afrikaans moet gered word!" [Afrikaans must be saved!], "Dis net soos dit is," [That's exactly how it is] and "Nou wonder ons hoekom mense se Afrikaans is besig om uit te sterf." [And we wonder why Afrikaans is dying out].

In October 2017, a song by Elandré Schwartz, *Afrikaans Sal Bly* ('Afrikaans will remain'), was placed at number 6 on the Maroela Media Afrikaans Top 20 music charts (Cloete, 2017). The song refers to Afrikaans as "meer as 'n taal" [more than a language] and features references to the language as being venerated. The lyrics in the song appear to have resonated with Afrikaans-speakers who have expressed sentimental responses to the song across social media. The most telling lines from the song are (for full lyrics, see Appendix G):

Wat as ek sê daar is meer as bloed *in jou hart?*	What if I said there is more than blood in your heart?
Wat as ek sê daar is plek vir my en *jou in ons land?*	What if I said there is a place for me and you in our land?
Sou jy my glo as ek sê ons *moet veg*	Would you believe me if I said that we must fight
vir dit wat ons een maak?	for that which makes us one?

[25] Such as the now standard "le weekend" or "le parking" in French.

Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,	Afrikaans you're more than a language,
Jy's wat ons laat sin maak.	You're what makes us make sense.
Jy's wat ons laat saak maak.	You're what makes us matter.
Dis jy wat ons een maak.	It's you that makes us one.

From the highly emotive language and symbolism used in the lyrics, it is evident that the Afrikaans people have a great affinity for and pride in their language and that it is not just a manner of communication but also a unifying element that allows them to 'matter', 'make sense' of themselves and refers to ethnic bonding agents, such as heritage and an affinity for a particular land.

The concern regarding encroachment by the English language can be seen as the perception of a part of Afrikaans identity being lost and the narrative of resistance against this loss indicates its high value in the community. Furthermore, as indicated by previous research carried out by Barkhuizen & Knoch (2005), Barkhuizen (2006) and Hatoss, Starks & van Rensburg (2011), upon emigrating from South Africa, Afrikaners are faced with the more immediate possibility of Afrikaans language loss in the home and thus a fear that future generations may transition into a state of non-Afrikaansness. As is further shown in the particular word use of Schwartz's song, the Afrikaans language is claimed as a unifier of collective identity, making the Afrikaans people "one".

Storytelling

Closely linked to language and modes of communication across ethnic groups, storytelling is an important social aspect of the Afrikaans language that I have observed over the past decade and is missed after leaving South Africa. The *verhale* (stories) in question are generally humorous and can be either fiction or highly exaggerated non-fiction. Although the storyteller's eye movement often remains steady, it is interesting to watch vivid facial expressions, hand gestures and body movements that accompany a story when the raconteur is speaking in Afrikaans. Something I have noticed is that, should the speaker switch to English, the drama and vivacious nature of the story is often lost. Daniël refers to this storytelling culture, linking it intrinsically to the language, when asked if there was anything about being immersed in Afrikaans that he missed since leaving South Africa:

> *Kris:* Do you miss Afrikaans?
> *Daniël:* Um, like the language itself, yeah? I miss certain expressions and storytelling skills that Afrikaans people have.

And Natasha, Tian's New Zealander wife who had observed Afrikaans culture on several trips to South Africa, indicates where the narratives are often recounted:

> *Kris:* When you say, "The men talk shit" [at the braai], what are they talking about?
> *Natasha:* [laughs] The funny stories from the week.

Highlighting the importance of storytelling in contemporary Afrikaans culture, a television series, *Oppiestoep: Die tuiste van storievertel in Afrikaans* ('On the porch: The home of Afrikaans storytelling') has been created by KykNet, a popular Afrikaans-language television channel.[26] The origin of many peculiarities of being Afrikaans is attributed to the history of the *Voortrekkers*. It is possible that the popularisation of storytelling among Afrikaners is one such attribute[27], created from a time when everyone in the community was seated around a campfire in the wilderness. It now appears to be reinforced in a variety of social settings (such as the braai, indicated by Natasha's quote above). This links storytelling not only to language and communication but also a common heritage and history among Afrikaners.

[26] In the series, people sit around what appears to be a large dinner table in a winery telling stories in front of a dining audience (see *figure 1*). There are some episodes where female narrators are present, though it is largely male-dominated.
[27] There is little available research on Afrikaans storytelling and none, to my knowledge, that explores the history of the practice.

figure 1: From “Storievertellers kuier eersdaags Oppiestoep” by KykNet, 2016. Copyright 2016 by KykNet. Reprinted with permission.

Social Conservativism: Respect & Tradition

Finally, social conservativism, particularly with respect to family relationships and gender roles, was frequently mentioned in interviews with most saying outright that Afrikaners are very conservative. Others, as I will further describe in chapter six, said that they had difficulty in New Zealand due to the stark difference between their conservative worldview and New Zealand’s more liberal outlook.

The social conservativism spoken of in interviews seemed to be linked to the previously discussed cultural Christianity. Conservative practices mentioned include respectful speech and respecting authority, not being outspoken, attending church (whether one believes its doctrines or not), adequate discipline for children and traditional gender roles. Mostly, however, the practices described remained within the family realm and hinged on being respectful to one’s elders. As explained in Daniël’s account of his childhood:

> I wasn't a troublemaker, I wasn't disrespectful and that, I think, is very much an Afrikaans cultural thing. You were never allowed, as a kid, to question adults. Teachers, you listened to, obeyed and shut up. It was like that. So

> because that was already instilled in me from an early age, I was always respectful in class and towards my peers as well.

For some couples, the question of respect for elders was an unresolved (and seemingly unresolvable) issue between them. Lachlan, Sherilee's husband, indicated some difficulty with her conservative family:

> *Sherilee:* South African families, most of them, are very conservative. I have the utmost respect for my parents and I will do. Even as an adult, I will never speak out against my parents. Ever.
> *Lachlan:* Which is annoying.
> *Sherilee:* Which is annoying, 'cos we share a home, it can be quite frustrating. But it's not something I can do. I just can't do it, it's not how I was raised. And it's the same with other adults. If someone is more than ten years older than me, it's just that automatic rule of respect. Regardless of how they behave, it's just how it is. So yes, quite conservative. My parents weren't the touchy-feely types. Still aren't. Oh, maybe with the kids, they are a little bit more now.
> *Lachlan:* Oh, with the grandkids, yeah. With their grandkids, yes of course, very much.
> *Sherilee:* Mmm, but not with us. But yeah, I don't know what else you've heard but most of the Afrikaans families are quite conservative. You just can't do it [speak out], it's too hard.

Lachlan later compared his wife's view with his more outspoken family practices, with reference to his mother:

> *Sherilee:* Yes. At my baby shower, one lady refused to speak English...
> *Lachlan:* Oh, [my mother] let them all-
> *Sherilee:* ...and his mother was there and she just turned around and went "Can you please speak English, please?!"
> *Lachlan:* She will snap which, again, that's the upbringing as well.
> *Sherilee:* It is.

> *Lachlan:* It is the liberal. Whereas we're-, I'm taught to, if something's not right you speak your mind and you say it's not right. Whereas, with her [Sherilee's] generation, with her upbringing it's "Don't speak out of turn, she's older."
> *Sherilee:* Yeah. It's the respect thing, yeah.

Here, we see an interplay between two worldviews, the 'liberal' against the 'conservative' South African. Though Sherilee indicates that she, too, is socially conservative (for example, she says "I have the utmost respect for my parents... Even as an adult, I will never speak out against my parents") she also exhibited socially liberal behaviour. This duality showed she has or is moving out of that, if only in some areas, as she navigates between two competing social worldviews, the conservative from her childhood home life and the more liberal in New Zealand society.

However, this liberalisation originated in South Africa and seemed to be 'tolerated' by her more traditionally conservative parents. Sherilee had two children out of wedlock, the eldest being born in South Africa and the second child born a few months after arriving in New Zealand. The children's father flew to New Zealand and attempted the immigration process but returned to South Africa four months later and the relationship ended. While this story is not an isolated incident within socially conservative communities, it shows a departure from expected cultural norms that may have allowed Sherilee to continue cultivating a liberal worldview and therefore thrive in New Zealand's far less conservative environment. The only social difficulties narrated by Sherilee and Lachlan were experienced at events such as Afrikaner-only gatherings and with those South Africans who held onto strictly conservative social practices.

Of all the participants, the only couple who did not seem to feel discomfort when encountering with the differing liberal and conservative worldviews were Annalie and Peter. Peter, who was 81 and the oldest participant in the study, appeared to have a similarly conservative worldview and faith as Annalie. She described Peter as having fit into her social group of Afrikaners easily and recounted their description of him as "a gentleman". Daniël and Polina reported only minor trouble regarding the discipline of their children while briefly

living with Daniël's parents in South Africa. Tian and Natasha, however, explained that they have completely severed their relationship with his parents. This seemed to have surprised Tian who, while growing up in South Africa, always thought of his mother as a "cool parent".

> She kind of always saw herself as the cool parent, so she would be very lenient when disciplining us. It was very strange to me when [Natasha] and I got together, that she started demanding things that she never expected before, you know? Because she wasn't that person growing [up]. She was always the cool parent who let us listen to our music...

Tian and Natasha went on to explain that his mother had become controlling and demanding after their relationship began, particularly toward Natasha.

