AFTER APARTHEID:

'CONTRADICTORY CONSCIOUSNESS'

AMONG WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

TO CANADA
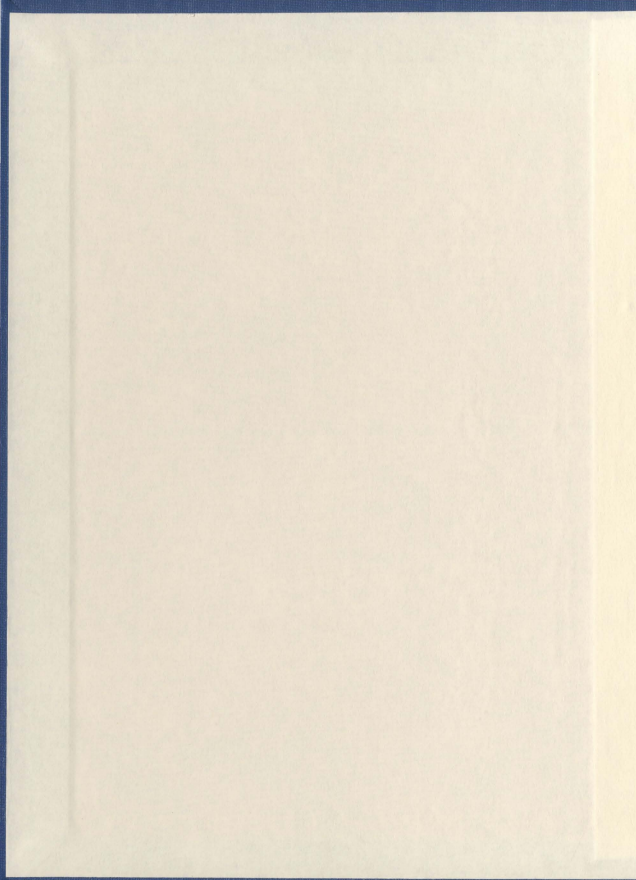
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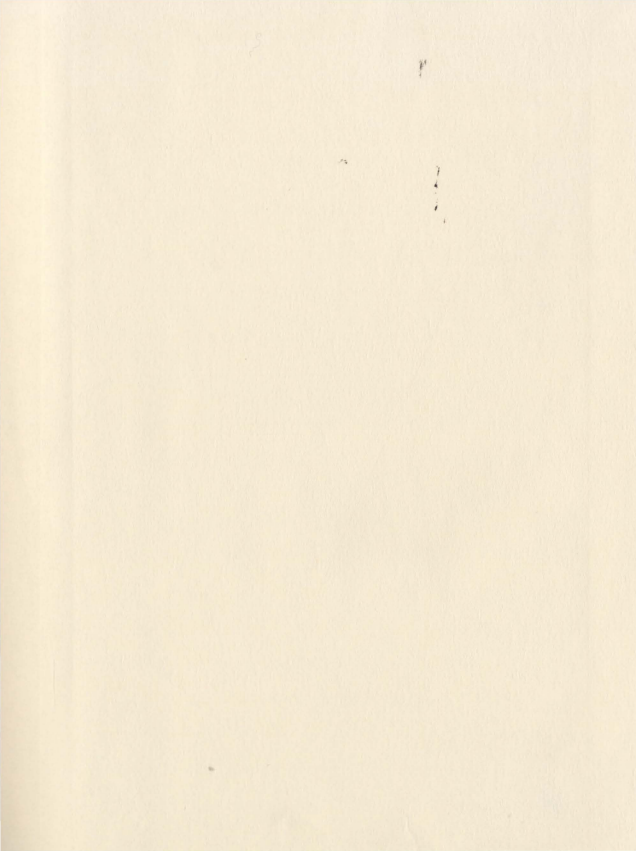# AFTER APARTHEID:

'CONTRADICTORY CONSCIOUSNESS'
AMONG WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

by

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A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
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In dedication to my family
with whom I moved
And to Kristen
for her stimulation and understanding

ABSTRACT

In 1994 South Africa's racist apartheid policies, implemented since 1948 by the Afrikaner National Party, were officially dismantled and a new democratic government, led by the African National Congress, was established in its place. The events leading up to this transition, as well as its consequences, have generated an out-migration movement on the part of white South Africans. The fieldwork that I conducted in southern Ontario focused on the two major transitions that white South African immigrants to Canada, both British and Afrikaner, have experienced: the 1994 political transition in South Africa, and their international migration to and settlement in Canada. In the thesis, I analyze the memories and discourses that informants produced concerning these two transitions. Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Antonio Gramsci (1971), and Michel Foucault (1977, 1980), I demonstrate how the hegemony of apartheid shaped the lives of white South Africans. However, their stories are also indicative of a contradictory consciousness in light of apartheid oppression and its continued legacy in South Africa, generating counter-discourses that seek to oppose apartheid logic (Gramsci 1971). Part I of the thesis, entitled 'White South African Experiences of Transition,' examines informants' memories of having grown up with nonwhite servants, as well as their privileged status as adult employers of nonwhite servants. I then consider discourses of subjectivity and violence concerning South Africa, as they were experienced both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid years. Such discourses work productively to justify informants' choice to emigrate from South Africa. My final chapter in Part I focuses on Afrikaner migrants' memories of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa; a Calvinist Christian denomination that has come to be criticized for its segregationist role during apartheid. I engage with academic descriptions of Afrikaner religious life through a discussion of Afrikaner political awareness and involvement during and after apartheid. In Part II of the thesis, I draw on feminist and life story approaches in anthropology and related disciplines, analyzing 'The Stories of Two British South African Migrant Women' (Moore 1988, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996). The thesis contributes to an understanding of both the dominance and subjectivity inherent in the notion of whiteness (Frankenberg 1997, Hartigan Jr. 1997).

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is sometimes helpful to consider the myriad of experiences that influence anthropologists' research projects, including the final results of such projects. In this vein, certainly my family's international migration in 1992 contributed to my interest in and -- I hope -- my understanding of the migration experiences of the people whose stories I have analyzed in this thesis. In addition to this connection, there is another, perhaps more cultural/religious parallel that also significantly influenced the shaping of the thesis. This cultural/religious parallel lies in the fact that I was born into and grew up in a Dutch Reformed Christian family, and thereby in Dutch Reformed Christian Church communities, first in the Netherlands and then in Canada. This Protestant, Calvinist history has helped me in my fieldwork and writing efforts concerning Afrikaner migrants, as well as British South African migrants who define themselves, at least in part, in opposition to Afrikaners and 'Afrikanerness.'

At the same time however, many issues that I heard and wrote about were and remain particular to the lives of my South African migrant informants. Indeed, they were quite 'new' to me as 'social experiences,' 'new' in the sense of a problem that, in many ways, cannot but be faced; 'new' in an urgent sense. Such issues included people's memories of having grown up in a colonial setting, of having had servants, of having spent much of their lives as part of the dominant minority group in South Africa and of then losing that status, and of (the fear of) violence and crime. As I spoke with and listened to South African migrants, and as I wrote up their narratives in the thesis, I thus recognized that I understood certain stories and arguments (or: certain stories and arguments made sense to me) because of my own history,[1] while other accounts and convictions were largely unfamiliar to me. The arguments presented in the thesis derive mainly from my academic training in anthropology, but are also influenced by my own background.

I would like to thank a number of people who have helped and supported me through the years. I first took an undergraduate course in anthropology at McMaster University in the fall of 1996, and soon decided to major in the discipline. While at McMaster, I benefited from the guidance of Dr. Matthew Cooper and Dr. Richard Preston (both of the Department of Anthropology). Dr. Cooper's courses on the history of anthropology and on space, place and power first encouraged me to think critically about social life, while Dr. Preston's gentle spirit taught me about humility and a humanistic approach to anthropology. I am also grateful to Dr. Virginia Aksan (of the Department of History), and to Dr. Eileen Schuller (of the Department of Religious Studies). Dr. Aksan's engaging courses on the history of the Middle East encouraged me to travel to Israel and Egypt, while Dr. Schuller helped me to find a place to live and work in Israel. Warm thanks go out to each of these teachers.

At McMaster as well, special thanks go out to Dr. Ellen Badone (of the Department of Anthropology and Religious Studies), whose intellectual guidance and patience with me over the years have been and continue to be greatly appreciated. Quite apart from the solid learning gained through her classes, Ellen always encouraged me to

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[1] But see also Introduction, n. 22.

LIST OF MAIN RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Evelien Boshoff:
Evelien was born in the Netherlands but migrated to South Africa as an adolescent. Married to Johan, she is in her early 40s. She is a homemaker, but she also engages in paid work when possible.

Johan Boshoff:
An Afrikaner migrant in his 40s, Johan came to Canada with his wife Evelien and three children in 2000. He currently works as a pastor in the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Andre Botes:
In his 50s, Afrikaner immigrant Andre came to Canada in 1980. He first worked as a pastor in the Presbyterian Church. He is now actively involved in the house church movement in Canada.

Marie Botes:
Marie, an Afrikaner woman who is in her 50s, is married to Andre. She is a fulltime homemaker and is also active in the house church movement. She and Andre have three grown children.

Leona Brown:
A British South African migrant woman in her late 30s, Leona is married to Steven. She is a fulltime homemaker in Canada, taking care of their three young children.

Steven Brown:
Steven, a British South African immigrant of about 40, works as an engineer for a Canadian company. He moved to Canada in 2001 with his family.

Jane Cameron:
Jane, a 42-year-old British South African woman, permanently settled in Canada with her husband John and their two young sons. She is a homemaker and a schoolteacher.

Marianne Cilliers:
An Afrikaner immigrant in her mid-sixties, Marianne permanently settled in Canada in 1994. She has worked at different universities in South Africa, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States. She is now semi-retired.

Jantje Louw:
Jantje, an Afrikaner migrant in her late 40s, is married to Kees. She assists her husband in his work at the church, and also works as a homemaker. They have three young adult children.

Kees Louw:
An Afrikaner migrant of about 50, Kees and his family came to Canada in 1994. He currently works as a pastor in the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Julianne Madison:	A British South African woman in her early 40s, Julianne came to Canada in 1989 and is now married to a Canadian. She works as a medical doctor. She and her husband have three young children.
Albert Meyers:	Of British and Afrikaner descent, Albert came to Canada in 1988. He first found employment as a pastor in the Presbyterian Church, but now has tenure at a university. He is in his 40s.
Louisa Meyers:	An Afrikaner migrant woman just in her 40s, Louisa came to Canada with her husband Albert in 1988. She is a homemaker and an interior designer. She and Albert have two young boys.
Marcia Ravenbury:	A British South African woman in her 40s, Marcia is married to Shawn. They have two teenage children. Marcia works as a homemaker and also engages in volunteer work.
Shawn Ravenbury:	A British South African migrant in his 40s, Shawn came to Canada with his family in 1999. He works as a supervisor in an industrial plant.
Joanna Reynolds:	A British South African woman in her 60s, Joanna came to Canada in 1977 with her first husband. She now lives in a small retirement village in southern Ontario with her second husband, a Canadian.
Sandy Richardson:	Sandy is a 38-year-old British South African immigrant woman, married to a Canadian, Rick. She is a fulltime homemaker. Since 1997, they have permanently lived in Canada with their three children.
Tanya Visser:	An Afrikaner immigrant in her 30s, Tanya is married to Willem. She is a fulltime homemaker, taking care of her and Willem's three young sons.
Willem Visser:	An Afrikaner immigrant of around 40, Willem came to Canada with his wife and young family in 2001. He works as a pastor in a Dutch Reformed Church in southern Ontario.

- All names have been changed in order to protect people's identities. Some of the participants' names are not included in this list because I only make brief reference to them in the thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map 1: South Africa

Map 2: Southern Ontario

Two Women from South Africa: An Introductory Illustration

We came [to Canada] in October 2001. I had no motivation for coming; absolutely none. I didn't wanna come, but I was dragged here... screaming with my back against the wall because my husband decided he was going to come! ...Even if I have to go to New Zealand without a husband, and without kids, for my own sanity I will do it. At least I would be a human being again whereas here, I think God created this place when He had a migraine.

-Leona Brown[1]

I met my husband in England. And, he came back to Canada and I went back to South Africa, and in order for us to continue our relationship, one of us had to move. ...When you're married cross-culturally like this, it's... neither place is home for both of you. In South Africa he was away from home; in Canada I was away from home. So I think that this journeying backwards and forwards was basically a long-term process of working it out. In my first time in Canada, I met a Dutch lady. And she said to me, "Sandy, it takes ten years." And at the time I thought, "heck, that's a lot of time!" But now I would say realistically, it does, it takes a long time to settle in. It's not that you're unhappy, it's just that... at what point are you able to call this new place your home? Your real home.

-Sandy Richardson

Early on a Saturday morning in May of 2003, I left my parents' residence in

Flamborough, Ontario, curious about what the day would bring. Still in the early stages

of my fieldwork with immigrants from South Africa, I had a meeting scheduled with a

woman from South Africa named Leona Brown. I had spoken to her several times on the

telephone, having been referred to her by her sister Margaret, who lives not far from my

parents. Leona and her family, however, reside in a town just north of Toronto, just over

an hour's drive from Flamborough. I took Highway 6 north and, heading east on the

multilane 401, considered once again how Leona had emphasized several times that she

wished to speak to me separately from her husband. "Otherwise," she had said, "he

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[1] All names in the thesis are pseudonyms, in order to protect people's identities. To this end, I have also changed or disguised place names and some details concerning work and other activities that informants

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always interrupts me." I also knew through Margaret, who herself is married to a Canadian, that Leona had been having a difficult time with the move to Canada. While Margaret came to Canada on her own in the late 1980s after having finished her medical studies in South Africa, Leona came just two years ago with her husband Steven and three young children. Thinking over these few facts and insights that I had into Leona's situation, I turned onto the highway leading to her community. Glancing at my dashboard, I realized that I was early. I slowed down as waves of mist and fog had barely lifted from the pavement in the early spring morning.

Leona and Steven's house is located in a suburb in a town just north of Toronto, one of those houses that is virtually indistinguishable from the houses around it. Just before ten, I parked my car on the side of the street and proceeded to the front door. Having rung the doorbell, I waited for some time and then discreetly knocked. I noticed some movement and waited until Leona opened the door. To my surprise, it seemed that she had just gotten out of bed. A tall and fairly large woman, with a thick wad of curly brown, disheveled hair to just below her shoulders, she was wearing a set of thick brown glasses. Her feet were bare, and she was wearing a pair of dark blue jeans and a light blue t-shirt with a large coffee stain on the front. I introduced myself and she said, "Oh hi, come in Mieke, I completely forgot that you were coming!" She explained that she had just got up at nine and that her house was still a mess but would I please come in? So I stepped inside.

Leona's house looked as though it hadn't been cleaned in a while. Crumbs of food, pieces of bread, toys and papers were scattered over the kitchen and living room

were involved in.

floors. The kitchen counter was stacked with dirty dishes, and the kitchen table was similarly occupied with half-empty bowls of Cheerios and milk. The light-beige walls of the kitchen, living room and adjoining room stood empty, except for a calendar and two small landscape photographs of what I presumed to be a South African sunset. The living room was almost empty, with just one couch and a large, wooden rocking horse.

I felt uncomfortable about the fact that Leona had forgotten about our meeting, so I said that we could meet another time, if that would be more convenient. It seemed to me that I had 'intruded' on this family's Saturday morning. But Leona wouldn't hear of it as I had "driven all that way"; she cleared a space at the kitchen table for me and said she hoped that I wouldn't mind if she had some breakfast. Pouring herself some cereal, she asked if I wanted a cup of tea. I was about to say that I would love some tea when Leona's husband Steven came into the kitchen. It seemed that he had just gotten out of bed as well, as he was only wearing a pair of loose jeans and was still rubbing the sleep out of his eyes. I received a surprised glance, then shook his hand and said hello. Steven offered me a cup of coffee "since there was still some left," and for a moment I was unsure of what to do: should I take coffee or tea? I opted for a cup of coffee, which I received with a spoonful of brown sugar since Leona told me that she was out of white sugar. Soon thereafter, Leona told her husband to leave. "You can talk to her after I talk to her," she told Steven, who quietly left the kitchen.