Both Tian and Sherilee are similar in age and both arrived in New Zealand when they were quite young, in contrast to Annalie and Daniël who arrived in their middle age with already established families. Tian, also exhibited a socially liberal worldview as he diverted from the expected norm of Christian belief and is now an atheist. Again, this seemed to have been cultivated initially in South Africa, as opposed to being an effect of migration to New Zealand. However, despite being raised in a 'typically Afrikaans' home, his parents accepted his divergence from these expectations:

> Yeah, I grew up in a typical Afrikaans household, you know, going to church and that. When I decided I wasn't going to church anymore, she kind of, you know, didn't hammer me on anything.

The preference of maintaining traditionally defined gender roles was also raised as a characteristic of Afrikaners. Afrikaner culture is commonly described as patriarchal. For example, at the braai, as further discussed in the next chapter, though it is possible for a woman to physically cook the food on a braai, it is a very uncommon practice for them to do so, and is often taken as an indication of how 'modern' or 'liberal' the hosting household is. A fellow anthropology student, who had lived in South Africa for over 20 years, remarked on this gender dynamic at the braai in a Messenger conversation we shared in 2016:

> Just watching the gender dynamics […] you can tell who has a more 'modern' relationship by the braaing… Some men even let their women cook! I used to cook – and it used to freak people out but I could blame being Kiwi.

Although the role of the braaier was attributed to a male by every participant, this liberal-conservative dynamic mentioned by my fellow student was further confirmed by Sherilee. I had asked if there could be any indication of worldviews by a woman's proximity to the braai fire. I was prompted to ask this question as I had noticed the difference between Sherilee's description of her parents' braai-side behaviour compared to her own:

> *Sherilee:* [At the end of a braai] I suppose we all eat together just around the table. Have a laugh, have a few more drinks. Yeah. That's about the extent of it. It is that very divided […] if it's in a social setting, the men braai. I'm slightly different because I like to hang out outside. I don't like sitting inside, with the ladies, with the women.
> *Lachlan:* Although, depending on who we invite as well.
> *Sherilee:* If it's our friends[28], we all tend to stand around the braai together.
> *Lachlan:* All the guys still stand around the braais but the girls are out there as well.
> *Sherilee:* But if it's the older generation, it's a very separated affair.
> *Kris:* So the more liberal the social sphere gets, the closer to the fire everyone is?
> *Sherilee:* Pretty much, I think so. Yeah, it's also just the generation. The older generation that we tend to socialise with are my parents' friends and they're all South African. And it's that divide, the women sit inside where it's warm.

Sherilee highlights both the gender and age-gap dynamic within Afrikaans culture, showing that there is a liberalisation occurring among Afrikaner youth in South Africa, who may be questioning the previously well-defined roles. As explained earlier in this chapter, this is

[28] Earlier in the interview, Sherilee and Lachlan explain that "their friends" are made up mainly of non-South Africans, with Sherilee stating "I don't have any South African friends."

further supported by comparing the views of the study's younger participants, Sherilee and Tian, with those of the middle-aged and older participants, Daniël and Annalie.

Sherilee highlighted gender dynamic issues more than any of the other participants. This may have been due to her close living relationship with her parents, where generational differences can become most evident. Sherilee and Lachlan had, at one stage, lived in the same home with her parents, and at the time of the interviews, her parents were living in the apartment below theirs. Though Sherilee tended to exhibit less traditionally conservative practices, including some practices of gender equality, there were some traditional gender roles that she preferred to maintain:

> *Lachlan:* …another thing that I don't understand, well I get it but I don't understand it, is the whole "the male always drives".
> *Sherilee:* Except when he's drinking.
> *Lachlan:* Except for when he's drinking, like you can tell when the man's going out to drink because he's in the passenger seat. And it's, it's really bizarre 'cos I always drove everywhere 'cos I didn't mind being sober and then *Oupa* ["granddad", here denotes Sherilee's father] would always say "Oh, you've gotta drive 'cos you're not drinking." And I-, "Oh, okay…" And I couldn't understand why and then-
> *Sherilee:* You still don't understand it.
> *Lachlan:* Even now, even now I'll be like "We'll go to the shops" and I have to drive and I'm like "Why do I have to drive? Can't you drive?" and, no, she won't let me let her drive. It's weird. Bloody weird.
> *Sherilee:* It's actually weird that you want me to drive.
> *Lachlan:* No, it's not weird. Sometimes I don't feel like driving. Why can't you drive? And even if it's not my car. It'll be her car and I'll have to drive. I don't get that. It's bizarre.
> *Sherilee:* It's not bizarre.

A similar discussion to the above, which occurred during their first interview session (that is, during their response to the SQUIN), also took place between Sherilee and Lachlan in their

second interview and seemed to be an important point for Lachlan. However, during the interview with Tian, while speaking about the different expectations between the son and daughter of an Afrikaans family, it became clear that Afrikaans society is changing in South Africa too:

> …in the traditional Afrikaner household, there would be no difference, there would be no more expected of the son, than the daughter. You know, there's very much an Afrikaner culture-, well at least, the modern Afrikaner culture, I think they've adapted to it quite well, in terms of, you know, nothing is expected of you because you're a man or because you're a woman.

This changing ideology within Afrikaans society in South Africa was also confirmed by Daniël who, after being posed the same question as Tian regarding the expectations of a son and daughter, responded:

> That changed a lot, I think, in society as well as if you were a boer – a farmer – and you had a son, the expectation was very high that the son would take over the farm. He would inherit the farm, he would inherit his dad or his granddad's name and that is the family farm. That changed. So right now, I think we've been so influenced by the rest of the world's thinking of things and there's not a lot of that kind of expectation from father to son, to generations. That's not strong at all anymore. I do think there is an expectation of sons to be good providers. That they will work hard, they would be good husbands, they will look after their family one day. I think there is still an expectation that the girls would grow up, finding a good man, that would almost be approved by their parents, you know? It would be-, there's not a lot of- [pauses]. Ah, there's freedom, but I think the parents are far more involved than I think in New Zealand culture. Definitely. Far more, "I wanna meet them before you date" kinda thing, you know?

As a husband of a member of the community, and father to half-Afrikaners, I felt that this statement was resonated with my own experience. Early in my relationship with my wife,

after having met her parents, it was made very clear that I was to maintain a household with fairly traditional values. That is, I would be the primary earner, foster values of respect and bear the majority responsibility, in all areas, for my family's well-being.

Conclusion

From interviews, it is evident that being an Afrikaner is no longer what it once was. According to previous research (Alberts, 2012; Blaser & van der Westhuizen, 2012; Blaser, 2012; Cloete, 1992; Korf & Malan, 2002; Marx, 2012; Vestergaard, 2000), after the democratisation of South Africa and destabilised apartheid policies, the Afrikaans people lost a sense of nationalism that helped create a unification of their collective identity. Today, the identity felt from their past appears to remain, but is in a phase of destabilisation. Those from the older generations, such as Annalie and Daniël in this study, seem to have a strong Afrikaans worldview that remains steadfast, but the younger generation, such as Sherilee and Tian, appear to have adopted 'new' ideology, that govern their thoughts and actions. This new ideology indicates a shift, aligning more closely with dominant liberal social thinking prevalent in New Zealand.

Upon the demise of the Nationalist Party government in South Africa, Afrikaners had to find new ways to define themselves while reassessing their inherent values and this modification appears to be continuing today. Despite the changing social landscape in South Africa, all participants seemed to refer to a representation as to what constitutes an Afrikaner and subsequently compared themselves to that.

The Afrikaner representation entailed qualities such as sharing a specific biological heritage, practising Christianity, speaking Afrikaans and holding, thinking with and practising a particular social values system, often described as conservatism. Afrikaans surnames appeared to hold symbolic capital value depending on where it came from (Dutch, German or French) and how common they are. Closely linked to language, storytelling was attributed by participants to modern Afrikaans culture and suggests a form of cultural communication. As Barth (1969) suggests, however, ethnic identity may be strengthened and developed in contrast to other cultures. An example of this can be seen in comparing Afrikaners in South Africa, where Afrikaans culture originated, with the many in New Zealand, where their

Afrikaans identity may further deepen and adapt to suit the social environment. The experience of immigration poses challenges to traditional ways of being, such as those presented in this chapter. Afrikaners in New Zealand responded to these challenges in a range of ways, constructing ethnic boundaries and redefining their Afrikaans identities. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Redrawing Ethnic Boundaries in New Zealand

Introduction

The previous chapter referred to the characteristics of being 'typically' Afrikaans, based primarily in a South African context. Upon migrating to New Zealand, however, migrants encounter a multitude of cultures and ways of being that differ from their own. These encounters illuminate migrants' own cultures, highlighting areas of difference and similarity. This is the essence of Barth's (1969) theory of ethnic boundaries: the encounter with other ways of being focusing a group of people's attention on their own ways, thus helping to define their own identity through their informal comparative analysis. Like the previous chapter, the following is also a description of Afrikaners, but in a post-migratory context.

Common themes to arise included adjustment to New Zealand's social landscape; the change from a hyper-consciousness of security to a more relaxed atmosphere; friendliness, hospitality and the creation of relationships; and a direct manner of speech. I have also included a section on how participants view New Zealanders, as the perception of other close-contact cultures often also reflects on those who perceive them.

Ethnic Split

A major determining factor in the migration experience and its impact on Afrikaans identity, as described by participants, is how consciously or not the migrant integrates into New Zealand's society. Participants referred to an ethnic split occurring in the community. This split occurred between those who integrated with New Zealand and associated less with the South African community and those who preferred to remain in close, regular contact with other South Africans. Sherilee, who sees herself as having more fully integrated in New Zealand society, described these 'other' South Africans in clear terms, calling them 'quintessential':

> [There are some] living in New Zealand that are South African and they only hang out with South Africans, they only want to live where other South Africans live. They only want to eat South African food… It's not all South Africans but I feel like I've evolved a little bit more out of that narrow-minded

> outlook that some people seem to have. Some people just won't adapt and it's just terrible. 'Cos [if] you move to someone else's country, you adapt. You kinda, 'fit in'.

Thus, Sherilee's ethnic identity shifted to include less typically South African qualities, such as those described in the previous chapter, while viewing other South Africans as having remained defined by traditional characteristics. All participants interviewed for this study report having integrated with New Zealand society and most seemed to disagree with some of the choices of those who do not. The only participant who had Afrikaans friends was Annalie, however she made a point of explaining that she consciously integrated with New Zealanders.

That which appeared to most divide the two types of Afrikaner migrant groups generally centred around retention of culture through informal social association. Willingness to blend into New Zealand's multicultural society means the migrant is more likely to integrate with the diversity in New Zealand society and to be influenced by those interactions.

Adjusting to Life in New Zealand

Contrary to McKenzie & Gressier's (2017) research indicating that migrant Afrikaners felt discriminated against by their host communities, and confirming Meares and Gilbertson's (2013), who found social inclusion of Afrikaners to be predominant, (as discussed in chapter two) no participant in this study felt at all disadvantaged by being an Afrikaner in New Zealand. Daniël stressed this point emphatically. At the end of the final set of interviews, I asked each of the participants if they wanted to add anything that they had not already said. Daniël responded, saying:

> I can just in general say that I don't feel bad to be a South African in New Zealand. I don't feel at all "out". I think a part of the reason is because New Zealand is not made up out of New Zealanders. There's no such thing as a New Zealander in the sense of "Oh, that's a true Kiwi." Although some would probably say they are. But you know, just look at Auckland, it is a mixture of

> so many people and I'm just one of them. This weekend I'm going to vote[29] for the first time and I don't feel I'm voting as a South African in New Zealand. I'm feeling, I'm voting because I'm one of all these other people who are here and have the right to vote. I vote for my country, what I would like to see. So we have really not felt any animosity or felt ourselves outside of any culture that's already here. Truly, it's been amazing. And I think we contribute something as well. And, how small it might be, but I think the variation of cultures and the South African culture, in particular, I think they are viewed as fairly hard-working, focused people who are to pursue something that's got fairly strong family bonds. And if we can contribute in such a way, let it be.

The same narrative about having a generally positive experience as a migrant in New Zealand as well as being recognised as a South African, was reiterated across all interviews. It should be noted however that discussions in the many South African and Afrikaans-based Facebook groups in New Zealand show a contrasting picture. Some comments[30] in these groups indicate that migrants may remain feeling uncomfortably settled, irrespective of the time spent in New Zealand. The positive experience of all the study's participants (who all say they are well integrated into New Zealand society) is not encountered across the community and may, perhaps, be specific to the Afrikaans-speakers who choose to more fully integrate into New Zealand society.

Daniël and his wife, Polina, had previously lived in Russia, England and Germany and used these other localities to compare with their experience in New Zealand:

> *Daniël:* We haven't found things in the New Zealand culture that's irritating, if I may use that word, as it was in Russia. In Russia, you have corruption and it irritates you. It's like grrrr, constantly there.
> *Polina:* Mmm. In your face.
> *Daniël:* In your face the whole time.
> *Polina:* Rudeness, in your face.

[29] The New Zealand general elections, held on 23rd September 2017.
[30] Many of these comments took place in closed Facebook groups and often included information of a personal nature, so I have not included examples here.

Daniël: Which is a superficial rudeness, but it's there. Non-stop. In New Zealand, the most difficult things that we are dealing with, just in our minds, is the extreme liberalism [and] secularism, which is so much part of [the] Kiwi mindset. But that's something you just have to deal with and you know you're living in a world that is like that but as a [Reformed Baptist] Christian, that's hard. Otherwise, we enjoy being here.

Polina then brought up the similarities between South African and New Zealand lifestyles, saying that it's easier because of a shared widespread sports-based preference:

Polina: I think also, with you being South African, there is lots of parallels. Good parallels between South African lifestyle and New Zealand lifestyle. [They're] very much outdoor [lifestyles], lots of sports type of lifestyle, lots of "Let's go out and camp" kinda thing. "Let's go out and hike" kinda thing. Which is very popular in South Africa, so lots of activities that are present and available… Very similar to South Africa.
Daniël: Yeah.
Polina: Although, it has that sense of freedom and security that South Africa has lost.
Daniël: I think the other thing is that, I know Kiwis like to say that they've got this "Can do" attitude. So in Afrikaans we have the saying "'n Boer maak 'n plan [a Boer makes a plan]". You know? So it's also part of our culture and, by the way, it's very much Russian as well. If something doesn't work "we'll make it work". So I think that that mindset to life, we share and we found that easy. Where, in Germany, it's different. In Germany, everything is done for you. Everything is so well organised and smooth.
Polina: Regimented and controlled.
Daniël: But as a South African, in New Zealand, I do sometimes feel that, I'm recognised as a South African. Immediately. I mean, I just have to open my mouth and they can hear the accent. "Oh, South African." You know? 'Saffas[31]'. Where in other countries it wasn't the case, even in England.

[31] A fairly common colloquial, non-derogatory term for a South African migrant.

Sherilee referred to national similarities from a viewpoint of colonial history, saying that New Zealanders are open to South African migrants due to this shared colonial history:

> I think Kiwis are more accepting of us as a nation because we look the same, we're very similar in that respect. Whereas the Asian cultures aren't. They don't look the same and they don't have the same heritage, you know? It's very different. I think it's the same with the English as well. 'Cos they kind of look- we all look the same. We all have similar cultures because we were all part of the Crown at one point.

This ease of being a South African in New Zealand due to shared lifestyle and leisure preferences was sharply contrasted by Annalie. She expressed difficulty with her "refined" and non "'sports' person"-type son in South Africa but found the social climate of diversity in New Zealand to suit her son's demeanour:

> [My son] fitted better in into New Zealand when we came here, where I was concerned because in South Africa, he's always very much a musician. Piano, into classical music. You know, for a country like South Africa, music can be your hobby but you need to have a job that's your income and he's not a 'sport' person […] he is very refined, he's not a rugby player. Well, to be honest, he's actually come out as gay. So I was concerned how he would fit in because he's very into music, culture, the arts [but] he fitted in best [out of the all the children]. He was in a school that was very into culture and he had very good friends […] he could play piano very well and he could, he was drawing art very well and he was brightest in the class. And my fear was how would he fit into a country [New Zealand] where rugby is everything [but his] school was known for its music. So, surprisingly, he's the one that fitted in best.

Here, Annalie comments on the social landscape of both South Africa and New Zealand. Her son appears to have thrived in New Zealand, just as Tian, Sherilee, Daniël and Annalie have. This is despite the variety of personalities and lifestyle preferences of each. A possible

explanation for this is that New Zealand's current social climate of acceptance is supporting of Afrikaans identity during their post-apartheid identity adjustment period.

Contrary to most other descriptions offered in this and the previous chapter, where ethnic boundaries are highlighted through difference, values in lifestyle arose as a descriptor of Afrikaners through *similarity* with the new society. However, the description became most pronounced upon a backdrop of visits to other countries and in comparison with other migrant populations in New Zealand.

Security

Security in South Africa was talked about in interviews on many occasions and by every Afrikaner. It was not, however, the main reason for leaving for every participant[32]. Daniël and Tian both left for work purposes, Daniël was requested to apply for his current pastorate and though Tian "was earning what seemed to be good money [he] couldn't get ahead" back in South Africa. Tian recounted instances where the issues of security became clear:

> *Tian:* I was mugged when I was about fourteen. I was mugged by three guys. I got stabbed and they took my phone. And a police van came driving down the road and I stopped him and told him "There's the guys that just stole my phone." And he just told me "Sorry, you just have to go and make a case at the police station." And just drive off.
> *Natasha:* And he's still got a big scar from it.
> *Tian:* Yeah, crazy. And a very good friend of mine, who's currently in London, was held up at gunpoint. Three guys just came into his house at three in the morning. Tied him up, put a pillow over his face and said "Hey, we're going to shoot you unless you tell us where's all your stuff." So they rounded up all his stuff, put it into his car and drove away.

Although Tian's primary reason for leaving South Africa was economically driven, he indicated that "freedom", in terms of minimal crime, became a role in the move as well:

[32] The younger two participants, Sherilee and Tian, did not elect to say the reasons for their parents' choice to emigrate and, regrettably, neither did I think to ask about this during subsequent interviews.

> …moving somewhere where there's a bit more freedom [was a big appeal in moving] but originally, I didn't know that's what I wanted, you know? 'Cos if you're in South Africa you don't know what freedom is until you come over here and walk around on the streets, you know? Not looking over your shoulder, not constantly having to be aware of your surroundings, just in case someone tried to mug you or take advantage of you. But I would say that was part of what I was after. Less crime.