Less than a week later, on the following Thursday and again at ten in the morning, I had another visit scheduled in the same town where Leona and Steven are currently living. The woman's name -- I use Sandy Richardson in the thesis -- and telephone number had been passed on to me by Leona, who knew her 'through church.' The

weather was much nicer than it had been the Saturday previous: it was a glorious blue-skied day in southern Ontario. Once again, I headed north on Highway 6, east on the 401 and north towards the community that Leona and Sandy were living in. Glancing at my map as I was getting closer, I noticed that Leona and Sandy lived in the same suburb. I guessed that they could probably walk to each other's houses in a matter of fifteen minutes, should they be thus inclined. Not only was I curious about Sandy's migration story and memories of South Africa; I also hoped to learn about the possible relation these two women might have with each other. Could it be that, as white South African women, they might share a need for a certain kind of 'South African companionship' here in Canada? I had spoken to Sandy on the phone, but only once. She had immediately sounded very excited about my project, which I had taken as a good sign. She also told me that she was married to a Canadian and that she had three children; "…is that okay?" she had asked. I had assured her that that was fine, and I was looking forward to this visit.

Sandy's house is located on the corner of the street. It is another suburban home, similar to the ones around it. I parked in the driveway in front of the garage and noticed the loveliness of her garden: there was a small lawn with a tree in the center, but the front of the house was brightened by numerous tulips, all blooming at the same time and in a variety of colours, yellow and red, white and pink and purple. Stepping out of my car and walking around the corner of the garage to an open front door, I heard that Sandy had her music on loudly, spilling as it was out of the open windows and the screen door. Listening closely, I realized that it was a contemporary Praise-and-Worship song, praising Jesus for His grace and for redeeming His people.

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Looking through the screen door but seeing no one around, I rang the doorbell. Sandy came running down the stairs. Opening the screen door, she said "Mieke, come in, nice to meet you!" Stretching her arms out wide, she continued "Isn't the weather just lovely?! I've got all my windows open, so the wind can *stream* through the house!" I laughed, and agreed that it was indeed a beautiful day. Sandy is a fairly tall woman; her hair is short and reddish and graying around her ears. She was wearing a white blouse, blue pants that reached to just below her knees, and a white pair of sandals.

She invited me in and we proceeded to the kitchen, with the music still playing loudly. Sandy's house is nicely decorated, bright and clean. Her kitchen walls were painted a vibrant green, complementing her white cupboards and a light wooden kitchen table. The door of the kitchen that leads to the backyard was also open, and I noticed a little black, brown and white beagle dog sitting behind the screen, obviously longing to be inside. Sandy asked me whether I minded dogs, and upon my "No, not at all," opened the screen door and let the puppy in. The puppy, she explained, was a bare five months old, and they called her Toby.

After turning down the volume on the stereo, we chatted in the kitchen for some time while Sandy prepared coffee and laid out cookies on a little plate. When it comes to migrating from one country to another, she began to explain while we were still standing, how one deals with it "has a lot to do with one's personality and character." Even though it is very difficult to make such a move, "you've got to try and make the best of it - that is a responsibility." Sandy told me then that she had met her husband in England in the early 1980s. At the time, they had both been on a short-term mission trip - he from Canada, she from South Africa. Subsequently, he had moved to South Africa, where they

eventually married. In 1988, they had moved to Canada with their eldest child, a boy. Two years later, in 1990, they returned to South Africa with two little boys. In 1997, they decided to relocate to Canada for good. Their third child, a daughter, had been born in South Africa in one of the intervening years.

A couple of minutes later Sandy, armed with two mugs and a pot of coffee and myself with the plate of cookies, headed for the living room. The walls of this room were painted a soft yellow, matching the white, blue and yellow woven fabric of the room's two couches. As I seated myself, I noticed two framed drawings of exotic-looking birds - *tuinvoels* from South Africa, Afrikaans for 'garden birds,' of which Sandy has more pictures hanging on her walls. Putting her feet up on the small oak coffee table, Sandy began to tell me her story.

Leona and Sandy, both of whom identified themselves to me as British South African women, have come to reside permanently in Canada. When I met them in May of 2003, I was struck by the differences between them and their home-and-family situations. I wondered about the factors that might have contributed to Sandy's contentment as an uprooted South African, charismatic Christian woman, married to a Canadian and living in Canada, mother of two teenaged sons and one young daughter. Similarly, I was curious about Leona's position as an unhappy, insecure woman, married to a man who, like herself, is an immigrant from South Africa, and mother of a young teenage son, a pretty little girl and a cute three-year-old boy. Their respective situations seemed to illustrate how memories of South Africa and responses to international migration might be structured in multiple and contrasting ways, incorporating differences in social, economic and gendered positions. As I spoke with Leona and Sandy, it became

clear that such differences affected how they now viewed their current positions in Canada.

From South Africa to Canada: The Topic of the Thesis

The Master's thesis that follows deals with the migration experiences of 'white,' mostly middle class South African women and men[2] who have moved to southern Ontario from the 1970s until today.[3] Although South African immigrants do not represent a major percentage of recent arrivals in Canada, their numbers have increased significantly, especially since the early 1990s (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001:18; see also Myburgh 2002). What is more, "[w]hile there are white, mixed race, Asian, Indian and black South Africans currently residing in Canada, 90% of the immigrants are white" (http://cwr.toronto.ca/cultural/English/safrica/safrtoca.html). From the South African perspective, this movement has come to be characterized as one of skills emigration -

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[2] In the South African situation, it is important to remember the complexities of identity and (mixed) heritage. For example, while it cannot be assumed that all 'white' people or people of mixed heritage would identify themselves as Afrikaners, it is nevertheless the case that the Afrikaans language (historically considered the language of the Afrikaner people) is spoken amongst all segments of the population (Schutte 1989:217, Webb and Kriel 2000:20). In addition, the white population of South Africa cannot simply be divided into two groups: 'Afrikaners' on the one hand, and 'British' on the other. Rather, we need to appreciate that a host of European migrations to and subsequent mixed alliances in South Africa has led to the current make-up of the white population. As Schutte has pointed out regarding the Afrikaners, "no one self-definition of Afrikaner identity exists but... a number of competing ones uncomfortably coexist... Though controversial in its meaning, common descent from Dutch, French and German stock is assumed..." (Schutte 1989:217; see also Crapanzano 1985). The situation has been further complicated through intermarriages between the Afrikaners and the British, also in the case of some of my informants, and through the migrations and intermarriages of the African, European, Asian and Indian populations of South Africa. In the thesis, while I use the terms 'Afrikaner' and 'British' to refer to the two main portions of the white historic-colonial settler population of South Africa, I aim to acknowledge the problematic essentialist nature of these concepts as used in many contexts. See also my later theoretical discussion of these concepts in this chapter.
[3] Other anthropological and sociological studies that focus on the experiences of immigrants to Canada include: Agnew 1996, Barber 1997, Barrett 1994, Boyd 1994, Brettell 1977, Cohen 1987, Cole 1998, Conway 1992, Del Negro 1997, Dhruvarajan 1993, Gilad 1990, Heitlinger et al 1999, Jabbra 1984, Kulig 1998, Lindström 1988, Magat 1999, Matthiasson 1989, McDonald et al 2000, Meintel et al 1984, Migliore and DiPierro 1999, Nagata 1987, Slavik 2001, van Dijk 2001, Whittaker 1988, Winland 1998 and Woon 1985.

what has been called the 'brain drain' from South Africa (Crush, McDonald and Williams 2000:1). It thus seems that South Africa's recent political upheavals (the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, and the installation of a government then led by Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress) has increasingly led to an exodus of especially 'white' and educated South Africans, from South Africa to places like Canada.

The above statistics and indicators bring up a number of questions that need to be asked concerning migrants' social and political memories of South Africa, including their accounts of the political upheavals of the 1990s and the effects of these events on 'white life' in South Africa. Indeed, how do white immigrants from South Africa, whether they identify themselves as British, Afrikaner or otherwise, remember South Africa? How did they experience the political changeover, either from their doorstep in South Africa or from afar in Canada?

Following Caroline Brettell, migration theory in anthropology has "focused less on the broad scope of migration flows than on the articulation between the place whence a migrant originates and the place or places to which he or she goes" (Brettell 2000:98). A second, related set of questions accordingly arises as follows: Despite a decidedly colonial heritage, do white South African migrants take on or reject a British South African or an Afrikaner identity? If they do either, how do they describe or construct this identity? In the case of Afrikaner identity construction, does this process have elements of what can be viewed as Afrikaner nationalism, or is it closely aligned with a specific religious affiliation with the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, or both?[4] To what

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[4] The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa has its roots in the Reformation of the 16th century; its doctrinal teachings are based on those developed by the Protestant leader John Calvin. In South Africa,

extent do white South Africans address the issue of (collective) guilt about the apartheid

period in the recounting of their memories?[5]

Finally, I am especially interested in the roles and subjectivities of women in the

migration process. As Brettell has argued, "women were generally ignored in the study

of migration until quite recently. If women were considered at all, then it was as

dependents and passive followers of the initiating male migrant" (Brettell 2000:109).

However, recent research has indicated that female migrants' and gendered perspectives

are "important in the decision to migrate (when, where, and who) as well as in the

process of settlement in the receiving society" (Brettell 2000:109). Much of this research,

Brettell goes on to say, "can be squarely situated in relation to analytical models at the

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there are three closely related Dutch Reformed church denominations. Writes Crapanzano: "Membership in one of the three… Dutch Reformed Churches -- the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (the largest), the Hervormde Kerk (theologically the most liberal and white supremacist), and the Gereformeerde Kerk (theologically the most conservative, objecting even to the singing of hymns in church) -- is an essential prerequisite for membership in the Afrikaner community" (Crapanzano 1985:93). In the thesis, I use the term 'Dutch Reformed' to cover all three denominations in South Africa.

However, in considering the existence of distinct denominations in Dutch Reformed/Calvinist churches (not only in South Africa), it is helpful to be reminded of one of Antonio Gramsci's comments. In one of his prison notes, Gramsci wrote that "[e]very religion, even Catholicism (indeed Catholicism more than any, precisely because of its efforts to retain a 'surface' unity and avoid splintering into national churches and social stratifications), is in reality a multiplicity of distinct and often contradictory religions: there is one Catholicism for the peasants, one for the *petits-bourgeois* and town workers, one for women, and one for intellectuals which is itself variegated and disconnected" (Gramsci 1971:420). Indeed, Catholicism has maintained, much more than (some) Protestant churches, "a 'surface' unity" through the centuries. It can be argued that the opposite has occurred especially in the case of Dutch Reformed churches. Dutch Reformism has split and splintered throughout the centuries of its existence, mostly as a result of disagreements and differences in doctrinal interpretation. Various separations and splits (whereby a group of people leave one denomination and form another on their own) have occurred, both in the Netherlands and across the world where Dutch migrants have settled, including South Africa, Canada, the United States and Australia. In the thesis therefore, when I refer to Afrikaner migrants who have joined 'a Dutch Reformed denomination' in southern Ontario, I may be referring to one among a number of Dutch Reformed church denominations in the Canadian context, distinct on their own but nevertheless closely related. I decided to do so for two main reasons: (1) clarity, and (2) to protect the identities of informants.

[5] The questions of 'guilt' and 'reconciliation' are complex in the South African situation. Thus far, I have not found any succinct analyses of 'white South African guilt' or 'Afrikaner guilt' in the anthropological, sociological or historical literature, although this theme has been addressed in journalistic accounts (see for example Goodwin and Schiff 1995 and Krog 1998, both of which focus specifically on Afrikaners' post-apartheid experiences). It seems that, especially in literary criticism, themes of guilt, shame and reconciliation in connection to the racist history of South Africa are beginning to be addressed by focusing

heart of feminist anthropology" (Brettell 2000:109). It is within this line of feminist thought in anthropology that I situate my focus on the subjective experiences of white South African migrant women.

At the same time however, I follow Hondagneu-Sotelo's warning that focusing exclusively on migrant women might lead to "skewed women-only portraits of immigration experiences" (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000:114). As will be shown in the main body of the thesis, the role of white South African males in the migration process and especially men's roles and job skills must be taken into account in the migration experiences of married white South African women and children. In contrast, several of my female informants came to Canada on their own, and some have subsequently married Canadian men. Each situation generates particular gendered complexities that need to be addressed in detail in order to come to a broader understanding of white South Africans' experiences in the migrant setting.

Theoretical Influences and Introduction of Thesis Argument

In the section that follows, I place the specific topics outlined above in the context of relevant theoretical influences in anthropology. I first consider the work of three key thinkers of the 20th century who have influenced the discipline of anthropology in major ways. Indeed, the ideas and contributions of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Antonio Gramsci (1971) and Michel Foucault (1977, 1980) form a significant theoretical focus in the thesis. In the second subsection, I address the complexities that South African colonial

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on 'confession' (see Gallagher 2002).

history has generated,[6] also for white South Africans, through a theoretical consideration of the notion of 'whiteness.' Third, I analyze and problematize the related issues of racism and essentialism. My fourth subsection considers the anthropology of memory, including the productive role of memory and discourse construction in the lives and identities of migrants. In the fifth subsection, I address the anthropology of gender and migration.

Practice, Power, and Hegemony

Arguing against a static notion of structure in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Pierre Bourdieu points instead toward the *habitus*, "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions*" (Bourdieu 1977:82-83). The habitus is "a kind of structure of social action by culturally competent performers" (Barnard 2000:142); it is a way-of-being-in-the-world that is often experienced rather intuitively by its practitioners. Instead of seeing structure solely as a kind of constraining order placed upon individuals, Bourdieu shows how the organization of structure in cultures and societies enables people to engage actively in decision-making processes. In this vein, he argues, we can come to understand who wields power over others in social life through the imposition of their 'practical taxonomies':

> Practical taxonomies, which are a transformed, misrecognizable form of the real divisions of the social order, contribute to the reproduction of that order by producing objectively orchestrated practices adjusted to those divisions (Bourdieu 1977:163).

Bourdieu illustrates his argument for a more practice-oriented approach to anthropology

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[6] For an overview of the colonial history of South Africa, see Chapter Two.

with ethnographic examples from his fieldwork among the Algerian Kabyles (see also

Ortner 1984 on this approach). His theoretical ideas have become well known in

anthropology because they attempt to address the reasons why power structures and

inequalities in societies may remain unquestioned and are reproduced over long periods

of time, while allowing for an investigation of the ways in which social structures may, at

other times, be challenged.

Though Bourdieu and Antonio Gramsci lived in different socio-political times and

settings, there are similarities in their thoughts and ideas. Like Bourdieu, Gramsci was

concerned with the reproduction of social structures over time. Gramsci's theories derive

from analyses of class conflict that were initially developed by Karl Marx, Frederick

Engels, and other communist thinkers (Marx 1976, Marx and Engels 1998 [1848]):

> For Gramsci, as for Marx, at the heart of recorded human history is class struggle,
> with classes emerging as conscious actors out of basic economic relations and
> vying with each other for domination. A dominant class or alliance of classes is
> one that has succeeded in bringing into being a hegemonic culture that in fact
> embodies their world-view, but that appears to represent not simply their interests
> but those of society as a whole (Crehan 2002a: 97).

Gramsci's theoretical contribution lies within this basic Marxist conception, in his

emphasis on the social and cultural factors that may empower *or* disempower oppressed

people at different times and in different settings. In explaining why empowerment or

disempowerment occurs, Gramsci advocated detailed studies that would pay attention to

all the social, cultural and economic factors that could be influencing people's different

life situations. He developed two theoretical tools that could serve to guide such studies:

the concept of *hegemony* and the idea of *contradictory consciousness*.

While the exact meaning of hegemony, or the "organization of consent" (Crehan

2002a:102; see also Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:1-48), has been debated over time, it is clear that Gramsci used the term to "explore relationships of power and the concrete ways in which these are lived" (Crehan 2002a:99). In the *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci applied the notion in different senses, depending on the issue under discussion. Consider Gramsci's use of the concept in the following excerpt from the *Prison Notebooks*:

> The intellectuals are the dominant group's 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. These comprise:
> 1. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.
> 2. The apparatus of state coercive power which 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups who do not 'consent' either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed (Gramsci 1971:12).