Although this statement refers to Afrikaans identity in a *South African* context, what is important to note is that the issue of South African security only arose when situated in the context of New Zealand's safer environment. That is, in a post-migratory context. The concept of South Africans not understanding freedom was discussed in detail during Tian and Natasha's interview, as well as being compared with New Zealanders' inability to comprehend South Africa's extreme security issues:

> *Tian:* It took me a while to realise what freedom actually is. What it means to have that privilege of not having to worry about someone going to mug you or someone going to try and take advantage of you in some or other way. It's why it'll be very hard to try to explain or try to convince someone that's in South Africa that's never travelled to a country like this. To New Zealand. Try to explain exactly what they're missing out on, you know? What freedom is. Even if you do tell them, it won't make sense to them.
> *Natasha:* And they kinda think you're making up stories. They don't believe that it actually can be like that.
> *Tian:* Yeah.
> *Natasha:* And then you don't understand what you've got here until you go there and that's a huge shock. The first thing I said is "Why are there no cars parked on streets?" You get to his friend's house and you hear unlock, unlock, unlock. You're basically locked in, whereas here we're the opposite. We lock to keep the bad people away, over there you feel like you're locked away because you need to keep safe. So the concept of no bars on windows or no

gates or fences or going to bed and not locking your door. It's just, they can't fathom that. These people are getting carjacked in their driveway or held hostage at night-time.

Tian: And, 100%, everyone in South Africa knows someone who's been a victim of violent crime. You know? Definitely. If not violent then at least mugging or whatever.

Natasha: They have locks on most bedroom doors so you can just allow them to ransack the house but at least you're locked away. You know? And we've got no locks on our bedroom door.

Sherilee noted her initial realisation that there were no bars on the windows in her home as a significant experience for her, as well as indicating the impact it has when travelling back and forth between the two countries:

Kris: How did you feel about going from what it was like in South Africa and then all of sudden New Zealand?

Sherilee: It was weird, it was so weird. I actually distinctly remember the whole process. I think we had four days. I was washing dishes and we lived in [named area] which is quite rural, so there's like green open grass and just absolutely beautiful. And I was washing dishes and I looked up at the window and there was no bars and just had this moment of like "Where am I and what's going on?" You know? I'm in a different part of the world "What's happening?" So, yeah, it was really strange. It took a long time to stop locking my car doors and rolling up my windows when I'm driving by myself and being über-wary when you stop at the traffic light. I don't anymore. Now I just kinda carry on. But I found, with my dad as well, whenever we've been back and come back again, it takes a couple of weeks to lose that complete 'focus' the whole time. That someone's around you. But, yeah, it was just weird. That's probably the thing I remember the most about the first couple of years here, was that day that I had this realisation that there was no bars in front of the windows. It was so weird. So weird.

> *Lachlan:* Course, now I have to remind you to put the damn windows up when you park the car.
> *Sherilee:* Yeah or lock the front door. We often don't do that which is really bad but we don't. It's just, you know, is what it is.

Since immigrating to New Zealand, Sherilee has been back to South Africa twice. Each time, she noticed a return to an intense feeling of security consciousness that remained with her briefly after returning to New Zealand. She particularly talked about needing to know where her children were at all times. This anxiety subsided again a couple of weeks after returning to New Zealand.

Hospitality & Fostering Friendships

A friendly demeanour and kind disposition were positive characteristics of Afrikaners that were mentioned in several interviews. Hospitality also seemed an important aspect of being Afrikaans. This character trait was also experienced by me throughout fieldwork, where I conducted interviews at participants' homes. During these all participants were gracious and aside from giving me their time and accounts of, at times, very personal experiences and emotions, I was also offered water, hot drinks and snacks as well as meals and even a room for the night. Showing more examples of hospitality, Polina and Daniël sent me home with a blister-pack of throat lozenges as it was clear my voice was failing at our first interview. On a couple of occasions, I was picked up from near where I was staying and dropped off at bus and train stations, avoiding the cost and inconvenience of public transport.

Toward the end of the first interview, I sensed that hospitality is important to participants and so I made a point of accepting this hospitality where possible in all subsequent interviews. During coursework, in preparation for postgraduate study, the principal of anthropologists' paramount responsibility being to their research participants (ASAA/NZ, 1992) is often discussed. As postgraduate researchers, we are regularly and wisely instructed to ensure that research participants are at ease and not caused undue stress through the fieldwork process. While I was careful to adhere to this precept, the reverse was also made apparent as it seemed that participants were going out of their way to make *me*, the researcher, feel at ease.

Conversely, when asked about the matter of friendliness and hospitality among New Zealanders, *over*-politeness was described as the cause of unmet expectations regarding relationship-formation. Though it was Polina who brought up the topic, Daniël agreed with her comment:

> *Daniël:* Kiwis, in general, I found [are] very pleasant people, [we] get along with them well.
> *Polina:* I found there's one paradoxical side to Kiwis. They come across as very friendly and open but yet they like to keep their distance. They don't want to let you deep in. You know what I mean? Like, they don't want that deep commitment or deep relationship. They kind of like it on the surface, it's nice and pleasant and not too much effort. You know what I mean?
> *Daniël:* Mmm[33].
> *Polina:* We love Kiwi people, we love being here. But just comparing the cultures, I was really surprised to find that. Because you would think that you would just be buddies with everybody! But it's not like that. Everybody is friendly in greeting but it doesn't mean that they're ready to be your friends, for real. That's the impression I'm getting.
> *Daniël:* Yeah[33].

A similar experience was recounted by Annalie, who advised that new migrants should take a pragmatic and proactive approach toward becoming integrated into New Zealand society:

> *Annalie:* To build a connection with [New Zealanders], you've got to reach out. They're not going to necessarily reach out to you. They don't need you. So you've got to make that effort to reach out. You've got to realise that they don't know how you feel. They haven't walked in your shoes. You've got to [go] out on your own, start joining [in]. Our neighbours here, I haven't been in their house. They don't easily invite you in. So you've got to make it [come] from your side. Yes, you will [become] critical because they are different. They've

[33] During both these responses, Daniël nodded and gestured with hands to emphasise his agreement.

> got different jokes, different way of speaking but the longer you are here and you get to know them, then you see but they're not really that different.

Again, there is a difference between the study's older participants and the younger generation. Neither Sherilee nor Tian mentioned anything about this misunderstanding of hospitality and friendship, only citing that New Zealanders are very "open" people, with particular emphasis on openness to migrants. Daniël, however, also stated that his job as pastor of a church, as well as his age, may have impacted on his ability to make friends quickly:

> *Daniël:* It might also be because of our position in the community. You know? As a pastor, there's almost a, um, a respectful...
> *Polina:* Distance.
> *Daniël:* ...friendliness and yet distance, you know?
> *Kris:* Some people are apprehensive?
> *Daniël:* I think so. I mean, we, if you look at [friends' names], if we had stayed in our previous home, that was a deep and still is a fairly good friendship that we have. So it can do that as well, a little bit. But I think in general, I have not found many rude Kiwis. I have not. They're all friendly.
> *Polina:* Right.
> *Daniël:* They're all respectfully friendly to you. And helpful. But, yeah it takes a while to actually build a close relationship with people. And it could also be because of our age. Let's be honest, because at our age, it is you, your family and your child and your job. So it's not like when you're eighteen, nineteen or twenty where friendships happen, you know? So that might also be a factor that plays but, yeah, I think there is a definite difference between Kiwis and Germans and South Africans in that sense. It is different.

It is possible, though not specifically mentioned by participants during interviews, that overly polite New Zealanders referred to by Polina and Annalie, may adversely react to South African directness in speech (discussed in the following section), holding back on forming

relationships. Until more is known about the South African with whom they are speaking, they may potentially come across as somewhat rude, or as Annalie says, “arrogant”.

As a sometimes ‘overly polite’ New Zealander who regularly interacts with Afrikaners, I personally once encountered this very issue. Some time ago, having just met an Afrikaans couple new to our area, my wife and I invited them to our home for a Sunday afternoon braai. As our wives were busy preparing salads and other side dishes in the kitchen and our children ran around our lawn, I tended the braai, while chatting with the husband. Discussing the braai itself he, very casually, mentions that I’m not actually cooking on a braai at all but an American imitation of a ‘real’ braai[34], which should actually be a converted oil drum, complete with hinged lid and perched atop a makeshift A-frame.

While not going so far as to cause offense (we have become good friends), my friend’s choice of discussion topic was not what I would normally encounter when speaking with people who were raised largely in New Zealand’s society. As such, the contrast in cross-cultural discourse felt pronounced. This is more fully discussed in the following section.

Directness of Speech, Tactlessness & Competition

Having been asked what they think New Zealanders think of Afrikaans-speakers, the older participants referred to the directness of South African style of communication. Daniel saw this as something that could be both positive and negative.

> *Daniël:* I think South Africans, as far as I know, are seen as people who do not beat around the bush, you know? They're straight talkers. Sometimes they could be perceived as a little bit too narrow [minded]. I think that's definitely the case. Many Kiwis told me that's how South Africans are and I guess they're right. We are people who want to say things the way we perceive them to be and “You deal with the consequences.” But I think the English influence in New Zealand is more the reserved “I have my opinion but I'm too polite to hurt you with my opinion.” Kind of thing. I think that's the cultural difference.

[34] I was using a round, kettle-type charcoal barbecue.

Kris: So you're meaning New Zealanders sometimes view Afrikaans-speakers as tactless?
Daniël: Yeah. I think so. Yeah.
Kris: Do you consider that to be a negative or a positive aspect about Afrikaans-speakers?
Daniël: It can be both, obviously. Forgive me for using the term but if someone is stupid and tactless, it's a bad thing. But if someone is willing to speak the truth when necessary and nobody else wants to, that can be a good thing. And I think South Africans are renowned for speaking their mind and so it depends whether it's a good or a bad motive behind it. I personally think it's a good thing to be able to say something clear and direct instead of not saying it and the relationship is constantly on edge because you never know where you stand with the person. But I think when South Africans, or when I, engage with Kiwis, they actually appreciate it. It's refreshing to them. I might be wrong, they might be saying something totally different. But the ones that I meet in church, at least [do]. I actually had a conversation with a man today about the same thing and he said, "I actually do appreciate the fact that you speak your mind 'cos then I actually know what you're thinking." So it can be a positive thing. Most of the time it would be but it can also be negative.

Annalie situated this identity trait in a context of competitiveness, indicating that the parameters regarding gaining future employment, stemming from an awareness of the importance of social class, means that direct speech is necessary, perhaps simply for reasons of efficiency:

Annalie: I think [New Zealanders] could see [South Africans] as competitive and arrogant because of the way they speak. South Africans can be very straight forward but not in a mean and nasty way. If someone walks in here and I don't like her dress, I wouldn't tell her I don't like her dress but I'm not going to say "Oh, you've got a nice dress on." We would say "It's not really my taste." You know? Because in our school class system, you always get graded as to where you are, academically. You get a percentage. “I'm standing

> first [in my class]", "second" and so on. Very competitive. There's not this mediocre thing here, where you get judged by "Okay, you've done well for your ability." Less competitive. So we can be very competitive. I would say, arrogant. I think it comes to class consciousness because in South Africa it's so important what class you are. New Zealander[s] are happy to work 'til four or five, four-thirty or five 'o clock, go home, and have a little break. Whereas in South Africa[35], we're competitive, because you have to be competitive so you can get a job. We're from a third world country, [we have to] study, to get a job, to make a living.

In the quotes above, contextualised by the final remark made by Annalie, class consciousness is most evident ("…it's so important what class you are."). Sherilee, one of the younger participants, did not refer to South Africans as tactless, arrogant or even just as 'straight talkers', she did, however, describe them as having this class conscious, society-aware disposition. The absence of any mention of directness or straight-talking from younger participants may indicate that this too is changing in South Africa. Alternatively, it also could indicate a change in the dominant Afrikaans worldview as younger, more adaptable or easily influenced South African is removed from the previous social field of their prior life in their home country.

In contrast to the directness of South Africans, Annalie also spoke about New Zealanders being reluctant to speak up about important issues, saying "I often say to [Peter] 'If the council does something that you don't like, say! Phone our councillor!' We feel New Zealanders don't speak up." Daniël and Polina also discussed this from alternative perspective in terms of implementing ideas at their church:

> *Polina:* The dynamics of church life is different to what we experienced in other countries. The people are more relaxed and more open-minded and you don't feel like you're hitting barriers all the time. You know? Like, people don't question everything you do. They go ahead and they support you and

[35] Later, Annalie indicated that it was common to go home for dinner and then return to one's work that same evening. No other participant mentioned this so it may have been specific to Annalie's particular situation.

> they want to do it and want to do new stuff. Whereas in Germany, very often, you felt like you got to present the whole thesis before they accept the idea. Or they approve it or they disapprove it but you have to kinda of defend every step of the way, what you're doing and why you're doing it. Whereas here, you suggest and people [are] kind of more open-minded, I would say. If they don't like it, they will say but if they like it, they're happy to support you, they will not be expecting [a] long explanation.
> *Daniël:* I actually think most of the people who would question are not Kiwis.
> *Polina:* Yeah.
> *Daniël:* Kiwis don't openly question. It's more like "Um, yeah okay."
> *Polina:* "Let's try it. She'll be fine[36]."
> *Daniël:* Yeah, 'she'll be fine' attitude. It's mostly the Europeans, you know? The Dutch and some of the other cultures, they would question more.

As with security awareness, directness of speech arose only out of comparative discussions and observations with New Zealanders, creating an awareness of an ethnic boundary is consistent with Barth's (1969) original concept. Both security awareness and directness of speech are matters that are likely derived from a South African context, yet they were only made apparent to Afrikaners upon migration.

About New Zealanders

Having noted quite a bit of spontaneous comparison from participants throughout interviews, during the final set of interviews, I asked each participant to describe a "typical New Zealander". This appeared to be a difficult question for participants to answer, the reason most often cited being that New Zealanders are a very diverse group of people. When asked, Tian laughed, exclaiming "Typical? Typical Kiwi?" and then stated "It's hard for me to put people in these boxes, man. 'Cos I don't like to think of people that way, you know?" Encouraged by his wife, however, he continued:

[36] This is a reference to the common New Zealand saying, "She'll be right", meaning that if any problems do arise, something can be done about it to make the idea work nonetheless. It can often indicate a job that has had to have been carried out without the correct equipment or understanding to complete it properly.

> I guess, well, Kiwis in Wellington also [are] very open people, very accepting. I mean, it's hard because you can't say that about everyone. 'Cos an asshole's going to be an asshole, it doesn't matter if he's a Kiwi or South African. Well, that's pretty much it, I mean, as far as it goes.

Daniël, Tian and Sherilee all described New Zealanders in general as warm, friendly and fairly diverse. Although a lot of Annalie's description throughout both interview sets indicates that she thinks of New Zealanders as quite laid back and unimpressed by formality, her answer to this specific question differed from the other participants, both in terms of descriptive content and complexity as well as having made comparison back to South Africans, which Daniël, Sherilee and Tian did not do in direct response to the question:

> They work from eight to four-thirty and go home. It's normal to go home at four-thirty, where in South Africa, you stay and stay, you know? And then [South African] people would go back to the office, maybe on a Saturday. Where in New Zealand "Oh, no it's Saturday, we love our sport on a Saturday." I have been told that New Zealand is a secular society. Where it's not accepted that you go to church on a Sunday. New Zealanders love to travel overseas and to tell you about their travels overseas. I find South Africans can't boast about it. [New Zealanders] like their fishing and their summer holidays and their boats and what they call their summer holidays and their beach holidays. I long to see the real beach holidays that I'm used to. Where it's just hot every day and you get up and you put your, what we call, bathing costume on and you go to the beach for the day. In New Zealand, because the sun is different, you can't really go to the beach for the day because you burn. And people go to the beach when it's not beach weather. Which I find also difficult. New Zealanders like to get together with their school friends or make their contacts because it's a small country where school friends still live in the same district where they grew up. So they've got that contact all the time.

Annalie continued by indicating that New Zealanders don't have such a heavy focus on class consciousness as South Africans do:

> …South Africa is very class conscious. It's very important where your house is, what car you drive and you could see [new South African immigrants] coming in. And, yes, for them to come to New Zealand, you've got to go a few steps down. ‘Cos you start again, financially. And for a New Zealander, it doesn't matter if you’ve got a house at the Mount or in Taupo. You don't have to boast about that. Or what car you drive, it's not important.

It is also important, I believe, to be aware of the geographic areas where the descriptions are derived from. Sherilee and Daniël’s idea of the New Zealander would have been primarily formed in Albany (North Auckland), and perhaps the central business district. Annalie and Tian’s perceptions would have initially formed in Wellington City, as well as the Northern suburbs, with Annalie’s further informed by Palmerston North. The first two regions, Auckland and Wellington, are among New Zealand’s most culturally diverse (StatsNZ, 2013).

Conclusion

When asked directly, all participants found articulating their own identities challenging. Nonetheless, this was expressed in a variety of ways when comparisons were made to Afrikaners who continue to live in South Africa, ‘other’ South Africans who live in New Zealand but continue to associate most often with fellow South Africans, and New Zealand’s diverse society as a whole.

In this chapter, we see most clearly Afrikaans migrants’ ethnic boundaries being created and modified. Factors that fostered these boundaries largely focused on Afrikaners’ adjustment to life in New Zealand; a security consciousness which relaxed upon migrating but that often revealed itself again on return trips to South Africa; a hospitable constitution; a direct manner of speaking and the effort and strategies required to form relationships in New Zealand.

Finally, a description of New Zealanders revealed some participants’ self-classification as New Zealanders themselves (while still remaining Afrikaans), as in the case of Daniël, who said he will not vote as a “South African in New Zealand” but that he will vote for his

country, New Zealand. Overall, Afrikaners appear to have thrived in the New Zealand social landscape with its acceptance of diverse groups of people. The accounts offered by participants showed a marked difference from some posts and comments across South African New Zealand-based social media groups. This may indicate a variation in experience between Afrikaners who choose to actively integrate into New Zealand society and those who prefer to remain closer to their South African compatriots, such as in residential communities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has explored Afrikaans identity from the perspective of Afrikaners themselves, taking into account experiential, cognitive and socio-cultural factors, aided by their non-Afrikaans partners. Initially, I began this research as a way to explore the relationship between the academic material I had been reading on Afrikaner identity and the first-hand experience and conversations I had been having with the people I met, socially through my wife's Afrikaans family. The two accounts seemed contradictory and not contributing to a cohesive story as one might expect. Although I realised the diversity present in a complex issue such as cultural identity might have been the cause, something was missing from the published narrative. In order to examine this discord, I needed to take a detailed look at the subject of Afrikaans identity by designing research that took multiple views of Afrikaans identity, thus gaining depth of understanding.