In the above note, Gramsci was specifically concerned with the role of the bourgeois class and 'the intellectuals' in society; indeed, here he links the operation of hegemony to 'civil society' and to the State (see also Gramsci 1971:261, Crehan 2002a:102). However, it is important to remember that hegemony is a broad term; for Gramsci, it implied a process of consent that occurs on all levels of human social life. While Bourdieu developed the notion of the habitus to point toward the all-encompassing social structures within which people accept and work on their own positions and subjectivities in society, Gramsci, it may be argued, pushed this notion further to incorporate the possibility of change to a greater extent.[7] It is in this vein that Gramsci's urging toward and future hope for the

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[7] Bourdieu also addresses how social structures may, at certain times, be challenged and/or changed. However, my understanding of Bourdieu's habitus is that it comprises a more imposing and constraining structure of power relations than that proposed by Gramsci.

establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat should be read.

The concept of contradictory consciousness is closely linked to Gramsci's understanding of the operation of hegemony. For him, the important questions included: When and how do people become aware of the possibility that a hegemonic power is being exercised over them? What is their reaction to this awareness? Why do they sometimes rise up to challenge a certain hegemony, while at other times they seem to let it exert its dominance freely? Gramsci explains:

> The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity, but has no clear theoretical consciousness of his practical activity, which nonetheless involves understanding the world in so far as it transforms it. His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his activity. One might almost say that he has two theoretical consciousnesses (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed. But this verbal conception is not without consequences. It holds together a specific social group, it influences moral conduct and the direction of will, with varying efficacity but often powerfully enough to produce a situation in which the contradictory state of consciousness does not permit of any action, any decision or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity (Gramsci 1971:333).

Contradictory consciousness may thus be explained as a concept that, for Gramsci, is linked to his interest in hegemony and its related moments of force and consent (Gramsci 1971:169, n.70). Writes Gramsci, the "dialectical unity" between these moments can "theoretically be reduced to two fundamental levels, corresponding to the dual nature of Machiavelli's Centaur - half-animal and half-human. They are the levels of force and of consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilization… of agitation and of propaganda…" (Gramsci 1971:169-170). Gramsci's complex ideas may be summed up as follows: How does a state or other hegemonic power maintain its influence? By

gaining the consent of the masses, and by pretending (or demonstrating) to be on the side of the masses, at least in part. When this fails -- when the masses begin to challenge, by force, the predominant hegemony -- the ruling power resorts to violence and force in order to maintain its dominant position.[8]

Thus far, I have elaborated on Bourdieu's notion of the habitus and on Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and contradictory consciousness. A third key theorist whose work I draw upon in the thesis is the French thinker Michel Foucault. Like Bourdieu and Gramsci, Foucault was also concerned with the operation of power in society. Focusing on the links between power and knowledge, he has pointed out that power is *relational* rather than something substance-like that is (merely) possessed (Foucault 1977:219-220). The concept of power has thus become a "capability to manipulate a system" (Barnard 2000:144); it has become *productive*:

> …power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress, if it worked only through the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression, in the manner of a great Superego, exercising itself only in a negative way. If, on the contrary, power is strong this is because, as we are beginning to realize, it produces effects at the level of desire - and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing knowledge, power produces it (Foucault 1980:59).

It is possible to consider Foucault's words in light of Gramsci's idea of hegemony (delineated above). In this vein, power relations constitute every aspect of human social life; but it is important to consider how power relations come to be reconfigured (or not) in certain times and places. Power works through hegemony. If people, or the masses,

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[8] Gramsci's theoretical ideas have been interpreted most often in light of subordinate groups in society. One example of such an interpretation and usage may be found in the work of those associated with the influential Subaltern Studies group, which originated among Indian historians and other social theorists (including Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak) concerned with the continued legacies of colonialism and nationalist struggles in India (see Crehan 2002a:123-127; see also the volume edited by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, entitled *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty*

consent to a certain, dictated situation, this may be because they actually gain something desirable (to use Foucault's word) by way of their consent. Foucault's contribution lies in his emphasis on the fact that power relations, even in cases where dominant structures are overtly challenged, are always already deeply embedded in new, though perhaps reforming, social, political or economic agendas.[9]

Bourdieu, Gramsci and Foucault have been very influential in anthropology. In the thesis that follows, I integrate Bourdieu's practice-oriented approach, Gramsci's notions of hegemony and contradictory consciousness, and Foucault's insights into the subtlety and elusiveness of the operation of power in society into my analysis of the field data. On the basis of their considerations, I critically analyze the role of white South Africans, both British and Afrikaner, in recent South African history. In this vein, I address the impacts of institutionalized political and social divisions in South Africa as they existed during apartheid, such as normalized racially divided Christian worship, and the employment of black or coloured domestic servants in white South African households.

The theoretical approaches of Bourdieu, Gramsci and Foucault also help to explain the changing nature of social relations in South Africa since apartheid's demise, and in Canada, through the memories and experiences of South African migrants who now reside in southern Ontario. Even though migrants have removed themselves from South African society, or feel that they have been removed from that society, many still

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Spivak [1996]). However, my use of Gramsci in the thesis is somewhat different, as I explain below.
[9] Gramsci was clearly aware of this fact as well. However, unlike Foucault, as an active communist he was committed to the communist cause; to the eventual establishment in Italy of a majority Party *of* and *for* the workers, the masses, the proletariat and the peasants of southern Italy. His commitment on this front has led to a debate among scholars, regarding whether his philosophical and theoretical work were teleological

deal with the legacy of apartheid and a degree of consciousness (sometimes incorporating contradictions) concerning their roles during apartheid. In the thesis, I therefore draw especially on the work of Gramsci not only to indicate how hegemony and contradictory consciousness operated among the nonwhite citizens of South Africa (subordinate during apartheid and today; see n.8); I also demonstrate how hegemonic ideologies and contradictory consciousness were (and are) lived out in the everyday lives of white South Africans. One of the key goals of the thesis is to point towards the ways in which dominating and dominant white South Africans *also* lived under and experienced hegemonies and consciousness, both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid years.

It must be kept in mind that white South African migrants to Canada have experienced two significant social ruptures in their lives. The first concerns their experience of the dismantling of apartheid and the post-apartheid transition; the second comprises their international migration. Migrants are faced with the dilemma of having to make sense of these ruptures, and one way of doing so is by thinking and talking about their past experiences, including how these experiences have shaped and continue to shape their situations and subjectivities today. In one sense, the ruptures that have affected their lives, and the discourses they produce about these ruptures, indicate that their habitus is changing (though this process is by no means uniform among informants). At the same time, the transformation of the habitus always occurs within certain structures (Bourdieu and Gramsci) and relations of power (Foucault and Gramsci) in which people remain deeply embedded.

(consult Crehan 2002a:76-80 for a discussion of this matter).

A Consideration of 'Whiteness'

Any anthropological account of the experiences of white South Africans, whether in South Africa or in migrant contexts, needs to address the problematic notion of 'race.' Though anthropologists and others have clearly brought to light the constructed quality of various conceptions of race, such constructions have nevertheless tenaciously persisted in everyday life and discourse, or they have proven to be easily reconfigured and reinvented in novel situations (Harrison 1995:47). While academic and everyday preoccupations with ethnicity and nationalism have contributed to a deconstruction of race and assumed 'racial categories' (Williams 1989:403), essentialist notions of race continue to feed people's ideas, experiences, frustrations and expressions in a host of political, economic and social circumstances (see also the next subsection). In what follows, I discuss some recent approaches to the study of 'whiteness,' which serves to highlight my informants' possible positionalities and subjectivities.

A number of scholars have observed that historically, concepts such as 'race' and 'racism' have always pointed towards the situation of nonwhite polities and communities worldwide (for example, Frankenberg 1997, Hartigan Jr. 1997). In this vein, Frankenberg has argued that "whiteness makes itself invisible precisely by asserting its normalcy, its transparency, in contrast with the marking of others on which its transparency depends" (Frankenberg 1997:6). Well aware of the continued prevalence of race-invoking discourses in today's world, she proposes that current conceptualizations of race and whiteness be examined in light of those power relations that have characterized Western domination since the earliest days of European expansion and colonialism (see also Stoler 1995). Accordingly,

...whiteness is a construct or identity almost impossible to separate from racial dominance. For the term *whiteness*, expressing the idea that there is a category of people identified and self-identifying as "white," is situated within this... operation of race... (Frankenberg 1997:9).

Following Frankenberg, 'being white' stands, first and foremost, as a category that in itself accords a dominant position to those who bear it. This position is always one of relational power over others who, as people of colour, do not share similar historical, economic and political benefits.

In the case of South Africa's recent history, a stance like Frankenberg's has been and continues to be considered; indeed, current scholarly and popular literature emerging from and about the country demonstrates this point. In light of the legacy of apartheid, recent political and social transformations have led to explorations and debates on what it means to be white (versus a person of colour) in South Africa (see for example Farred 1997, Goodwin and Schiff 1995, Krog 1998, Malan 1990, Nuttall and Michael 2000). Such investigations, I would argue, are not surprising: after all, the end of white rule in South Africa resulted, in part, in some white South Africans' displacement from governmental and other positions of advantage. Frankenberg's words are relevant here, for "a displacement of... white people's location in racial hierarchy" in South Africa has led to white people embarking "urgently on the quest either to be proven innocent or to find redemption" (for examples, see the above-listed sources) (Frankenberg 1997:18).

Nevertheless, Frankenberg has been criticized by other scholars for her presentation of all white people as a collectivity with a common white identity.[10] As

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[10] Consider how her argument (quoted above) continues: "From here, the effort to find reasons to be 'proud' of white culture, or ways to nuance whiteness by reference to class or ethnic subordination, become comprehensible within the terms of the discourse" (Frankenberg 1997:18).

Hartigan Jr. writes, Frankenberg's deployment of whiteness presents

> a view of white privilege and dominance as a unified operation, implicating and
> influencing, to varying degrees, all white people, linking the racialness of whites
> to an inherent, motivational core… While it is unnerving to advocate a more
> nuanced view of whiteness when many whites still refuse to recognize the broad
> role of racism in… society, a more complex analysis is necessary if we are to
> understand the ways racialness conflates with other registers of meaning and
> modes of significance in white peoples' lives (Hartigan Jr. 1997:498).

Hartigan Jr. thus emphasizes the important point that whiteness, like any 'racial category,' should also be examined in light of other conceptual categories, such as class, gender and geographic location. He fears that Frankenberg's stance on white dominance may ultimately lead to a backsliding into 'racial' or racist essentialisms, thereby dismantling the by now well-established project of race deconstruction.

Based on Frankenberg's and Hartigan Jr.'s writings, I argue that a critical analytical approach to the concept of whiteness and the role it plays among white South Africans must necessarily incorporate both scholars' views. On the one hand, and perhaps especially in view of colonialism and South Africa's racist history in the past century, an analysis of white South Africans' memories of their country of birth and their reasons for emigrating must take into account the fact that the apartheid system privileged all individuals of European ancestry, to the detriment of the whole population of South Africa defined as 'nonwhite.' After all, apartheid segregated groups of people based on the colour of their skin, on the basis of which the 'white category' derived its power. Whether one considers him- or herself a British or an Afrikaner South African (to name the most prevalent of a number of possible identifications), each of these categories of people needs to be understood as part of the powerful white South African community, by virtue of their political, economic and social advantages during the apartheid years. Since

Afrikaner politics imbued the notion of whiteness with a tremendous amount of power, the lives of white South Africans, regardless of ethnic allegiance and political acquiescence or opposition to the apartheid government, cannot be otherwise considered. Along with Frankenberg then, informants' whiteness cannot and should not remain invisible.

Turning to Hartigan Jr.'s insights (or, as he put it, his 'ethnographic dilemma'), we must on the other hand remember that "understanding whiteness remains contingent upon grasping how the heterogeneous functions of race alternate between stark definition, absolute positions, and swirling ambiguity" (Hartigan Jr. 1997:500). Thus for instance, in the case of my white informants, ethnic allegiances still exist, differentiating Afrikaners and British South Africans until today, especially in their views of South African history and the roles they see themselves as having played in what has come to be labeled as a negative, racist history. In this vein, it would be discordant to overemphasize the notion of whiteness without providing due space for the historically situated specificity of white South Africans' identities and experiences, whether British, Afrikaner or other. Moreover, yet other concepts and ways-of-being intersect in crucial ways with 'colour,' Afrikanerness and Britishness, including experiences influenced by individuals' class, gender and religious identity. The white category (as Hartigan Jr. has also indicated) is not just powerful on its own; it rather may *become* powerful (for some, more; for others, less) at those points where it links up with ethnic or national identity, class, gender or religious affiliation at specific points in time.

In this third theoretical subsection, my concern is to demonstrate how assumptions and considerations of whiteness on the part of white South Africans work productively to sustain race concepts and essentialisms, such as 'British/Afrikaner' and 'black/white.' Previously, I elaborated on the tension that exists between thinking about white South African informants as 'whites,' versus depictions of them as women or men, British or Afrikaner, non-religious, Christian, Dutch Reformed, wealthy or lower middle class, and so on. If current anthropological thought encourages the explication of heterogeneous views and differentiations within white and other communities and polities, this stance can be seen to be based partly on the deconstruction of those Western racial and racist categories that historically defined nonwhite peoples and polities everywhere (Hartigan Jr. 1997:500). Such categorical matters -- our need to name people or groups of people, to 'stick them in a category' -- are closely related to another important problematic in our field: that of *essentialism*. Essentialism occurs when a person or a group of people comes to be defined or labeled, either by themselves or by others, in a way that places more emphasis on one (or more) element(s) over against another (or several other) element(s) relevant to their existence (see Whitaker 2001:23-28 and 2004 for relevant illustrations in the context of Northern Ireland). A critical analysis of essentialism holds that the processes by way of which they are constructed are often not neutral; indeed, power relations are of great significance in essentialist constructions (Foucault 1977, 1980). A second, related aspect of the critique of essentialism holds that it operates, more often than not, as an aspect of hegemony.

The anthropologist Kate Crehan has written extensively on Antonio Gramsci and

his concept of hegemony (see Crehan 1997, 2002a). Her own development of this widely-used notion is helpful in my definition and discussion of essentialism, not least because she understands hegemony to concern both "the realm of ideas and consciousness" and the "real material forces, embodied in institutions like schools, churches, and the media" (Crehan 1997:24). Crehan's take on Gramsci's hegemony thus allows her to trace the relationship between ideological realms and the economic and political realities that result from the normalization and institutionalization of ideologies. As she writes, quoting Gramsci:

> …I prefer to think of hegemony as a *problematic*, rather than some distinct, and clearly bounded, analytical category; that is, as a way of approaching the problem of power, and especially state power, that focuses attention on "the entire complex practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" (Crehan 1997:28-29, quoting from Gramsci 1971:244).

In claiming that essentialisms tend to operate by way of hegemony, I wish to emphasize that the power inherent in them is often invisible or, it seems, 'only common sense' to those who invoke and/or are affected by them. To illustrate this point, consider that both my white and nonwhite informants repeatedly characterized 'the struggle' as one between 'black and white.' To speak about the South African apartheid struggle in this way presents us with several essentialisms -- 'black,' 'white' and the supposed dualism between them -- that clearly oversimplify life situations that were and remain highly complex. Accordingly, we are presented with an ambiguous situation: Why would South Africans, who lived under apartheid and who experienced the transition to democracy, continue to invoke or consent to a 'race segregation' in their discourse? And how does such a hegemonic discourse work to reproduce concepts, notions and ideas that are

oppressive and promote social inequality? To cite Crehan once more, "struggles over the nature of reality, over 'how things are,' and how this reality is to be named can have very material effects. The power to *name* is a crucial one" (Crehan 1997:29-30; see also Crehan 2002b). In informants' discourse, 'to name' or 'to categorize' often also meant 'to essentialize' about one notion or another, though essentialisms were expressed and took shape in ambivalent ways.[11]

In his book *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (1997a), the anthropologist Michael Herzfeld points towards some of the *strategic* uses to which essentialisms may be put by a host of different cultural actors. Whether for or against a dominant nation-state, a nationalist ideology, or any collectivity with which people are associated, people draw on essentialisms both to combat and to reify particular nationalist or 'group' dictates (in fact, they often do both at once when conflicts between one entity and another [or others] are involved). In Herzfeld's words,

> …the moralistic ideology of a national culture [including those essentialisms necessary to maintain its exclusivity] appeals to people in part because it is usually coupled with the relief of knowing that even (or especially) officials do not always adhere scrupulously to its austere principles but may use those principles exactly as other citizens do: as a strategy of self-interest. This is not an issue of determinism but of the practical constraints of social life: cultural intimacy is above all familiarity with perceived social flaws that offer culturally persuasive explanations of apparent deviations from the public interest (Herzfeld 1997a:9).

It is useful to attempt a reading of Herzfeld's comments in light of the situation of white South African immigrants who have settled in Canada. Though ambivalently, most white

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[11] See Crehan 1997:33-34. Essentialisms are often unstable, slipping and sliding as they do back and forth between a host of different categories. In this vein, the majority of my South African informants were definitely aware of the fact that, to characterize the apartheid struggle as one 'between black and white' amounted to a gross oversimplification of the (lived) situation. Nevertheless, they drew on such dichotomies repeatedly.

South African migrants do recognize the "social flaws" inherent in the politics and policies of apartheid ideology and its legacies. Their cultural intimacy, to the extent that it exists (it does not exist among all migrants; indeed, some have tried very hard to abandon it altogether), is based on a certain 'familiarity' that offers "culturally persuasive explanations of apparent deviations" (Herzfeld 1997a:9), such as the racism inherent in apartheid. In this way, most people drew on similar discursive elements, including "strategic essentialisms" (Herzfeld 1997a:31), to explain, justify or defend their subjective positions and/or white history in South Africa. Moreover, their obvious familiarity with 'white South African black humour' (see Chapter Four) points toward the same cultural intimacy. But it must be remembered that this cultural intimacy has, by now, become fragile: justifying or defending racist apartheid history or one's particular role in South Africa was clearly an ambiguous activity, just as actually telling a racist joke to me as an outsider was uncomfortable for most informants. People would remember that there had been racist, essentialist humour, but they would also say that they could not remember particular jokes "right at this moment."

In order to demonstrate how assumptions of whiteness and its 'Others' -- mostly 'black,' but also 'tribal,' 'Indian,' 'coloured,' and so on -- (Frankenberg 1997:6, Harrison 1995:63) on the part of white South Africans work productively to sustain "(strategic) essentialisms" (Herzfeld 1997a:31) and the social inequalities and oppressions inherent in them, consider the following quotes from three different informants:

Five or six hours I stood in a queue to vote [in the 1994 elections]. The guy in front of me was a Mozambican and the guy behind me was from Zimbabwe and we spent five or six hours talking. And neither of them was a South African citizen. They voted! 'Cause they wanted to vote! Well they had the right skin colour, to vote! And there were a lot of votes that were "lost" out in KwaZulu. But the point was, it was fairly free and fair, as far

as voting in the African context goes. In Africa, right?

You've got a president [Thabo Mbeki] who doesn't believe that HIV causes AIDS. There's talk that he thinks it's a CIA plot to kill black Africans. He gets a lot of his information apparently off the internet, and uh… has a couple of advisors who are… let's just say, a little bit shy of actually understanding the real truth of what's going on. And they won't put into place any projects, to try to control it. And that's the problem. …And if something was done about it, fine! Just the infrastructure is good - the roads, the railways… and, the medical system, are all good. But if you've got nobody commanding any of these things… then you don't have a country that's viable. So that's the problem of the future.

Actually, talking about my dad being so anti-[Afrikaner] government before… He's now really quite conservative! Because "things aren't right here, it's just terrible" and he's quite negative now about how things are going and the crime and just… "it's going like Zimbabwe" - which I'm sure you know, the stories of the farmers. And so, it's interesting that my dad, he was so against having Africans suppressed… he's now quite negative. My husband's parents also - "don't ever come back!" and "the black government this and that" and the next thing you know, first it was the white government that wasn't good enough, and now the black government is just "corrupt" and "it's going like Zimbabwe…"

Though each of these quotations concerns different issues, and despite a number of

questions and complexities that could problematize the above accounts, a basic

conception of 'black/white' is clearly evident. Another dichotomy that strongly impacted

informants' experiences and discourses comprises those distinctions drawn between the

communities of people of English and Afrikaner descent. To illustrate the

'British/Afrikaner' dichotomy, consider the following texts:

From a British South African:
I was aware that Afrikaans people seemed to be much more conservative than English-speaking people about… you know, Africans and the government and things like that. To us, the National government was an Afrikaans government. Generally speaking, Afrikaans people seemed to me more supportive of the apartheid regime… Even sometimes the white English-speaking people were seen as, you know… kaffirboeties they used to call us. A kaffir is a… a black African, and a boetie is like a person who is very friendly with someone, so often you would be called a kaffirboetie if you supported the other people.

From an Afrikaner:
The prevailing consensus was that "Ach," you know… "It's not so bad." Like in many communities you have that, that certain sins or wrongdoings are just kind of accepted, you know? We will… wink at it for, whatever reason. And in the South African context… other sins were of course regarded as very serious. If a girl was pregnant uh, before marriage that was very very serious. But if you would deride a black man… this is in general in South Africa, in the white context. But the Afrikaner people were generally more guilty of this than the English-speaking [people].

The (re)production of identifications must necessarily, in the case of these South African migrants (as in that of others), be considered as complex, where constructions of self, family and community hinge on white versus black, Afrikaner versus British, and any combination of or variation from these normalized, essentialist categories. Chantal Mouffe makes this point more generally when she writes that

> [w]ithin every society, each social agent is inscribed in a multiplicity of social relations - not only social relations of production but also the social relations, among others, of sex, race, nationality, and vicinity. All these social relations determine positionalities or subject positions, and every social agent is therefore the locus of many subject positions and cannot be reduced to only one. Thus, someone inscribed… as a worker is also a man or a woman, white or black, Catholic or Protestant, French or German, and so on… Furthermore, each social position, each subject position, is itself the locus of multiple possible constructions, according to the different discourses that can construct that position (Mouffe 2000:296; see also Whitaker 2004).

Not only did informants position themselves according to and within the dichotomies presented above (and others besides, as Mouffe's words and the above texts indicate); they also characterized others in light of the essentialist categories that constitute those dichotomies. Indeed, the operation of different essentialisms in everyday discourse reflects the problematic of unequal power relations that drives people to "try to establish *their* account of the world as the correct one; as, for instance, 'morally right,' 'logically correct,' or 'the only one possible in the circumstances,' and so on" (Crehan 1997:33, Herzfeld 1997a).

These projects of establishing an account, of making sense of one's world compared to or against the accounts of others, may range from highly personal to more collective ones. As I indicated earlier, white South Africans -- both scholars and writers -- have been quite extensively engaged in such projects for some time, in part as "a product of a very specific moment of national historical change" (Nuttall and Michael 2000:298-299): the political and social transformations that accompanied the shift from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. During my own conversations with white South African migrants, the ambiguities and fragilities that now, after apartheid, form the basis of many of their stories, point towards the instability and restlessness of hegemonic formations (Crehan 1997:29, Mouffe 2000:297). To put it somewhat differently, the essentialist categories that they drew upon in relating their accounts were by no means clearly established.

This point brings us, in turn, to the issue of racism. Concerning this topic in relation to the notion of whiteness, Frankenberg argues, not incorrectly, that "[w]hite… corresponds to one place in racism as a system of categorization and subject formation, just as the terms *race privileged* and *race dominant* name particular places within racism as a system of domination" (Frankenberg 1997:9). While this statement may ring true from a historical and theoretical perspective, it proves infinitely more difficult to translate in terms of the lives of specific people and communities. In the previous paragraph, I asserted that informants' evocations of essentialist dichotomies were often unstable and problematic. I argue thus because they so often struggled to put their memories and stories into words; indeed, at times it seemed as if language itself was insufficient to grasp the complexities of life as informants had witnessed and experienced it in South Africa,

Canada, and elsewhere.

I do not aim to provide an excuse for racism, nor for the oppression of nonwhite peoples in any situation, nor for the damages inflicted on South Africans by the apartheid regime. I am instead concerned to demonstrate that the white lives of my informants were not only white: they were also female or male, British or Afrikaner, religious or non-religious, for or against apartheid, and -- perhaps most important of all -- they were never stable. I do not wish, and am ultimately not able, to distinguish between different informants on the basis of who 'is/was racist' or who 'is/was not racist'; rather, I delineate and analyze how they themselves once experienced and now remember living in a deeply divided country, including their own accounts of how racism and hegemonic ideologies operated in their everyday lives. At the same time, I consider the continued effects and implications of having grown up in South Africa on their lives in the migrant context.

Memory, Migration, and Identity

While (re) constructions of memory are often implicit in anthropological analyses (for example, see Abu-Lughod 1993, Barnes and Boddy 1994 and Myerhoff 1978), other approaches are more explicit about the elusive nature of memory both in personal and public life. As Teski and Climo have emphasized, "[m]emory is not [simply] recall. Rather, it is a continuous process based on rumination by individuals and groups on the content and meaning of the recent and more distant pasts" (Teski and Climo 1995:2). Consequently, the uses and purposes of memories are largely determined (consciously or unconsciously) by whoever it is that voices them:

Changes in interpretation and selective forgetting may alter the form of the past culture to which individuals and groups refer. This leads to questions of conflicting memories and interpretations of the past and the struggles at all levels from the family to national and even international levels over whose memories are the 'true' ones (Teski and Climo 1995:3).[12]

Anthropologists have investigated the ways in which memories have impacted the understanding and interpretation of local histories (Kenny 1999, Lewis 2001 and Roseman 2003a), local and nationalist political events (Carbonella 2003, Malkki 1990, Roseman 1996), local interpretations of death and dying (Roseman 2003b), health concerns in specific cultural settings (Garro 2000) and colonial pasts (Cole and Cole 2000, Ebron 2000). As Kenny explains:

> Memory needs a place, a *context*. Its place, if it finds one that lives beyond a single generation, is to be found in the stories that we tell. We wish to know about the nature of the relation between memory, historical narrative, and self-formation... [We need to] show how changes in intellectual and political climate affect the frameworks through which memory and history are structured, thereby affecting memory itself and the way in which the meaning of the past is construed (Kenny 1999:421-422, emphasis mine).

A combined emphasis on the elusive nature of remembering (following Teski and Climo) and on the importance of historical and political contexts in anthropological research on memory (following Kenny) is necessary in order to come to an understanding of the continual, productive operation of memory and the possibility of a contradictory consciousness in the lives of white South African migrants (Foucault 1980:59, Gramsci 1971). I argue that personal memories of recent political upheavals, and social changes as

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[12] Teski and Climo subsequently "present five different paths to the ethnography of memory" (Teski and Climo 1995:3). These are *remembering* (looking for details of the past, not consciously trying to change it but to see it as it was), *forgetting* (a conscious suppression of memories that challenge present identities and actions of individuals and groups), *reconstructing* (when cultural memories have not been written down or have been lost in some way), *metamorphosis* (the evolution of memory from one form to another) and *vicarious memory* (when the memories of others become a part of reality for those who hear the memories but have not experienced the events to which the memories refer). Consult Teski and Climo 1995:3-10 for

a result of these upheavals (including [perceptions of] rising levels of violence and crime; see Caldeira 2000, Shaw 2002) in South Africa are a strong factor in white South Africans' choice to emigrate from South Africa to places like Canada. In the case of these migrants, memory seems to operate on various levels: not only does it aid in the justification of the migration choice itself on a cognitive level; it also works to increase anxious emotions concerning loved ones left behind in South Africa (on traumatic memory, see the edited volume by Antze and Lambek [1996]).

As mentioned earlier, Brettell has pointed out that anthropological migration theory has "focused less on the broad scope of migration flows than on the articulation between the place whence a migrant originates and the place or places to which he or she goes" (Brettell 2000:98). She therefore argues that migrants' memories of the place from which they came are key to an understanding of their present roles and positions in the society in which they now find themselves. Related to this issue is the fact that past migration research has often focused on ethnic enclaves established by migrants in host societies.[13] While white South Africans who have come to Canada do not live in an ethnic enclave, through a certain shared history and a kind of cultural understanding (which can nevertheless be very fragile), recognitions, ties and friendships do exist between white South African migrants in Canada, as do discussions on and (dis)agreements about the ongoing situation in South Africa. In the thesis, I approach the

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a discussion.

[13] A notable exception to this trend can be found in Lamphere 1986 and Lamphere et al 1992. Lamphere takes a political economy approach to migration research: she and her co-researchers have taken U.S. structural and political changes into account in their examination of the place of new immigrants in U.S. cities. Thus, "the contrast [drawn] between newcomers and established residents allowed researchers to focus not on ethnicity and issues of identity and assimilation but on interrelations as they are enacted in particular [institutional] situations and on strategies that produced a wide range of outcomes, from conflict

experiences of my informants through an analysis of the links between their memories of South Africa and their contemporary experiences in southern Ontario.

How do memories of a certain place construct and shape migrant identities? 'Identity' as an analytical concept has, of course, been prevalent in anthropology for some time, though its definition has changed over the years. As Lash and Friedman have pointed out, historically "[i]dentities have always been defined for individuals externally" (Lash and Friedman 1992:17),[14] and only with modernity and capitalist expansion did an opposing process of self-identification arise (also see Collier 1997). Keeping in mind that the capitalist system has affected and continues to affect various peoples and places in highly differentiated and oppressive ways, it has been argued that early ethnographic writing (often supported, as it was, by colonialist governments) was also a form of defining a people's identity externally (see also Crehan 1997:54-62, 65-67).[15] Nowadays, this anthropological history is constantly being rethought and challenged; indeed, changes in anthropological thinking have coincided with changes in the construction and definition of different social and cultural identities.

This development has meant that ethnographers must now take a whole variety of competing and complementary sources into account when considering their informants' identities, including "the locality, the economy, his or her national state, the global context, the media, popular culture, the ethnographer him/herself, [and] the subject's own increasing self-reflexivity" (Lash and Friedman 1992:25; see also Appadurai 1991, Behar

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to competition to accommodation" (Lamphere 1992:19).

[14] For example, through heraldic titles (in medieval times) and passports (under the absolutist state).

[15] However, the notion of identity was not used very often in early or classic anthropological texts. It should also be kept in mind that early ethnographic writing did, at times, work as a counter to certain racist and colonialist constructions.

1995, Fischer 1986 and Marcus 1992). Moreover, the concept has been elaborated through considerations of the notion of (individual) agency, gendered approaches to ethnographic research and analysis, and the genre of the life story (see for example Behar 1993, Gordon 1999, Howard-Bobiwash 1999, Mintz 1989, Ong 1995 and Patai 1988). This line of thought has culminated in the widespread anthropological understanding that every human being possesses multiple identities, and that these, taken together, might very well be contradictory and/or conflictual.

As mentioned earlier in this subsection, one strategy I use to come to an understanding of white South African migrants' current identity projects is through an examination of the links between their memories of South Africa and the migration experience. At the same time, it is important to take into account the work of scholars who have, since the late 1950s and early 1960s, "progressively rejected the idea of cultures as discretely bounded, territorialized, relatively unchanging, and homogenous units" (Brettell 2000:97); indeed, it is this factor which has made "thinking and theorizing about migration… increasingly possible" (Brettell 2000:97). Anthropologists and others have instead become interested in our increasingly globalized, transnational world, where some boundaries seem to disappear altogether while others remain in place (especially those that are the result of economic inequalities), or take on different facets (see Appadurai 1996, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). As Brettell explains:

> Transnationalism… is defined as a social process whereby immigrants operate in social fields that transgress geographic, political, and cultural borders… [It] aptly suits the study of population movements in a world where improved modes of transportation as well as the images that are transmitted by means of modern telecommunications have shortened the social distance between sending and receiving societies (Brettell 2000:104).

Migration studies and the concept of transnationalism may be fruitfully drawn upon in anthropology, especially in light of the increasing movement of peoples across the globe, of which my field research is an example. However, an in-depth study of migrants' experiences needs to draw on other analytical tools as well, such as an examination of the workings of power, and the anthropology of memory and identity formation discussed above. Finally, an important theoretical contribution to the thesis is provided by feminist anthropology, and particularly its influence in migration studies, to which I now turn.