Reflection on the Study's Research Design

The understanding I was looking for meant removing my own preconceptions, as much as possible, and allowing the study's participants to speak freely and tell their own story and the story of their community. While I had found a method of intentional interviewing, the *biographic narrative interview method* developed by Wengraf (2017), it was too rigid in its application. I felt that this rigidity does not factor in people's interweaving manner of speaking. By forcing the participant, and myself, to conform to that set of 'rules', I would be negating the primary cause for employing such a method: that the participant be free to highlight and elaborate that which he or she feels is most important. I settled on a modified, more relaxed, form of the same method which gave rise to nuanced narratives, allowed the secondary, non-Afrikaans participant entry into the conversation, and assisted me in relinquishing control over the interview and allowed the participant to recount the information that he or she felt was most important.

I also developed a dual-participant model of interview with the intention that non-South African partners of Afrikaners would have noticed minute, seemingly insignificant factors of culture that the Afrikaner him or herself may not have thought to mention. While the

expected result was less pronounced than I had hoped, the non-South African tended to aid the Afrikaner in relating their accounts. The partner often reminded the Afrikaner to add in this-or-that piece of information or simply encouraged them to continue their account when they otherwise would have stopped. This proved very beneficial to the study's findings and I am thankful for the partners' involvement in this study.

In hindsight, I was pleased with the modified form of BNIM used and felt the method worked in precisely the manner I had hoped. Regarding the dual-participant method, however, it became apparent that restricting participants to a demographic that had married outside of the community meant that I was researching members of the Afrikaans community who may hold a particular worldview. As discussed in the previous chapter, there appears to be an ethnic split, described by participants, within the ethnic group of Afrikaners living in New Zealand. This split creates a variation of identities under the umbrella term "migrant Afrikaner". A possible extension to this research could be through creating a similar study, including participants who may hold other worldviews. Although targeting a people group based on a prevalent worldview may seem problematic, it could be done by positioning the study in an established South African-dominated community, such as Torbay in North Auckland, and including those who have Afrikaner partners.

Finally, regarding the subject of apartheid, as mentioned in the above section, it was my intention to carry out this research without imposing any preconceived ideas about how any political views impact on Afrikaner identity. The interview method proved to be successful in this respect as well. I felt that my own ideas about identity and apartheid neither impacted on the findings, nor did I feel that the lack of mention throughout interviews was a matter of "subject skirting" by Afrikaners themselves. Although it is an important matter in considering Afrikaans history and worldview, it appears that apartheid may be concerningly over-emphasised in literature on Afrikaner identity. This study's findings support that of Blaser's (2012), who proposed that researchers must avoid using apartheid as the primary indicator of an Afrikaans-speakers' identity.

Throughout the thesis, I may appear to divert slightly from Barth in terms of cultural content as an important descriptor of a community. Barth (1969) defines 'cultural contents' as,

> …the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form, or general style of life, and […] basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged. (p.14)

Barth (1969, p.14) indicates that cultural content cannot be the only description we offer of a certain ethnic group and while my study's findings are in accord with this, cultural content is still regarded as important to highlight as the content itself leads to boundary markers and signposts of difference from other peoples. Yet absolute adherence to the characteristics of Afrikaners is not what makes one Afrikaans. Rather than being a checklist of identity values, characteristics include variation and nuance which act in contrast to other cultures within their new host country. However, my diversion regarding this factor is a brief one, as Barth (1994, p.12) himself states that his concept is constructivist in nature, propagated by those who possess the identity, rather than those who study them. The cultural content I have discussed was raised by the study's participants themselves and thus the study becomes realigned with Barth's discussion.

One example from my study is that, in the context of New Zealand's relatively secular society, Afrikaners are self-described as devout Calvinist Christians. Yet, of this study's participants, one is a Reformed Baptist pastor, another non-denominational, another believes in the Christian faith but does not attend church and another is an atheist. However, all defined the typical Afrikaner as a protestant Christian while maintaining their own identity as Afrikaners. This illustrates the complexity of cultural content and how they help create – yet not entirely comprise – ethnic identity. Wallman, who extended the ideas of Barth in *Ethnicity at Work* (1979), further clarifies this point writing, "ethnicity is the process by which 'their' difference is used to enhance the sense of 'us' for purposes of organisation or identification" (Wallman, 1979, p.3). In the context of my study, New Zealand's society ("their") being more secular than Afrikaans society in South Africa ("us") creates a contrast (whether the *individual* is religious or not) and therefore an ethnic boundary, forging a key characteristic for ethnic identity.

Afrikaner Identity

It is certainly true that Afrikaans identity, particularly in New Zealand's diverse socio-cultural context, is a complex entity. Afrikaner identity is often referred to as being in a 'crisis' state in democratic South Africa, as discussed in studies by Alberts (2012), Blaser & van der Westhuizen (2012), Blaser (2012), Cloete (1992), Korf & Malan (2002), Marx (2012) and Vestergaard (2000) but what does this mean for the Afrikaans community in New Zealand? How do Afrikaners self-identify post-migration?

The first characteristic of Afrikaners raised by participants is a common European heritage, specifically from the Dutch, French and/or German origin, often demonstrated through one's surname. One participant, whose grandfather had immigrated to South Africa from Lithuania, did not have a recognisably Afrikaans surname and this appeared to have caused some personal discomfort regarding his identity as part of the Afrikaans community. This, however, did not mean that he was excluded from the community, indicating that there is a blurring between his personally felt affiliation with the community but, intellectually, the connection to his Afrikaansness remains sound. More obviously recognisable and common Afrikaner surnames appeared to have more 'value' for Afrikaans identity than less common or 'new' surnames, such as Daniël's. This, in turn, interlinks with patrilineally-dominant social conservatism, as Daniël says that "the males carry the surname" and that, had he had a more a prominently Afrikaans surname, "there would have been an obviously stronger link" to Afrikaans heritage and subsequent claim on ethnic identity.

The second characteristic brought to my attention is a Protestant Christian faith, more specifically being a part of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). This characteristic was the most surprising of all as not one of the participants practiced this faith. The elder two participants practiced an alternative Protestant faith, another couldn't find a denomination that aligned with her beliefs and one is an atheist. Nonetheless, all participants unanimously described Afrikaners as attending the NGK, or at least a Christian church in some form. Afrikaner faith was at times, however, described as being "nominal", citing historical employment applications where one was required to state their faith in order to become successful.

The third characteristic of the Afrikaner representation is speaking the Afrikaans language. This appeared to be one of the most defining factors in determining an Afrikaner's identity. So much so that participants, in their description of this quality, called it "obvious" and quickly moved on. However, far from being unimportant, participants spoke of language as a key distinguishing factor in the Afrikaner worldview, contrasting English-speaking South Africans with those who speak Afrikaans. The reaction to a loss of Afrikaans language among Afrikaans-speakers indicates that great importance is placed on language-retention.

Linked to language, storytelling was an aspect of being Afrikaans that some participants said they missed after arriving in New Zealand. Storytelling appears to link Afrikaners together via forms of communication and a shared heritage, perhaps echoing a history of campfire banter and camaraderie during the era of the Voortrekker. Today, the practice continues in pop-media and informal social settings. This would also be an interesting topic for further study, as little research seems to have been carried out on this aspect of their practice.

Finally, the fourth characteristic was described as social conservatism. This manifested most clearly in terms of respect towards those in authority, such as one's elders, and in traditional gender roles. Of all the characteristics mentioned by participants, this appeared to be the most likely to be practiced by Afrikaners. The elder Afrikaner participants expected a certain degree of respect, at least from their children, as well as recounting their younger years where they exhibited traditionally respectful behaviour. The younger participants also said they tended to speak to their elders respectfully and indicated they would continue to do so. This caused some discomfort in a liberal context, particularly for non-South African-born partners, who had been raised in a more liberal environment.

This representation of Afrikaners, however, would in no way be an appropriate description for any one of the study's participants. Rather it is the model which they appear to use to help modify and maintain ethnic boundaries and that informs participants' experiences in New Zealand. It guides them in becoming the people they are today, members of the broader Afrikaner community in New Zealand.

Ethnic boundaries, for this study's Afrikaans participants, may be modified due to two influences: other Afrikaners and wider New Zealand society. Modification of boundaries in relation to other Afrikaners depend mainly on the community's willingness to integrate and, perhaps assimilate, into New Zealand's diverse society. All of the participants have made active attempts to integrate with other ethnic groups, shying away from separate and semi-closed communities.

Upon interacting with other peoples in New Zealand, however, contesting boundaries of being Afrikaans becomes far more complex, with areas such as security consciousness, hospitality and the manner of communication being navigated.

National similarities, particularly in sport and outdoor-based activities, was often seen as a unifying agent, making New Zealand more accessible to Afrikaans migrants. However, New Zealand's more open, or liberal, society was also described by one participant, Annalie, as beneficial for her son's teenage development. She described him as "refined", musical and not at all the stereotypical rugby-playing South African boy, saying that he fit into New Zealand society better than the other members of her immigrated family.

The other common experiences across participants were of security awareness, in South Africa, and then a relaxation from this anxiety upon arriving in New Zealand. An assumption that New Zealanders may perceive them as too direct and that this may impact on their ability to form new friendship bonds upon immigrating to New Zealand was also mentioned. The main uniting factor here across all participants is that a conscious mindset of integration into New Zealand society is paramount for a South African migrant's success.

As explained in chapter two, it is very well documented (Alberts, 2012; Blaser, T.M., van der Westhuizen, 2012; Blaser, 2012; Cloete, 1992; Korf & Malan, 2002; Marx, 2012; Vestergaard, 2000) that Afrikaner identity was in a state of flux after the end of the apartheid regime. Both Sherilee and Tian were raised in households that were "typically" Afrikaans, both were very young at the fall of apartheid and both emigrated from South Africa relatively early in their working adulthood. The social liberalisation that Sherilee and Tian have experienced, and are continuing to experience today, may be an effect of this identity flux,

allowing their worldview, which is already more 'liberal' compared to their older compatriots, to be further cultivated in an even more liberal society.

Final Reflection

Originally, this study – more specifically, the study's interviews – began as a source of anxiety for me. As an acute introvert, I mulled far too deeply on the interview process, thinking over every conceivable (negative) outcome and generally worrying how my social ineptitude might impact the data collection process. Assuming my mode of data collection would at least cover most of my inevitable foibles, I finally resolved to just forge ahead in spite of everything that could, should and would go wrong. I quickly found my concern to be unfounded, but it had little to do with my own merits. Initially beginning as a way for me to further connect with my wife and explore her heritage and that of our children, this research had an effect of reinforcing my love for, and appreciation of, the Afrikaans people. The hospitality and willingness of the participants involved in this study, both Afrikaners and their partners, was pleasantly surprising and, through this, I have learned more not only about Afrikaner identity in New Zealand, but also, about being an anthropologist.

Doing anthropology, I have found, does not mean conforming to a set of rules or certain ways of doing things. Rather, it is a matter of adaptation to one's environment – Darwinian academics, perhaps? – whereby the anthropologist enters the field and quickly moulds him or herself to add on necessary characteristics and shed those that are unsuitable to the social field. In the same way, drawing on Barth's theory, I have found that Afrikaans migrants adapt to suit new environments, shedding those characteristics that have become a liability in New Zealand, nurturing those of personal value and accumulating those which are seen as beneficial.

Conclusion

Afrikaner identity could be viewed as merely a product of its history but it is more than that. For Afrikaner identity in a diasporic context, rather than being in a state of crisis, the outlook seems far more positive. Perhaps it is rather in a state of rebirth in terms of a significant contestation of traditional ethnic boundaries and navigation of new ones. Each participant in this study identified with the Afrikaans community, some with great pride but none with

condemnation. Rather, they have taken the opportunity, in their new host country, to assertively reinvent their being.

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Appendix A (Advertisement Poster)

Appendix B (‘Kiwi-Brokkies’ Article)

Algemene nuusbrokkies

Terug na bo...

Het jy ‘n lewensmaat wat nie Afrikaans of Suid-Afrikaans is nie?

Kiwi-navorser nooi jou uit om deel te neem aan sy volkekunde-studie

Kiwi Kris Finlayson en sy “mooi soos altyd” Afrikaanse vrou. Hy wil meer weet oor kultuurverskille leer.

Artikel op uitnodiging van Kiwi-Brokkies geskryf deur Kris Finlayson, volkekundige navorser by Massey University.

Een aand, net meer as 'n dekade gelede, het my Afrikaanse Namibiese meisie my ge-SMS (ge-teks, in Suider-Afrikaanse Nieu-Seelandse taal): “I’ll meet you at the bus stop **just now**”. Na drie busse het sy uiteindelik aangekom, mooi soos altyd, effens verbaas op my vraende en verergde gesigsuitdrukking. Dit is nie die eerste oortreding wat daai ‘onskuldige’ uitdrukking "just now" gepleeg het nie (hoewel ek bly is om te sê dit het my nie verhinder om met haar te trou nie!)

Deur die jare van ons verhouding het ek die klein verskille tussen my vrou se wêreldbeskouing en my eie raakgesien. Ek het 'n paar verskille gevind wat interessante ondervindings ingehou het en wat ek verder wil verken. Braai-kant babbel oor die eienaardighede van Suid-Afrikaanse woorde en tipiese gesegdes kom gereeld voor. Lesers het seker self 'n storie of twee gehoor oor die misverstande en gevolge van sulke terme. Hierdie en soortgelyke insidente het my gelei in die rigting van interessante volkekundige (antropologiese) navorsing by die Massey Universiteit.

Wie is die Afrikaner? Wat dink hulle van die lewe, hier in Nieu-Seeland en in hul geboortelande Suid-Afrika en Namibië? Waarom is dit so dat Nieu-Seeland se 2013-sensus 'n massiewe 27,387 mense aandui wat die Afrikaanse taal praat, maar minder as 1,300 het hulself as 'Afrikaner' opgegee?

Ek hoop om hierdie tergende vrae in my navorsing oor die kollektiewe Afrikaanse identiteit beantwoord te kry. Daar is baie studies oor die Afrikaner en selfs oor die inheemse Afrikaanssprekendes, maar wat nog nie veel aangespreek is nie, is die Afrikaanse immigrante se identiteit en selfbeeld hier in Nieu-Seeland.

Neem deel aan die navorsingsprojek

Hiermee nooi ek enige Afrikaanssprekende immigrant in Nieu-Seeland wat ‘n lewensmaat het wat nie in Suider-Afrika grootgeword het nie uit om aan my navorsingsprojek deel te neem. Dink aan soortgelyke insidentjies en kultuurverskille tussen julle want ek sal dit graag ‘n bietjie dieper wil bekyk. Wat ek hoop om op hierdie manier uit te vind, is om verskillende perspektiewe op Afrikaner-selfbeeld te ontgin. 'n Mens se lewensmaat is die beste geplaas om klein kultuurverskille op te let. Dit is die kleinighede en die klein eienaardighede wat baie help om ‘n gemeenskap te definieer.

So, as jy 'n Afrikaner of Afrikaanssprekende is wat na Nieu-Seeland geëmigreer het en 'n lewensmaat het wat buite Suid-Afrika of Namibië gebore is (hoef nie ‘n Kiwi te wees nie) kontak my asseblief om aan hierdie navorsing deel te neem. Dit behels deelname aan ‘n paar besprekings rondom jou en jou lewe hier en in Suid Afrika.

Unpublished English Translation

One night, just over a decade ago, my Afrikaans girlfriend SMS texted me “I’ll meet you at the bus stop just now.” Three bus passes later and she turns up, beautiful as always, somewhat confused at the quizzical and displeased look on my face. This is not the first offense that the tiny little South African phrase, “just now”, has committed (though I’m pleased to say it didn’t stop me from marrying her).

Through the years of our relationship, I have picked up on the disparities between my wife’s worldview and my own and found minor differences to hold interesting accounts which I would like to explore further. Indeed, braai-side banter on the peculiarities of South African phrases are a common occurrence and you no doubt have heard a story or two yourself on the misunderstandings or consequences of such terms. Events such as the bus-stop account are what lead me into research with Massey University’s anthropology department.

Who is the Afrikaner? What do they think about life, both here and in South Africa? Why is it that in New Zealand’s 2013 census, a massive 27,387 people stated they speak the Afrikaans language yet less than 1,300 referred to themselves as an ‘Afrikaner’? These are the questions I hope to answer in my upcoming research on collective Afrikaans identity. Much has been studied about the Afrikaner and native Afrikaans-speakers but what has not yet been addressed is immigrant Afrikaans identity and self-perception.

In light of similar personal anecdotal reflections to the one above, I will speak with Afrikaans-speaking immigrants in New Zealand who have partners who did *not* grow up in South Africa. What I hope to achieve in this way is a multitude of perspectives on Afrikaner self-perception. One’s partner is generally the closest person in one’s life and so would likely catch any particulars that may be considered mundane or unnecessary to note but are distinctive from other cultures. It is these minutiae, those small peculiarities, that help to define a community.

If you are an Afrikaner who has immigrated to New Zealand and have a non-South African born partner, please contact me to take part in this research (which largely consists of a couple of discussions around you and your life, both here and in South Africa). Please note that your partner need not be a New Zealander, just not having grown up alongside Afrikaner culture in South Africa.

Appendix C (Info Sheet)

Wie is ek?: A study of Afrikaner immigrants in New Zealand

Information Sheet

Study Introduction

I invite you to take part in this research, to help further the understanding of Afrikaners as a unique, distinct and positive member of the multi-ethnic family of New Zealand.