Gender and Migration in Anthropology

Feminist anthropologists have clearly established the significance of focusing on women's memories and experiences in the migration process, though this is a relatively recent development (see Brettell 2000:108-112 for an overview). Indeed, by the 1980s and early 1990s an increasing number of anthropologists and sociologists began to investigate the migration experiences of women.[16] In 1992, Donna Gabaccia suggested that there were aspects of female migration studies that could and should be further explored:

> More recently, women's studies has become concerned with the multicultural diversity of women's experiences; culture, however, is still usually conflated with 'racial ethnic' or 'minority' culture; foreign birth or nationality, language, and religion are less frequently considered (Gabaccia 1992:xiv).

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[16] Migration experiences investigated at the time, by female and feminist anthropologists and sociologists, often focused on two important aspects: the *ethnic* experience, as transported from sending society to receiving society, and the *female* experience, as lived through women's roles as wives, mothers, and workers. Examples are Cohen's work among Moroccan Jewish women in Canada (Cohen 1987), Gilad's ethnography of Yemeni Jewish women in Israel (Gilad 1989), di Leonardo's work among Italian-American women in northern California (di Leonardo 1987), and the papers in Gabaccia's edited volume, entitled *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States* (Gabaccia 1992), as well as those in Simon and Brettell's edited volume, entitled *International Migration: The Female Experience* (Simon and Brettell 1986).

The thesis that follows incorporates each of the aspects mentioned by Gabaccia. As explained earlier, a focus on whiteness as a significant aspect of South African migrant women's lives serves to add to an analysis of the migration experiences of white women from South Africa. In addition, my emphases on national identity and different religious experiences among female informants also contribute to current migration research in women's studies.

Brettell writes that "[i]mmigrant women are often at the center of… immigrant networks. They both initiate and maintain them" (Brettell 2000:108; see also di Leonardo 1987). She further argues for an in-depth investigation of women's roles in the migration process:

> In general, anthropological research on immigrant women that is framed in relation to the domestic/public model, the opposition between production and reproduction, or issues of power and authority, all of which are central to feminist anthropological theory (Moore 1988, 1994), indicates a set of complex and varied responses to the necessity of balancing work and family life. In some cases greater equality between men and women is the result, in others it is not. The differences must be explained by a close examination of cultural factors (including gender ideology) and economic constraints (Brettell 2000:111).

One possible scholarly presentation of the complex aspects of women's and/or men's roles and identities presents itself in the life story or life history approach in anthropology. The use of life story methodology has been a debated approach in the process of research analysis (see for example Mintz 1960, 1989). But, as Mintz asserts, this method of dealing with material gathered from one particular person can be especially helpful "when we are trying to understand rapid social and economic changes, as these are experienced with some immediacy by the informants" (Mintz 1989:791). In this sense, the political events of the 1990s in South Africa and their accompanying

changes, also for South Africa's white population, should not simply be considered background information to their specific migrant experience in Canada. Rather, life stories allow both ethnographer and reader to come to a closer understanding of the ways in which political, economic and social changes have directly impacted the lives of white South Africans.

Life story approaches also serve to illustrate specifically gendered ways and aspects of telling a story or relating a memory (see Behar 1993, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996 and Patai 1988), and as such can be revealing of different complexities and subjectivities in men's and women's lives. In reference to this thesis, the life story approach allows for a greater understanding and a deeper appreciation of the circumstances that particular white South African female migrants have faced, and the choices they have made in light of these circumstances.[17]

The Fieldwork Setting and Methodology

Overview of the Research

The research that I conducted during the spring and summer of 2003 took place in southern Ontario, reaching from the Niagara Peninsula through the region known as the Golden Horseshoe (around the edge of Lake Ontario) and into the Holland Marsh district, located just north of the city of Toronto. During the summer I lived with my family in Flamborough, a rural area nestled west of Toronto between the cities of Hamilton, Guelph and Burlington - thus centrally located to enable me to carry out fieldwork over a

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[17] Accordingly, Part II of the thesis examines the life stories of two 'British' South African women who have permanently settled in Canada. However, the life story approach also pertains to segments of Part I of the thesis (particularly Chapter Five), where I examine Afrikaners' (both men's and women's) accounts of

relatively large area. This geographical context was necessitated by the fact that white South African migrants to southern Ontario do not live in an 'ethnic enclave'; instead, they 'mix in' with the rest of the Canadian population who reside in and around Toronto, the cities of Hamilton and Ancaster, and the Niagara Peninsula.

Most of the research was carried out at people's homes, where I met with them over coffee, lunch or dinner. Especially during the primary stages of fieldwork, I visited people in order to establish initial relationships and to explain the purposes of the research. This was done especially with people who lived relatively close by. In the case of those South African immigrants who lived furthest away from Flamborough, I explained over the phone why I was calling them and asked whether they would be interested in participating in the research. My first visit with people in this latter group would then include a time set aside for an interview. One major advantage of conducting research in people's homes is that it allows the researcher to observe informants' households and any specific elements that might contribute to an understanding of their stories, for example an informant's relationship with his or her spouse and children, the decoration and upkeep of the house, the food and drink served during a visit or a dinner, photo albums shared during a visit, and so on. A second advantage is that people are often comfortable in the familiar surroundings of their homes, enabling them to speak more freely than they might in other settings. Related to this point is the fact that, since white South Africans live scattered across southern Ontario and are mostly 'mixing in' with middle-class Canadian society,[18] critical ethnographic insight may be gained from

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Christianity and political consciousness in South Africa during and after apartheid.
[18] There are exceptions to this general observation. For example, one informant lived in Social Assistance

observations made in their own homes.

In total, I carried out field research in twenty-four South African migrant households. As the research became more intensive in late May, I began to spend more time following up on interviews with two groups of people who were willing to delve deeper into their personal stories. The first group consisted of several Afrikaner couples,[19] while the second comprised a group of British South African women and their families (see below). All extended interviews were held at people's homes, and although July and August were clearly a busy time for parents who had children at home from school, in those cases the summer holidays did allow me to observe family interactions in greater depth and detail.

Finally, participant observation was carried out at a number of public and other events, both social and religious. Events were nevertheless limited due to the low number of activities that South Africans seemed to organize amongst themselves.[20] Naturally, I attended events in which my informants were involved. The majority of these turned out to be Christian services and meetings, ranging from Dutch Reformed church services, to Presbyterian services, to a number of charismatic Christian meetings in which my

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housing, while others lived in areas that are considered to be 'lower middle class.' Often, these informants had not yet succeeded in finding jobs, despite the fact that they had university qualifications. After some time in Canada, this tended to become a matter of considerable frustration and disappointment for several of my informants.

[19] Interviews with people who identified themselves as Afrikaner were all conducted in English. While some Afrikaners still spoke Afrikaans amongst themselves, they knew the English language, not only from their migrant experience in Canada but also from South Africa, where English and Afrikaans were both official languages during the apartheid years.

[20] A certain number of informants said that contact with other South Africans was not very important for them; indeed, most even argued that they wanted specifically to 'integrate into Canadian society' rather than spend time with other South Africans. As one informant explained, South African society was and remains very fragmented and differentiated, also among the white population. In turn, conflicts and differences that existed back in South Africa have now been 'transplanted' to Canada, where they remain under the surface of the migrant experience. Thus, she concluded, ties between white South African

informants played a role. Other events that I attended included a 'traditional' South African *braai* (Afrikaans for barbeque) as well as the annual South African Freedom Day, held in Toronto at the end of April to commemorate the first democratic elections held in South Africa from April 27-29, 1994.

The complexities (discussed earlier, in the theoretical section of this chapter) that constitute, at least in part, white South African migrants' identities and subjectivities proved to be of great significance in the lives of my informants. I was acquainted with several Afrikaner couples before I began the fieldwork, which led me to assume that more Afrikaner contacts would be established with their aid. Yet I had to be careful about using identifying terms and labels, and for this reason I chose to introduce myself to people as 'a student interested in the stories of people from South Africa who have moved to Canada.' Indeed, I did not wish to assume beforehand any identifications or constructions of self that potential informants might or might not be motivated to draw upon.

Upon arrival in southern Ontario I worked with my established contacts, while also pursuing different venues that could lead to other interested South Africans. Many people were of assistance in this process, notably members of my own Dutch Reformed migrant community who happened to know one or more South Africans. In fact, all of my South African contacts (except for one male, one couple and two Indian South Africans) originated through personal contacts.[21] As the research progressed, it became

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immigrants to Canada can be expected to be minimal and fragile.

[21] It is important to note that none of my informants worshipped in my family's Dutch Reformed home congregation. Also, when calling strangers for the first time, it proved very helpful to have been referred to them by someone they knew. Upon mentioning the contact's name, people usually became more open and willing to listen to what I had to say.

apparent that I could and should not limit myself to establishing contacts with Afrikaner immigrants only. By the end of May I had come to know a number of British South Africans, and by way of several conversations, I realized that British South Africans (as whites) thought about and dealt with many of the same issues as did Afrikaner migrants. I therefore decided to pursue both groups of people. In all, I interviewed eight couples and one single woman who identified themselves as Afrikaners. On the side of those who identified themselves as British, I interviewed six women and two men independently, as well as four couples. To contextualize the narratives of these individuals, I spoke with and interviewed one Dutch-origin couple who had moved to South Africa in the 1950s (as part of the Dutch movement abroad in the years following World War II) and then left the country again after some years; one couple categorized as 'coloured' under the old apartheid divisions (they now identified themselves as 'black'); and two Indian exiles who fled South Africa during apartheid for their work with the ANC.

The level of education of white South Africans, both British and Afrikaner, also needs to be taken into account in the analysis that follows. Clearly the white population of South Africa reaped the benefits of a highly developed educational system under apartheid (Beinart 2001:180,182), affecting in part their expectations of and settlement in Canada. While the majority of my informants had found employment in Canada, sometimes after a trying period of re-examinations required by professional organizations and the provincial and federal governments (in the case of medical doctors, dentists, psychologists and teachers), others had not been so lucky. Middle-aged, without Canadian experience, and with university degrees that went largely unrecognized in the Canadian context, several of my informants felt no small amount of frustration and anger.

However, this experience was limited to British South African informants. In my sample, six male Afrikaner informants had Ph.D. degrees, as did the one single female Afrikaner informant and one married female. All who carried Ph.D.'s were currently employed as ministers,[22] professors or researchers, save one in the medical profession. Among my British informants, four held Ph.D.'s, three of whom were women. Two worked in the medical profession, one was employed as a professor and researcher, and the one male British informant with a Ph.D. was unemployed. The majority of the remainder, especially the males, had at least the equivalent of a Bachelor's or a Master's degree.

Once, in conversation with British South African Andy Warren, Andy wished to know how I had managed to meet 'all these South Africans' for my research project. I explained to him that it had mostly been a matter of the classic snowball effect, of contacts who have contacts who have contacts. Since Andy, still unemployed after four years in Canada, seemed particularly disillusioned about the lack of effective networking among South African immigrants, I tried to be encouraging by saying that while there might not be any major community, "there does seem to be something…" Yet Andy persisted,

> Everybody knows, everybody knows. But the point is that, that's like bush telegraph. Okay? You bang your drum and… and that one over there hears and bangs the drum and it goes through and through and through and down.

To a certain extent, Andy was right. White South Africans seemed to know each other, though at times they only seemed to know *of* each other (see n.20). While I had no difficulty locating people, and while most of them welcomed the idea of speaking about

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[22] In fact, the majority of my male Afrikaner informants were employed as ministers, or their first Canadian job had been ministerial (in effect, their 'official' title was 'Rev. Dr. So-and-so'). The religious and faith-

their memories of South Africa and the migration experience, it proved more difficult to come to an understanding of the often fragile connections holding South Africans together in the Canadian context.

Extended Interviews

As I mentioned above, during the course of the summer I decided to focus on two subgroups of research participants, in each of which people knew of each other and/or had befriended each other. The first group consisted of the Afrikaners mentioned earlier. The majority of these people had Dutch Reformed backgrounds, and I argue that religious ties and migrant networking allowed these Afrikaners, at least in part, to settle in Canada. During fieldwork, I interviewed five Afrikaner couples twice each. Although I spoke with and visited some of the wives when they were on their own, it was not feasible to interview them independently. I believe that this reluctance was motivated partly by the religious beliefs and sacred views of marriage that Dutch Reformed-born Afrikaners continue to adhere to, albeit to varying degrees.[23]

The second group I worked with comprised a number of British South Africans. The majority of this group resided north of Toronto, in the King Township region near Holland Marsh. In the case of my British informants, it proved much easier to interview women on their own, so that their particular perspectives could be explored more easily through interviews, and not just by way of participant observation.[24] Also significant

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based ties between Afrikaners in South Africa and Canada are explored in Chapter Five.
[23] See my chapter on religiosity and political awareness among Afrikaner informants (Chapter Five).
[24] My work with British South African women can be compared to Micaela di Leonardo's (1987) analysis. Having conducted research with Italian-Americans living in California, di Leonardo proposed that we focus on "women's domestic or kin-centered networks" because "[w]e now see them as the products of conscious strategy, as crucial to the functioning of kinship systems, as sources of women's autonomous power and

among my British South African informants was that several women in this group had come to Canada on their own some years ago, marrying Canadians and permanently settling in along the way. I thus carried out fieldwork with this group somewhat differently than the approach I took to the work with my Afrikaner informants. In this vein, I befriended two British South African women who are themselves friends. Both are around forty, and both are married with several children. With them, I carried out extended interviews and participant observation over cups of coffee, glasses of juice, lunches and dinner throughout the spring and summer. Their detailed memories in the form of narratives and anecdotes, and the contextualizing data gathered from their families, form an ideal body of material for the life story approach in anthropological writing. Their narratives, and my analysis thereof, comprise the second part of the thesis (see Part II).

Outline of Thesis Structure and Chapters

In the theoretical and methodological overviews of this introductory chapter, I have emphasized the problematic tensions that exist in the lives of white South African migrants. These tensions encompass essentialist notions of black and white, British and Afrikaner, and intentional or unintentional combinations or deviations from such constructions. As became apparent during many conversations, all informants drew on such notions but in a variety of ways, depending on who or what they were talking about. Thus, distinctions were made based on the point one was trying to get across. For instance, in reference to the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, the Soweto riots of 1976, or

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possible primary sites of emotional fulfillment and, at times, as the vehicles for actual survival and/or

the declaration of a State of Emergency in the mid-1980s, the 'instigators,' or alternatively the 'sufferers,' were always *the blacks*. But in recalling a domestic servant, people would often say "She was a Xhosa," or "She came from Bophuthatswana, that was her homeland. That's where her family lived."

A similar range between essentialist and more complex understandings existed as well in relation to the white population of South Africa, where distinctions among whites depended on the context being described. In opposition to *the blacks*, *the whites* took on a joint role, which could yet be shattered in a matter of seconds at the memory of, for instance, the division between Afrikaans and English schools under the apartheid regime. For these reasons, informants' ways of *essentializing* in their discourse, especially through the workings of memory, will form a running theme throughout the thesis, as a way of gaining a better understanding of the ways in which Afrikaner and British South African migrants to Canada make sense of their experiences of or with racism (-in-reverse), apartheid legacies, and violence. A second running theme throughout the thesis is that of *transformations*. White South African immigrants to Canada have experienced at least *two* great transformations, the first in relation to the South African political upheavals of the 1990s, and the second in relation to their international migration to Canada.

According to the above delineations, my theoretical approach in the thesis derives first of all from the work of Bourdieu, especially his notion of the structural workings of the habitus (Bourdieu 1977). In addition, I draw on Foucault's ideas concerning the operation of knowledge and power in societies (Foucault 1977, 1980). However, the

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political resistance" (di Leonardo 1987:440).

most important theoretical influence in the thesis derives from the work of Gramsci, who clearly attempted to incorporate the notion and occurrence of *change* in his philosophy of social, political and economic life, through his development of the concepts of hegemony and contradictory consciousness (Gramsci 1971). While other scholars have developed these Gramscian concepts in reference to colonized and subordinate groups in society (see Crehan 2002a:123-127, Landry and MacLean 1996), I incorporate them in light of the experiences of white South African migrants – a group of dominant people who grew up and lived in the colonial setting of apartheid South Africa. Accordingly, the thesis points towards the ways in which dominating and dominant white South Africans also lived under and experienced hegemonies and consciousness, both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid years.