Wie is ek?: A study of Afrikaner immigrants in New Zealand is an anthropological study to be carried out by Kris Finlayson under the supervision of Dr. Robyn Andrews and Dr. Graeme MacRae of Massey University's School of People, Environment and Planning. The research inquires as to the self-perception of Afrikaner immigrants to New Zealand, considering both their cultural upbringing in Southern Africa juxtaposed with their new life in New Zealand. The research takes a novel approach at methodology, gaining data through conversation with Afrikaners as well as non-South African partners of Afrikaners. Those in a close relationship with Afrikaners will be aware of cultural minutiae that may seem insignificant to the Afrikaner themselves but are of some importance when looking at the culture from an outside perspective.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

I plan to speak with three couples (six individuals), with each couple consisting of one Afrikaner, who was raised in South Africa, and one non-South African. The non-South African partner need not be a New Zealander, the only requirement being that he/she did not have an upbringing with a close relationship to the Afrikaner community in South Africa. The relationship status requirements of the participant selection for the study will naturally make teenagers exempt but I will not be able to accept anyone younger than 16 years old due to ethical considerations. Preference will be given to those in the Auckland area and north, simply for ease of meeting.

NB: The term "Afrikaner" is often defined differently by different people, even within the Afrikaner or Afrikaans-speaking community. The study will use the term somewhat arbitrarily to denote anyone who was raised speaking Afrikaans and identifies themselves either as an "Afrikaner" or as an "Afrikaans-language speaker, in the natural".

Project Procedures

There will be two informal interviews in the form of a relaxed conversation. These can be organized to suit the participants' schedule. Each interview should not take longer than two to three hours. Depending on how the study goes, it may be beneficial to speak with participants individually and/or all couples together in a group settings, perhaps in a social braai-type setting. If the latter is the case, then this will likely take the place of the second set of interviews, to minimize disruption to participants' personal schedules.

Data Management

Once the interview has taken place, the audio will be transcribed by myself. All hardcopy data will be stored in a digitally encrypted safe located at my home and electronic data will be stored in a password-protected computer. I will offer participants a copy of their transcripts which they are welcome to edit, make omission requests or add further comment on what was said – within two weeks of receiving. Steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality of identity for all participants, including the use of pseudonyms.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If do you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw as a participant at any time before the end of the study;*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.*

Project Contacts

Should you have any questions or concerns about the study please contact either myself or one of my research supervisors using the details below:

- Kris Finlayson: kfresearch.afrikaans@gmail.com or [redacted] (Northland)
- Dr. Robyn Andrews: R.Andrews@massey.ac.nz or 06 350 5799 ex.83653 (Palmerston North)
- Dr. Graeme MacRae: G.S.Macrae@massey.ac.nz or 09 414 0800 ex. 43474 (Auckland)

Statement of Ethics

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 ex. 86015, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix D (Demographic Questionnaire)

Wie is ek?: A study of Afrikaner immigrants in New Zealand

Initial Participant Questionnaire

Native Afrikaans-speaking Partner (Name): _____

Gender Male Female

Year born _____

In what town/city do you currently live? _____

Year emigrated from South Africa _____

Year immigrated to New Zealand _____ Same as above

Did you meet your current partner in

southern Africa or New Zealand? SA NZ

Non-native Afrikaans-speaking Partner (Name): _____

Gender Male Female

Year born _____

Have you been to South Africa? Yes No

If so, how long did you stay? _____

Do you speak Afrikaans as a second language?* Yes No

If so, what is your command of the language? Fluent Moderate

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the questionnaire, the information sheet or the research project in general.
Please be aware that both partners will to be present for interviews.

* Please note: interviews and communication will take place mainly in English (except where Afrikaans is necessary; for example, common words and phrases).

Appendix E (Consent Form)

Wie is ek?: A study of Afrikaner immigrants in New Zealand

Participants Consent Form - Individual

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

Appendix F (*Untitled* by Cecilia Steinberg)

Untitled poem by Cecilia Steinberg (2016), posted on Facebook. Italics and translation author's own. Used with permission.

Afrikaanse kinders verjaar nie	Afrikaans kids don't celebrate *verjaarsdae*
meer nie, maar het *birthdays*	anymore, they have birthdays
Waar hulle *cupcakes* eet	Where they eat cupcakes
Nie kolwyntjies nie	Not *kolwyntjies*
Hulle gly nie meer af van die klimraam se glyplank nie	They don't *gly* from *klimraam se glyplank* anymore
Hulle slide op die slide van die *junglegym*	They slide down the slide of a junglegym
Hulle spring nie, maar *jump*	They don't *spring*, they jump
En *swing* in plaas van swaai	And swing in place of *swaai*
As iemand 'n grappie maak is dit 'n *joke*	If someone makes a *grappie*, it's a joke.
Hulle glimlag nie- maar *smile*	No-one has a *glimlag*, instead a smile
Hulle eet nie meer springmielies nie,	They don't eat *springmielies* anymore
Maar *popcorn*. Veral as hulle *movies* kyk.	But popcorn. Especially if watching movies.
Wie kyk dan nog stories?	Who still watches *stories* then?
Vir ontbyt is *toast* 'n gunsteling	For breakfast, toast is a favourite
Niemand eet roosterbrood nie	No one eats *roosterbrood* anymore
Afrikaanse kinders speel nie meer by maats nie.	Afrikaans kids no longer play by *maats*
Daar word ge*playdate*	Now there are *ge*-playdate
En gespeel met *make-up*	And playing with make-up
want wie dra dan grimering?	'cos who wears *grimering*?
Hulle wil *facepaint* hê soos *superheros*	They want facepaint to play superheros
Nie gesigverf van superhelde nie	Not *gesigverf van superhelde*
Dis *craft*	Craft
Nie kunsvlyt nie	Not *kunsvlyt*
Juffrou het 'n *stapler* – nie 'n krammasjientjie nie	The teacher has a stapler – not a *krammasjientjie*
En *glitter* is aan die orde van die dag	And glitter is the order of the day

Definitief nie blinkertjies nie	Definitely not *blinkertjies*
In die kerk	In church
Word daar *testimony* ge*witness* ge*journey*	There are testimonies *ge*-witness *ge*-journey
ge*challenge* ge*worship accountability* gevra	*ge*-challenge *ge*-worship accountability
Nie getuig gereis uitgedaag	No longer any *getuig gereis uitgedaag*
aanbid rekenskap van gegee nie.	*aanbid rekenskap*
Alles is *awesome*	Everything is awesome
Niks is asemrowend nie	Nothing is *asemrowend*
Op kampus word daar vuisgeslaan oor	On campus, there are fistfights over
Afrikaans	Afrikaans
Sê een student	Says a student
Actually	Actually
Was dit nogals *scary*	It was quite scary
Want niks is meer vreesaanjaend nie	‘Cos nothing is *vreesaanjaend* anymore

Appendix G (*Afrikaans Sal Bly* by Elandré Schwartz)

Afrikaans Sal Bly by Elandré Schwartz. Lyrics sourced from MetroLyrics (n.d.). Translation author's own.

Hoe sou dit wees as jy kon wees wie jy is?	How would it be if you could be who you are?
As jy kon leef sonder vrees in jou hart.	If you could live without fear in your heart.
Sou jy kan trots wees op Ingrid en Antjie se werk?	Would you be proud of Ingrid and Antjie's[37] work?
Sou jy die kleur van jou vel net 'n klein deel vertel van wie jy is?	Would you tell the colour of your skin just a small part of who you are?
Wat as ek sê daar is meer as bloed in jou hart?	What if I say there is more than blood in your heart?
Wat as ek sê daar is plek vir my en jou in ons land?	What if I say there is place for you and me in our land?
Sou jy my glo as ek sê ons moet veg vir dit wat ons een maak?	Would you believe me if I say we must fight for what makes us one?
Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,	Afrikaans you're more than a language,
Jy's wat ons laat sin maak.	You're what makes us make sense.
Sal jy jou oë [ontsluit] vir wat om ons aangaan?	Will you unlock your eyes to what goes on around us?
Sal jy as die jeug bou en laat voortgaan?	Will you build the youth and carry on?
Sal jy uit Psalms ons land weer as almal s'n erken?	Will you recognise our land from Psalms again as everyone else does?
Sal jy saam ons bid dat Hy ons land sal seën?	Will you pray with us that He will bless our land?
Wat as ek sê daar is meer as bloed in jou hart?	What if I say there is more than blood in your heart?

[37] This is likely referring to Ingrid Jonker and Antjie Krog, two very well-known Afrikaans literary writers.

Wat as ek sê daar is plek vir my en jou in ons land?
Sou jy my glo as ek sê ons moet veg vir dit wat ons een maak?
Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,
Jy's wat ons laat saak maak.

Ons kan beter wees verseker,
Ons almal smag na eenheid in ons land.
Wat jy soek, sal jy kry.
Afrikaans sal bly.

Wat as ek sê daar is meer as bloed in jou hart?
Wat as ek sê daar is plek vir my en jou in ons land?
Sou jy my glo as ek sê ons moet veg vir dit wat ons een maak?
Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,
Jy's wat ons laat sin maak.

Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,
Jy's wat ons laat saak maak.

Afrikaans jy's meer as 'n taal,
Dis jy wat ons een maak.

What if I say there is place for you and me in our country?
Would you believe me if I say we must fight for what makes us one?
Afrikaans you're more than a language,
You're what makes us matter.

We can surely be better,
We all yearn for unity in our country.
What you search, will you find.
Afrikaans will remain.

What if I say there is more than blood in your heart?
What if I say there is place for you and me in our country?
Would you believe me if I say we must fight for what makes us one?
Afrikaans you're more than a language,
You're what makes us make sense.

Afrikaans you're more than a language,
You're what makes us matters.

Afrikaans you're more than a language,
It's you who makes us one.