I structure this thesis by dividing seven of my ten chapters into two parts.[25] Three chapters are presented under Part I: White South African Experiences of Transition. Chapter Three: Memories of Servants and Domestic Transformations discusses the memories that informants shared with me concerning the relationships they had with their nonwhite labourers and domestic servants in South Africa. While some people spoke about memories of their own childhood, others (especially women) related the adaptation process of living without a maid in their new Canadian settings. Servant narratives thus bring to the fore several important issues, including the key anthropological topics of 'racial' and ethnic, class, and gender differentiations. The complexities generated when each of these come together in *one* relationship -- between 'maid and madam,' to refer to

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[25] Chapter Two consists of a brief outline of the history of South Africa, from the earliest European efforts to colonize southern Africa until the present-day political situation in the country.

Cock's title[26] -- will be the topic of the third chapter.

In <u>Chapter Four: Discourses of Subjectivity and Violence</u>, I elaborate on previous research on subjectivity, violence and 'the politics of recognition' (Taylor 1994) before presenting my own research findings. In the case of my informants, on the one hand the institution of apartheid, widely referred to as 'the system' by my informants, is now understood to have been of such strength that it even 'brainwashed' its adherents, generating particular white South African subjectivities. On the other hand, people argued that their and their families' lives had been, in the 'new' South Africa, endangered because of the constant threat and experience of physical violence and crime. I analyze both forms of discourse in this chapter, and conclude with a discussion of South African 'black' humour as a 'white' strategy (productive of essentialisms and racism) in light of the political tensions of everyday life in South Africa.

In <u>Chapter Five: Afrikaner Christianity and Political Consciousness</u>, I focus on my Afrikaner, Dutch Reformed-background informants, the majority of whom made both political and religious choices that eventually led them to their current positions in Canada. While political awareness was often already generated in the South African context, and while some worked within this context for numerous years in Dutch Reformed and other Christian settings, the chance to immigrate to Canada primarily offered itself through job opportunities available in different Christian settings in the migrant context. This chapter forms, in part, an exploration of Afrikaner informants' engagement with the productive and transformative power of the Christian faith in order to work against the apartheid grain. At the same time, it is also an analysis of South

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[26] Jacklyn Cock, *Maids and Madams: Domestic Workers under Apartheid* (1989[1980]).

African networking with other South Africans and with Canadians in the migrant setting.

Part II: The Stories of Two British South African Migrant Women forms the second part of the thesis, consisting of four chapters. In Chapter Six: Introducing Life Story Analysis, I first provide an overview of the problems associated with representation in anthropology, after which I consider some of the key tenets of life story methodology that serve to guide my presentation of the accounts of two British South African migrant women. Chapter Seven: Sandy's Story and Chapter Eight: Jane's Story explore in detail the life stories of Sandy Richardson and Jane Cameron. By adopting the life story approach, I add to postcolonial critiques in anthropology while emphasizing the multiple identifications and subjectivities revealed in these women's accounts, experienced by both on their journeys across countries, continents and oceans. Their narratives also finely illustrate the power of transformational experiences, whether these be located within the structure of white life in South Africa, in particular political actions or in an individual conversion experience. Lastly, life stories allow gendered perspectives to be explored; in this vein, these chapters contribute especially to feminist anthropology and research on women's experiences of migration. I conclude the second part of the thesis in Chapter Nine: Comparing and Analyzing Sandy's and Jane's Accounts, where I identify and examine the similarities and differences in their narratives.

In Chapter Ten: Conclusion, I bring the different strands of the thesis together again with a final theoretical emphasis on the workings of memory, the construction of migrant discourses, and the dialectical balance between hegemonic structures and agency in the lives of white South Africans who now live in Canada. I review how essentialist tensions between white/black, British/Afrikaner, and other categories of meaning and

experience have worked together with the South African political transformation to generate the (sometimes ambivalent) desire to emigrate from South Africa, including the long-term justification of that choice.

'Writing Race': A Note on the Use of Quotation Marks in the Thesis

Writing a thesis about the lives of South African migrants, including their stories and recollections of life in South Africa, necessarily requires some decisions concerning the use of difficult terms and powerful concepts such as I have discussed in this introduction. In this vein, this chapter serves as an initial problematization of such notions, including (but not limited to) *white*, *black*, *tribe*, *Indian*, *brown*, *coloured*, *Afrikaner* and *British*, as well as *racist* and *essentialist*. However, as I have also made clear, there are a great number of other categories and dichotomies that impact people's lives and subjectivities, including *male*, *female*, *worker*, *lower class*, *dominant*, *Christian*, *Dutch Reformed*, and so on, that my informants did not bring up as often or seem to struggle with to the same extent as the terms mentioned earlier. Of course, each of these categorizations and many others also affected informants' lives, and they are accordingly discussed and problematized in the body of the thesis.

In this introductory chapter, I have followed the same use of quotation marks that also informs the remainder of the thesis. When initiating a new topic in a new chapter or section, I remind the reader of the difficult or problematic meaning of a 'race'- or ethnic-related term by adding single quotation marks around the word or concept in question. Thereafter, on the basis of this chapter and the quotation marks around a word when it is first mentioned, I assume that the reader is aware of the contested meanings surrounding

the term in question. I thus leave out the quotation marks after initially mentioning the term in a new chapter or section.

Chapter Two: The South African Historical Context

Migration movements are the result of complex historical, political and economic circumstances (Brettell and Simon 1986:6, Wolf 1982:361), which require detailed attention. In order to come to an understanding of the gendered experiences of middle-aged 'white' South African migrants (members of the generation that grew up in South Africa during apartheid), we thus need to reflect in some detail on the political, social and economic backgrounds in which they were born and raised. In this brief chapter I focus on four themes, each of which addresses an important development in South Africa's colonial history. These are: (1) early European settlers in southern Africa, (2) capitalist developments and the South African or Boer War, (3) the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, (4) white life during apartheid.

Early European Settlers in Southern Africa

In his well-known book *Europe and the People Without History*, Eric Wolf argued that early European expansion and the later capitalist mode of production, which originated in England, operated together to form a colonial history that continues to define politics, economies and social life on a worldwide scale (Wolf 1982:298). In the case of southern Africa, the first permanent European migrants settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, establishing a Dutch East India Company station under the auspices of Dutch merchant Jan van Riebeeck (Davenport and Saunders 2000:21). The Dutch held sway over the colony for much of the 17th and 18th centuries, while their maritime empire controlled the high seas. Over time, these Dutch settlers were joined by groups of Protestant Germans, as well as French Huguenots who had fled France in order to escape

Catholic oppression. Since the Protestant Reformation had divided Western Europe in two, fleeing French Protestants initially sought refuge in Calvinist north Holland before resettling in southern Africa. Upon arrival at the Cape, both Germans and French joined the Dutch in their farming endeavours, eventually intermarrying with the Boer (Afrikaans for 'farmer') communities.

In 1795, the British arrival ensued in a series of power struggles that resulted in the British takeover of the Cape in 1806 (Davenport and Saunders 2000:40-44). The Great Trek inland of the Boers some years later pushed the frontier north, so that by the early 1870s

> [f]our settler states had been established. The original Cape Colony… boasted the largest area and settler population. It had recently acquired a parliamentary system and a measure of self-government. Natal remained a British colony. The Boer states of the Orange Free State and South African Republic on the interior highveld of the country struggled to maintain their independence from British and Cape influence (Beinart 2001:1).

The two main settler communities in southern Africa were thus the Boers (that is, the Dutch, who had been joined by French and German migrants, and who also became known as 'Afrikaners'), and later the 'British.' Following Beinart, "[t]he African people of the region had been deeply affected by colonization over two centuries" (Beinart 2001:1). The Cape inhabitants, the San and the Khoikhoi, had been either decimated or displaced to work on white farms or at mission stations. The eastern Xhosa and the Sotho of the highveld had been conquered and incorporated, at least in part. Yet there remained a number of relatively independent African polities, either between the settler states or just north of the frontier. The largest of these was the Zulu kingdom north of Natal on the east coast, as well as the smaller chiefdoms of the Swazi, Tswana, Pedi, Venda, Mpondo

and Thembu. Nevertheless, all of them would be "drawn decisively, with more or less force, under British or settler rule" within the next couple of decades (Beinart 2001:1). As will be demonstrated below, struggles between the Boers and the British and their slow but sure conquering of African communities led to an increasingly complex colonial situation in southern Africa.

Capitalist Developments and the South African/Boer War

In 1867, diamonds were discovered in the Transvaal, and less than two decades later tremendously rich deposits of gold were found along the Witwatersrand reef. Mining expanded at a rapid pace from those years on. According to Beinart, this was no surprise; by the late 19th century "[t]he gold standard had been widely adopted... as the basis for currencies, and international markets for gold, based in London, were more than usually hungry" (Beinart 2001:27). Mining development thus became key to South Africa's expansion as a colony, requiring large quantities of capital and labour, the latter of which was supplied by 'black men' from various chiefdoms who worked "at the heart of the economy thousands of feet underground" (Beinart 2001:29; see also Wolf 1982:367). While migrant labour in industrial development was not unique to southern Africa (rather, it was one instance of the worldwide transition from agrarian to industrial work, and from rural to urban life), what was particular here

> were the scale and longevity of migrancy. For over a century it was the dominant form of labour supply to the mines. It was extended to other industries and enterprises and became central to government policy. The practice of housing migrant workers in huge, single-sex compounds near the place of work, with all the associated controls, tensions, and personal frustrations, was perhaps unique in its extent (Beinart 2001:30).[1]

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[1] At the same time, Beinart warns his readers that black male migrancy to the southern African mines was a

Along with wealth-seeking investors, merchants and increasingly greater numbers of black labourers, the cities of Kimberley and Johannesburg expanded rapidly through the first years of the southern African gold rush. By the early 20th century, black males and youths in Natal and the Rand, as well as black females in the Cape area, had also come to be employed as domestic servants in the homes and on the farms of white settlers, both Afrikaner and British (Beinart 2001:33). However, under a tight system of labour control, Africans were denied legal residence in most towns and cities and on the majority of white-owned lands, since they were subject to pass laws that prevented their free movement. Following Wolf,

> [t]he effect of these laws was to inhibit the growth of a stable African working class in towns -- a class able to make demands on the economic and political system -- and to force urban Africans back on their ties with their Reserves. Simultaneously, white workers were granted advantages in access to supervisory positions and in remuneration, resulting in a segmented labour market maintained by political means (Wolf 1982:368).

While the southern African working classes, the vast majority of whom were black, were thus formed and growing in numbers, we also need to consider the relations between the Boers and the British during the decades of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Certainly the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Transvaal heightened British capitalist interest in the area. At the same time, the British possessed the capital and technology required to develop the mines more so than did the poorer Boer

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long and complex process, and not simply a matter of black men being forced from their communities into the mines by white oppressors. Rather, "[t]he origins of mass migrancy need to be sought as much in the dynamics of African societies as in the demands of the gold mines" (Beinart 2001:32). We therefore need to take into account that workers from the various black societies mentioned in the previous section, as well as 'foreign' black labourers (mostly from Mozambique), ended up at the mines in different ways and for a variety of reasons. As Beinart asserts, some communities were initially motivated to send their young men to the mines (see Beinart 2001:30-35; see also Coplan 1987 for an ethnographic illustration of Lesotho

communities (Beinart:28). Amalgamating business interests became an option, but events turned out differently. By 1888, Briton Cecil Rhodes, who was to be Cape Prime Minister from 1890-1896, "had created an effective monopoly [over the mines] through the De Beers Company, [displacing] smaller companies as well as white and black diggers" (Beinart 2001:28). Rhodes eventually came to control the diamond fields, had a major share in the De Beers Company, and organized the colonization of Rhodesia.

Rhodes's interests were not surprising in light of the colonization of the African continent. While Britain had previously tried to extend its political influence into the Boer republics (1877-81), the Transvaal's newly discovered wealth seemed to threaten British interests in southern Africa as a whole. As Beinart asserts, "[o]ther European powers, such as Germany, were spreading their wings and extending their interests. [Paul] Kruger had established a rail link with Portuguese-held… Mozambique" (Beinart 2001:64). As a result, the British (especially through Rhodes) pressured the rural Afrikaners, whom they thought incapable of managing capitalist industrialization (Beinart 2001:64), for control of the Transvaal.

British intervention eventually led to the South African War, alternatively called the Boer War or Anglo-Boer War, which lasted from 1899-1902. The British had become a strong power worldwide - much stronger than the fledgling Boers, who resorted to guerrilla warfare. British generals responded with

> a scorched-earth policy, burning farmhouses and collecting women and children into concentration camps, where the death rates from disease were very high. About 28,000 Boer civilians died; Boer losses in battle, at about 7,000, were light in comparison. (British forces lost three times this number.) But perhaps one-tenth of the… Boer population lost their lives (Beinart 2001:65-66).

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migrant labourers who work in South Africa).

The anger and resentment that this war generated, especially on the part of the Afrikaners, was enormous (see Beinart 2001:65, Crehan 2002b:179). While the Boers' surrender did lead to Britain's direct control over the Transvaal, this only lasted until 1905. Combined pressure from Great Britain, the demise of Rhodes, and the influence of prominent Cape Afrikaners[2] led to an alliance that became known as the South African Party. It was adopted by a white liberally minded coalition that assumed power in 1910, forming the Union of South Africa.[3] Despite these efforts towards unity, however, the recent war was still fresh in the minds of Afrikaners, especially those who lived in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. As we shall see in the next section, nationalist sentiments were starting to take shape in many Afrikaner communities.

The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

The development of Afrikaner nationalism "was a complex and diffuse process," the construction of which, according to Hermann Giliomee, "only properly began after… 1910" (Giliomee 1983:83-84). While some scholars have emphasized antagonisms between the English and the Boers as the leading causal factor in Afrikaner nationalism (see Giliomee 1983, 1994; see above), others have given primacy to the growth of bounded ethnic and/or religious identities (Adam 1985, Seegers 1993; see below). Yet others have identified the development of the Afrikaans language as an important aspect

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[2] Not all Afrikaners had joined the Great Trek inland. A certain number of Afrikaners had chosen to remain in the Cape Colony, which had led to a division between those Afrikaners who had settled in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State, and those who had remained under British rule. Cape Afrikaners have generally been considered more liberally minded than their inland brothers, and proved more willing to cooperate under British leadership.
[3] The Union included the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony (Orange Free State). The South African Party government was led by Generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts.

in the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism (Bosch 2000, Jansen van Rensburg 1992, Kotzé 2000, Webb and Kriel 2000).[4] All of these analyses contribute to our understanding of the topic under discussion; indeed, as Giliomee has pointed out, "the origins of Afrikaner nationalism in the nineteenth century must be sought within a [wide] economic, institutional, and generational context" (Giliomee 1983:83).

While the exact origin and definition of Afrikaner nationalism remains a matter of debate, we can safely say that an Afrikaner nationalist movement was well underway by the beginning of the 20th century. By that time, Afrikaners had begun to imagine a sovereign, political community (Anderson 1991:6), where they would be able to stand up for their rights and where they would be free to endorse their own culture, language and traditions. In the European climate of the time, this quest for nationalist definitions was not a strange development (see Hobsbawm 1983). As we have seen, the Afrikaners "were squeezed between the economically advanced group, the white English-speakers, who dominated the private sector of the economy, and the disenfranchised African majority, who were subjected to severe racial discrimination" (Giliomee 1994:530).

One important element of Afrikaner nationalism that needs to be underscored is the force that was provided by religious institutionalism. As the colonial situation grew in complexity and conflict, "ethnic entrepreneurs" began to use religion "as a crucial tool for mobilization"; indeed, "[w]ithout the predicates of the Calvinist churches giving the

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[4] According to Schutte, "[a]s a form of popular speech, Afrikaans had its origin in the kitchens and fields of eighteenth-century Cape colonists where Dutch, modified by the Malay dialects of slaves, provided the means of communication between master and servant. The language was given respectability in the late nineteenth century by the First Afrikaans Language Movement led by a number of White Cape intellectuals who encouraged people to 'write as they spoke'… After the Anglo-Boer War, the Second Afrikaans Language Movement popularized the language within the context of Afrikaner nationalism. Today membership of the language community is a debated issue since there are Afrikaans speakers among all the

impetus to the ethnic movement, Afrikaner nationalism is inconceivable" (Adam 1985:174). In 1857, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (the main Afrikaner 'denomination'; see Chapter One, n.4) decided to implement some "limits on ecclesiastical association between white and nonwhite [church] members" (Smith 2000:58-59). Christian life thus came to be characterized along racist lines, and this situation was not to improve for almost a century and a half. Moreover, "the English-speaking churches proved scarcely more helpful in empowering the nonwhite populations than the [Dutch Reformed Church. They] were largely supportive of the 1910 constitution and of other discriminatory governmental race policies" (Smith 2000:59). Even upon the arrival and subsequent growth of the Pentecostal movement in South Africa, churches remained racially divided (Smith 2000:59-60).

Seegers, in her characterization of Afrikanerdom, provides some insight into the cultural life of religious Afrikaner communities. Church bureaucracy, she writes, operates as a strict hierarchical structure; self-assertiveness is harshly condemned and seen as sinful, while humility is considered a virtue. In addition, the minister, elders and deacons, who together comprise the leadership of any one church, are supposed to "have a personal history of meticulous conformity, surviving cultural veto power at every step of the way" (Seegers 1993:484). Seegers also argues that this view of the church corresponds to the Afrikaner family structure, "a strong, ordered unit" where men are "patriarchal figures" and where children are expected to show deference and to live according to the rules their parents have established (Seegers 1993:479). This characterization demonstrates the importance of the relationship between the Dutch

racially defined population groups" (Schutte 1989:217).

Reformed Church and the families that form the basis of this Christian institution.[5]

Finally, while family life and children are thus highly valued within the Dutch Reformed communities of South Africa, one institution is given yet higher status: that of marriage, which is to reflect the relationship between Christ (male, bridegroom) and the church (female, bride).[6] Accordingly, the Dutch Reformed Church assigned specific gender roles to its adherents:

> Although they are designated a natural place, the expectations of women in domesticity are positive. They will be efficient and kind-hearted… But their powers do not generally extend to autonomy or independence: women are creatures of loyalty, who will not confront husbands publicly or when children are present. Under pressure, women support men, not children (Seegers 1993:480).

The hierarchical nature of the Dutch Reformed Church as manifested in Afrikaner church life and in the daily lives of its adherents was an important force that became one of the pillars of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. Indeed, it has been argued that Afrikaner history at the turn of the 19th century "became a search, sanctioned by God, for independence and identity against the combined forces of Mammon and Ham" (Beinart 2001:65).[7] Through the fostering of different religious, political and cultural convictions,

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[5] See also the booklet entitled *Church and Society: A Testimony Approved by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church* (first published in Afrikaans in 1986), 52-53. This booklet concerning church doctrine has now come to be regarded as one of the first official efforts on the part of the Dutch Reformed Church to come to terms with its own participation in a racist and oppressive political system (Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa-General Synodical Commission 1986).

[6] Refer to *Church and Society*, 31-32.

[7] Mammon, in this quote, refers to British capital interests, and thus seems to be a reference to British interests in the Witwatersrand mines specifically. Ham was the third of Noah's sons, who purportedly shamed his father and was therefore cursed (NIV Study Bible 1995, Genesis 9:18-29). Black Africans have been considered the descendants of Ham, who first settled in southwest Asia and northeast Africa and from there migrated south, further into the African subcontinent (see NIV Study Bible 1995, notes on Genesis Chapter 9). Another religious belief that seems to have influenced Afrikaner nationalism to some degree was the idea that the Afrikaner experience of the Great Trek and the subsequent wars against both British and black polities were directly comparable to some experiences of the Old Testament Israelites. I came across this latter belief in conversations with several Afrikaner informants - an indication, it seems, of the continued influence, among some, of Afrikaner nationalist ideas and justifications.

Afrikaners thus increasingly worked toward a nationalist recognition of and for themselves in the first decades of the 20th century.

The 1934 establishment of the Afrikaner National Party and the development of apartheid as state policy in the years following 1948 intensified the racist inequality and oppressive nature of South Africa's class distinctions, the roots of which, as demonstrated above, lay in earlier colonial and capitalist developments. In the final section of this chapter, I briefly consider the status of white South Africans during apartheid.

White Life During Apartheid

When the National Party ('the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism') won power in 1948, "[f]or many years its greatest emphasis was on securing the future existence of the Afrikaner group through apartheid and increasingly repressive security legislation" (Giliomee 1994:530). While this end seemed to have been achieved by the 1970s, the ideals on which D.F. Malan's *gesuiwerde* (purified) National Party had initially been built were beginning to crumble: the racist apartheid system came under attack by the black communities of South Africa (see Mandela 1994) and the international community. In addition, the goal of "survival at all costs and by any means came under increasing attack by Afrikaner intellectuals" as well (Giliomee 1994:540). The National Party was finally dismantled in 1994: 'white totalitarian rule' lost out to 'democratic rule' when the African National Congress came to power in 1994.

When Balthazar Johannes Vorster was voted in to be Prime Minster (1966-78) at the summit of National Party power, he "collected many English-speaking as well as the vast majority of Afrikaner votes" (Beinart 2001:179). Those decades, the 1960s and

1970s, were indeed "the best of times, materially, for white South Africans" (Beinart 2001:180). Following Beinart, this was reflected in demographic trends: by the 1950s over 80 percent of white South Africans lived in urban areas and small towns; by the 1980s, this number had risen to over 90 percent. While Afrikaners benefited in particular from economic growth during the apartheid era, "[i]n the private sector [especially], the job colour bar floated upwards, as whites reaped the benefits of improved training and full employment" (Beinart 2001:180). White living standards were high, regardless of whether one was Afrikaner or British, and houses and cars were regarded as primary status symbols in both communities (Beinart 2001:182).

As Beinart has aptly described, the apartheid regime clearly served both the Afrikaners and the citizens of British background; after all, apartheid segregated groups of people based on the colour of their skin. Accordingly, the National Party could not but provide the British with the same rights they bequeathed on their own Afrikaner communities. For this reason (that is, their advantage and their largely unchallenged acquiescence during the apartheid years), the British need to be understood in part as a white community. Since Afrikaner politics imbued the notion of whiteness with a tremendous amount of power, the lives of white South Africans, regardless of ethnic allegiance, cannot be otherwise considered (see also the theoretical discussion of whiteness in Chapter One).

Yet ethnic allegiances still exist, differentiating Afrikaners and British South Africans even today, especially in their views of South African history and the extent to which they are willing to recognize *their* roles during apartheid, in light of what has become regarded worldwide as a preeminent example of a negative, racist history.

Drawing again on Beinart's analysis, under apartheid

> [w]hite English-speaking middle-class culture still looked partly to Britain…
> Afrikaners were getting richer and the English-speaking working class smaller,
> but class as well as cultural divisions remained significant in urban social
> networks. University education was one dividing line and universities themselves
> were sharply divided between Afrikaans and English (Beinart 2001:181-182).

According to the above quotation, it would be equally discordant to overemphasize the

notion of whiteness without providing due space to the historically situated specificities

of white South Africans' identities, whether British or Afrikaner. As described in the

introductory chapter of the thesis, the identifications and subjectivities thus generated

must be considered as multiple and complex, where constructions of self, family and

community hinge on such essentialisms as white (versus black), British, and Afrikaner

(see Mouffe 2000).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the historical context described in this brief chapter enriches our

understanding of South African colonial history and its legacies - an understanding that is

necessary to an anthropological account of the lives of white South Africans who have

immigrated to Canada. As Crehan has written regarding Gramsci's approach, "[it] was

always one grounded in specific places and specific history" (Crehan 2002a:124). In this

vein, the long and often painful colonial history of South Africa must be kept in mind

throughout the thesis, so that we may clearly comprehend the power relations and

hegemonies that have permeated and continue to influence the lives of white South

African migrants.

Part I: White South African Experiences of Transition

Chapter Three: Memories of Servants[1] and Domestic Transformations

> I can no longer ask how it feels
> To be choked by a yoke-rope
> Because I have seen it for myself in the chained ox.
> The blindness has left my eyes. I have become aware,
> *I have seen the making of a servant*
> *In the young yoke-ox.*
>   "The Making of a Servant," verse 1, by J.R.R. Jolobe (1974).
>   Translated from Xhosa by Robert Kavanagh and Z.S. Qangule.

During the first few weeks of fieldwork, it became apparent that many informants,

and especially women, willingly brought up the issue of having lived with or employed

one or more 'black servants'[2] in South Africa. What seemed particularly interesting was

their *openness* in talking about the maids and other workers they had hired or lived with

in various times and places. Those scholars who have carried out research on household

employment in the southern African context (for example Cock 1989 [1980], Hansen

1989) have reported difficulties in gaining access to the stories and perspectives of

employers, especially white employers, as opposed to those of servants (Cock 1989:171,

Hansen 1989:202).[3] But in the migrant context, women and men who belonged to the

category of employers in South Africa now liked to remember, and in some cases wanted

to speak about, their former servants. In this chapter, I therefore address the multiple

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[1] Informants used several terms in describing their memories of 'servants,' though 'servant' was the most common. Alternative terms included: 'domestic worker' or simply 'domestic,' 'worker,' 'maid,' 'girl,' 'gardener,' 'boy.' Throughout the chapter, I use these various terms interchangeably. I only came across the term 'household worker' in academic literature (see, for example, Colen and Sanjek 1990).

[2] Almost always, informants described their servants as 'black.' It would sometimes later become apparent that their servant belonged to the 'coloured' category under apartheid or, as they might have said, "our servant was brown" (see Chapter One for a problematization of these terms). This may have been the case more so for those informants who came from the Cape provinces, where the larger coloured communities were located.

[3] From their descriptions, the situation seems to have been more difficult for Jacklyn Cock (1989 [1980]) than for Karen Tranberg Hansen (1989). In part, this may be attributed to the times and places in which their respective studies were carried out. While Cock worked during the highly charged political climate of 1970s and 80s South Africa (before the end of apartheid), Hansen's study was carried out in Zambia in the

ways in which informants remembered their 'girls' and their 'boys.' I argue that over time, new surroundings like the Canadian one allow 'white' South Africans to grapple with their South African childhood histories and their roles as white adult employers of black servants.[4] But while the Canadian context allows white South Africans to address, at least in part, their role in a racist history, their narratives and discourses remain indicative of South Africa's legacy of institutionalized racism.

A number of different issues arose out of informants' memories and stories; this chapter is therefore organized according to the major topics that white South African migrants delineated. In the first section, I discuss the scholarly work that serves to place servant narratives within the relevant anthropological literature. As will become apparent, Bourdieu's notion of the habitus allows us to come to an understanding of the ways in which employer-servant relationships were a normalized and assumed part of everyday life in apartheid South Africa (Bourdieu 1977). In addition, Gramsci's contradictory consciousness serves to illustrate some of the subtle, under-the-surface, or even blatantly open ruptures and twisted situations that sometimes characterized and defined employer-servant relationships.[5] In this section, I also demonstrate how 'race,' class, and gender inequalities pervaded these relationships.

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early 1980s, which at that point had been independent for twenty years (since 1964).

[4] Although it is less common in Canada than it was in South Africa for white South African migrants to hire domestic workers, many Canadians do employ household workers and nannies. Moreover, in some settings large proportions of them come from specific cultural or ethnic backgrounds, as in the case of Filipino household workers and nannies who work mainly in major urban centres such as Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg. My informant Julianne Madison, for instance, employed a Filipino nanny fulltime to take care of her three young children (see Appendix 1). Consult Barber 1997 and Philippine Women Centre of B.C. 2000 for discussions regarding the employment of Filipino domestic workers and nannies in Canada.

[5] For a literary illustration, see the short story entitled *mrs. plum* by Ezekiel Mphahlele, in his collection *in corner b* (1967).

In the second section, I relate the different servant settings[6] that people described.

I consider stories of servants and labourers on Afrikaner farms during apartheid, as well as maids' and gardeners' labour in white homes, both 'British' and 'Afrikaner.' Servant settings also need to be distinguished between those identified as male or female realms, by way of which the gendered nature of the servant-employer relationship becomes apparent (Moore 1988:85-89). In the third section, I address both informants' and servants' awareness (or, to use the Gramscian term, consciousness) of each other's highly differentiated life circumstances, as well as the mistrust that existed between these two unequally situated social groups.[7] The tension -- between awareness and mistrust -- that consequently emerged relates directly to white South Africans' knowledge and understanding of apartheid power and oppression (Foucault 1980, Gramsci 1971). To put it somewhat differently, I thus discuss the balance that existed between white South African awareness of the social and economic suffering of their servants, and their simultaneous fear of and lack of trust in these same workers. A dilemma that arose accordingly concerns the ethical and political decision of whether to employ a servant or not. Finally, I delineate how the servant question remains relevant to those (again, especially women) who now reside in Canada. Not only did women, though hesitantly, speak about how they missed their maid's labour in their new domestic settings in

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[6] In this chapter, I begin relating my own research findings through an exploration of different 'servant settings.' By this term, I mean the social, economic and geographical settings in which nonwhites worked for whites directly - that is, not through an organization, a specific industry, or a company of some kind. Most of the chapter deals with domestic labour in white (urban) households, but I also touch on people's remembered experiences of having black servants and workers on white (mostly Afrikaner) farms, where servants carried out agricultural labour as well as domestic labour in the farmer's house.

[7] It is important to keep in mind that the stories analyzed here derive from white South African migrants' memories. I did not collect stories from nonwhite servants who had worked for white people in South Africa. My insights into the consciousness (of oppression) and mistrust (of white employers) that existed

Canada; several also related how they tried to stay in touch with their former female servants. In my conclusion, I show how informants' complex servant narratives are indicative of the ways in which a person's habitus may be transformed over time as a result of large-scale political and social changes, including international migration.

White Employers, Black Servants: Anthropological Approaches to Domestic Labour

In *At Work in Homes: Household Workers in World Perspective* (1990), Colen and Sanjek introduce their topic by pointing out that household work needs to be located first of all in a global economic perspective (Colen and Sanjek 1990:1). This is necessary because workers "are recruited from households that are less powerful, poorer, and socially disenfranchised to some degree in relation to the households of employers" (Colen and Sanjek 1990:2), which is the case across the world where servants are employed, whether in southern Africa, South America, North America or elsewhere. Class differentiation thus arises as a key factor in any analysis of domestic labour. Hansen reinforces the continued relevance of this point as follows:

> …inequalities in opportunity and income -- in short, class -- …prompted the creation of and fuels today's reproduction of a dependent, subordinate labour form -- paid domestic service -- in various disguises across time and space. Its continued existence is not to be understood as an archaic remnant of the early phases of capitalist development. Vast present-day income gaps coupled with distinctions in consumption styles are central to the production of domestic service, which in turn plays a focal role in reproducing these distinctions (Hansen 1989:6).

Hansen, along with Colen and Sanjek, is not merely concerned with the occurrence of servant labour in the home; more importantly, these scholars emphasize how household

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on the side of the servants follow from conversations and interviews with my white South African informants.

labour is reproduced over time. If this form of labour is built on class inequalities, and if servant-employer relationships are based on economic (and other social, see below) differences, how does this type of work come to be reproduced and normalized? According to Colen and Sanjek, household labour "is put to the tasks of reproduction rather than production" (Colen and Sanjek 1990:3):

> While housework does not produce capital directly, workers perform socially necessary household maintenance, food preparation, child care and socialization, and other reproduction tasks for a wage. The value of household workers' labour is transferred to members of the employing household, permitting them to allocate their time and energies in other ways - to more remunerative or prestigious productive work, leisure, or investment in social relations. The essential point is that the workers' *labour* is utilized to maintain and advance the position of members of the employer household (Colen and Sanjek 1990:3).

If a combination of lack of alternative labour opportunities and poverty forces certain segments of a population to enter into domestic service, their doing so at the same time frees up their employers to pursue a better education and to work at jobs that provide a higher income. This situation represents a vicious circle, by way of which employing a servant in itself, regardless of the employer-servant relationship in any particular household, contributes to and reproduces a social institution that is, at a basic level, highly unequal and oppressive. In this way household labour, by its very nature, reproduces class inequalities.

Yet the master-servant relationship as remembered, laughed about, and anguished over by various informants cannot be comprehended solely on the basis of an economic class analysis. Indeed, domestic labour has developed in different ways in many countries across the world (see Colen and Sanjek 1990), and in the South African case, we need to investigate how 'race' and gender have intersected with class to reproduce and

normalize, over time, the employment of black servants in the homes and on the farms of both British and Afrikaner South Africans (see Stoler 1995:137-164). Hansen's *Distant Companions* (1989) describes the pre- and post-independence development of servant labour in Zambia between 1900 and 1985.[8] She lays out in detail how white colonial households and (after independence in 1964) expatriate, mission, Asian and upper-class Zambian households have preferred and continue to prefer black male servants over female servants.[9] In South Africa on the other hand, as in most locations, servant employment developed in such a way that female black servants had become the norm by the early to mid-20th century. Hansen points towards the prevalence of an ideologically charged rumour, labeled the "black peril," in places south of Northern Rhodesia

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[8] Zambia became independent in 1964. This is an important factor in Hansen's study, since it allows her to track the different ways in which domestic labour was 'racialized' in the pre-independence period, and how this form of inequality has been changing in the post-independence years. As she writes: "The colonial period's hierarchical relationship between servant and master was expressed mainly in racial terms, and the unequal relationship between the two interdependent parties accentuated, marked, and recreated a discourse that made the two even more unlike one another. The distinction between servant and employer is today no longer necessarily rationalized in racial terms, but more often in class terms. The antagonisms that such terms veil still revolve around the conception of the servant as other and one who is different, that is, less capable or worthy than the employer. This conception turns on the need to uphold the hierarchical distinctions within the private household -- between servant and employer -- so that work may go on" (Hansen 1989:247-248). In one way, Hansen's work may be indicative of some of the transformations that South Africa is currently experiencing. In other words, the fact that upper-class Zambians are now employing lower-class Zambians may begin to occur in South Africa, where some black South Africans may now be employing lower-class black South Africans (several informants pointed out that this is indeed happening in South Africa). As Hansen has indicated, this kind of transformation would reframe discussions of domestic service in terms of class rather than 'race.' Since this chapter centers on the narratives of white women and men who lived in and, mostly, employed black servants in colonial South Africa during apartheid, and since apartheid was only dismantled in 1994, my analysis necessarily reflects the connecting and overlapping factors between class *and* 'race.'

[9] See especially Hansen's second chapter, 'Women for Hire? Sex and Gender in Domestic Service' (1989:84-153), where she explains why male servants were (in colonial Rhodesia) and have remained (in independent Zambia) the preferred option for domestic service employment. First, colonial demographic factors, whereby a disparate sex ratio on the part of the white population (many more males than females) led to "some white men's using African women to fulfill their sexual desires" (Hansen 1989:106), contributed to later sexual anxiety on the part of white 'madams' concerning the employment of black females. Second, "the system of contract migrant male labour [mostly on the Rhodesian copperbelt] may explain why white women chose African men for their domestic servants, since according to that system, African women were supposed to remain in the villages" (Hansen 1989:106; see also pgs. 150, 153).

(including Southern Rhodesia and South Africa), which had become "common" around the mid-20th century (Hansen 1989:99; see also McCulloch 2000). The "black peril" referred to cases in which black male servants had allegedly assaulted or raped their madams or had made advances on their employers' daughters - cases which remained "unheard of" in the Northern Rhodesian context, now known as Zambia.[10] But in southern Africa, including South Africa, "'black peril' scares are central to understanding the white attitudes and ideology that structured race relations in South Africa" (Hansen 1989:102; see also van Onselen 1982:45-46). The "black peril" rumour evidently led to an increase in the employment of female servants rather than male servants in the South African context.

Jean and John Comaroff provide a somewhat different argument, which also contributes to our understanding of the ways in which 'race' and gender have intersected with class in the production of South African domestic labour. Analyzing the connection between domesticity and colonialism, they propose that "[t]he ideological struggle to naturalize the doctrine of domesticity was, [both in Britain and overseas,] from the first, part of the middle-class endeavour to secure its cultural hegemony" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:39). Emphasizing especially the role of colonial evangelism, they go on

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[10] It is very important to understand the possible consequences of "black peril" stories. Clearly, ideas of the "black peril," and accounts that tell of it, form incredibly powerful ideological discourses that work productively (to invoke Foucault) to sustain negative, stereotypical conceptions of 'race' and gender (Foucault 1980). In other words, they produce knowledges about specific segments of a population that ultimately promote racism and oppression (see also Chapter Four, where I draw on Caldeira's work in São Paulo to analyze my findings regarding discourses of fear and violence among white South African migrants [Caldeira 2000]). An alternative interpretation of this problem may be considered in light of Gramsci's notion of hegemony as the "organization of consent" (Crehan 2002a:102, Gramsci 1971). In this vein, the power that lies behind "black peril" stories is hegemonic; it operates (or masquerades) by way of rumours of rape and violence, presenting such rumours as 'factual truths,' 'beyond any doubt.' An awareness of the hegemony inherent in such racist 'talk' should lead us to be extremely careful in our own employment of these conceptions (and others like them).

to argue that

> [t]he missionary effort to create domesticity from degeneracy[11] took many forms… Our focus is not arbitrary: the rise of domesticity… involved the convergence of two conceptual planes, one socioeconomic and the other architectural. For 'the domestic' (1) connoted a social group (the family) whose interrelated roles composed the division of labour at the core of 'civilized' economy and society; and (2) presupposed a physical space (the 'private' household) that was, in principle, clearly marked and bounded (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:44-45).

Of course the Tswana, and every other African polity that missionaries and settlers encountered, already had their own forms of labour, family, and domestic arrangements. Nevertheless over time, "the manner in which Tswana engaged with European signs and practices turned out to be closely connected to emerging lines of social difference in… South Africa" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:45). Various missions "stressed that female nature was designed for the backstage work of nurture, caring for the bodies and souls of those whose destiny lay in the rough-and-tumble public world," while the Tswana male was "exhorted to pursue his rightful occupation in his field over which, as 'yeoman' and 'breadwinner,' he was called upon to assert his mastery" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:48). Ideologically then, the situation in South Africa encouraged black females

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[11] The notion of 'degeneracy' has been a topic of discussion among scholars, especially in light of racist colonial histories. In *The History of Sexuality (Volume 1)*, Foucault argued that "[t]he series composed of perversion-heredity-degenerescence formed the solid nucleus of the new technologies of sex. And let it not be imagined that this was nothing more than a medical theory which was scientifically lacking and improperly moralistic. Its application was widespread and its implantation went deep. Psychiatry, to be sure, but also jurisprudence, legal medicine, agencies of social control, the surveillance of dangerous or endangered children, all functioned for a long time on the basis of 'degenerescence' and the heredity-perversion system. An entire social practice, which took the exasperated but coherent form of a state-directed racism, furnished this technology of sex with a formidable power and far-reaching consequences" (Foucault 1978:118-119). While Foucault did not place his analysis in the context of colonial history specifically, the notion of degeneracy was certainly "part of the racist construction of empire" (Stoler 1995:31). Moreover, notions of degeneracy "not only targeted colonized populations… but also the indigent, supposedly *décivilisé*, racially-hybrid members within the European community. Degeneracy characterized those who were seen to veer off bourgeois course in their choice of language, domestic arrangement, and cultural affiliation" (Stoler 1995:32). One of the main bourgeois ideas that supported the

rather than males to enter into domestic labour: by virtue of their blackness, they were 'degenerate' (see n.11) enough to do the dirty work in the 'civilized' homes of white settlers, while their femaleness ensured their appropriateness for the domestic job as opposed to black males. (If black males were employed in the homes of white South Africans, it was usually as 'garden boys.') The Comaroffs' article thus enhances our understanding of the employment of, especially, female black servants in South Africa. Their Tswana illustration clearly demonstrates how conceptions of 'race' and gender intersected with colonialism and class differentiation in the making of South African domestic servants.

When Jacklyn Cock first published her study concerning black female servants and their white female employers in South Africa (*Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation* [1980]), her book was, for the most part, unfavourably received in the South African context (see Cock 1989:165-167). Nine years later, a revised edition was published (*Maids and Madams: Domestic Workers under Apartheid* [1989]). As Cock has emphasized, the South African social order

> ...creates and maintains the 'ultra-exploitability' of domestic workers. Their powerlessness and vulnerability derive from the oppression to which both blacks and women are subject in South Africa. This oppression is institutionalized to a degree that warrants discussion in terms of two systems: one of racial domination and one of sexual domination (Cock 1989:4-5).

Cock's analysis thus also argues for an integration of 'race' and gender issues in any investigation of South African domestic labour. What is more, she also points toward the fact that women are *generally* oppressed in South Africa, albeit in different ways,

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notion of degeneracy in the 19th and early 20th centuries was the idea of 'pure blood' versus 'tainted' or 'flawed' blood. For a discussion, consult Foucault 1978:135-159 and Stoler 1995:49-54.

depending on their class position and ethnic background. In this vein, to be black, lower class and a woman means that you are, structurally speaking, situated in the lowest social position in South Africa. Yet to be a white woman in South Africa also means that you suffer the consequences of male dominance (Cock:11-14, 106-112; Seegers 1993) – something that became apparent in the narratives that my female informants related to me. While this is an important point to remember, Cock nevertheless concludes that "the employment of domestic workers frees these [white] women, in a number of ways and on a variety of levels, from the constraints their domestic role would otherwise impose" (Cock 1989:112).

Finally, one of the ways in which Bourdieu described the habitus runs as follows: "The habitus is the universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less 'sensible' and 'reasonable'" (Bourdieu 1977:79). Certainly in many cases, both Afrikaner and British South Africans' habitus (especially under apartheid) ensured the normalization and the reproduction of the domestic labour system in South Africa. In her introduction, Cock points towards the reproduction of white South Africans' habitus when she writes that "[m]any white South African children are socialized into the dominant ideological order and learn the attitudes and styles of racial domination from relationships with servants, especially 'nannies'" (Cock 1989:3). Yet as apartheid slowly crumbled, and as many of South Africa's white inhabitants made the choice to emigrate from South Africa, people's positioning regarding racism, classism and women's oppression seems to be coming to the fore in new, though often ambivalent ways. Indeed, a major political transition coupled with an international migration to Canada allows white South African women

and men to reconsider their own histories in South Africa, including the complex relations they had with their household servants.

The memories and narratives that follow are therefore indicative of white South Africans' own encounters with their habitus as it was reproduced under apartheid, but they are also indicative of the changes and transformations that their habitus has undergone in recent years. As will become apparent, informants' memories now point towards the existence of a contradictory consciousness (Gramsci 1971:333) on the part of both employers and servants in their lived relationships (see n.7). Following Gramsci, "[c]onsciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force (that is to say, political consciousness) is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness..." (Gramsci 1971:333). The texts that I present below demonstrate the difficulties that white South African migrants face when they must come to terms with the fact that they were part of the totalitarian hegemonic force of apartheid through their employment of a nonwhite servant. Moreover, my informants' stories also point towards the contradictory consciousness (between obeying and rebelling against their employers) that existed on the side of the servants.

Servant Settings

In the section that follows, I address some of the different servant settings that informants delineated for me - that is, settings in which their servants ordinarily lived and worked. I am not only concerned with physical settings, but also with accounts of the social settings that constituted servants' work places and social relationships. Physical and social settings are of significance if we wish to come to an understanding of the

different domestic labour situations that formed (and still form) a part of everyday life in South Africa. They are also theoretically significant, since a study of space and how it is narrated demonstrates how power was unequally distributed in relations between employers and servants.

White Farms and White Homes as Labour Settings

I begin with an examination of Afrikaners' recollections of having grown up on Afrikaner farms. In the first half of the 20th century, and throughout the years of apartheid (though to a lesser extent), many Afrikaners lived in rural areas where they farmed the land (see Goodwin and Schiff 1995, chapter 5). Farmers employed black Africans, who provided the necessary labour force to carry out the physical work on the farm, while the black wives and daughters of male labourers sometimes worked in the house under the watchful eye of the farmer's wife (Goodwin and Schiff 1995:66-70). Workers and their families often lived on the properties of their employers, though in their own compounds. In the narrative that follows, I had just asked Kees and Jantje Louw if they could recall how they first became aware that there was a political struggle going on in South Africa. Interestingly, the conversation turned towards a personal account of what it had been like, for Kees, growing up on an Afrikaner farm in the 1950s and 60s:

Kees:[12] You know as a child, I remember on the farm, you played with the black people - with the black children; and I would go into their houses. Kumanji was my friend and he was my age; when I was, like fourteen years old. And when we were into mischief, you know, we both got a spanking. Together. We were together! You know? I went to his

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[12] In narrative segments that convey a conversation between an informant (or informants) and/or myself, I indicate who is speaking by highlighting the person's first name. If they speak more than once in the same segment, I use their initials.

home; and I… I ate with his family; I sat there; of course their tradition is different from ours. You know they live in a hut, they make the fire in the centre. And then they eat putu… porridge. Which is is, you know; we call it over there maize. Maize. But when you make the porridge, it's very dry, and you squeeze it in your hand, and you eat it, and you… add some milk, and sugar to it. Yeah… I still love it today. That's the best you can get… (starts to laugh nostalgically)

Mieke: Is this something you ate on the farm, too? Or just at their house…

KL: Yeah - no, at the farm where my mother made it.

MD: Oh, [she] made it too, yeah.

KL: On a consistent basis… It's like a breakfast. But then, you know, then… his mother, worked for my mother, in the home. You see?

MD: Yes.

KL: Doing the washing, and cleaning the house. Her name was Mariah. I can still remember. And umm… but the relationship between my mother and his mother was just like… it wasn't like a boss and a servant. You know? That was my experience when I was a child. And one thing - I can give a lot of credit to my dad. He treated the people that worked for him, like his equal. You know? And he would make jokes… There was a very good - warm - social… atmosphere. That's what I can remember. And he would help them… but I can never recall -- so I was born in 1948 -- but I can never recall, that there were two lines of people at the post office… or any other place.

Jantje: You would notice that it was a lot… came from the government. The people in South Africa were not… so much, concerned about the apartheid. You see?

KL: Yeah, we were actually relieved from this burden of apartheid. Because long before that, if a black lady would come, I would stand aside and let her go first. We would treat them just as… yeah. Uh of course you always have the minority in a country, who are racists. You get it all over the world.

A second narrative, during a conversation with Andre and Marie Botes, addresses similar themes as the one just cited. Andre also grew up on an Afrikaner farm - first in East Africa (in what was then Tanganyika and Kenya) and then in South Africa. He described his experience as follows:

Andre: Now we grew up on farms, and I mean, we were raised, my dad didn't have the education. And, so we were basically farmers. And on the farm you had black workers, uh, they were… there was segregation, I mean they had their huts there, they never - you know, they would come in the house to work. They would help with the cleaning, they would help washing, you know? They were servants on the farm. However we, even in East Africa, we played with little blacks when we grew up, I mean it was funny because you were actually friends to a point. But there was a social barrier. Although, you know what? We would - there was no problem for us to enter a black… hut, we would sit down with them when they're eating, because they ate nice pap, you know?

Marie: Yeah but they would not come to *your* house.

AB: Uh, no they would not. But, we had access, and there was a relationship, because even though there was the barrier… Uh, they got paid minimum wages, you know, we talked to my dad afterwards and, you know, analyzed what actually happened. Everyone took it for granted! All the farmers agreed what the wage would be… because there [was an] abundance of black workers, so you could set the wage scale which was… really not… not what… you know they deserved a lot more and things like that. So there was a lot of exploitation - nobody thought about that, okay? That… it was… it was just, "that's the way it is!" You know?

Both Kees and Andre describe the servant setting on their farms by drawing on particular things that stood out in their minds. Both played with black children, and up to a certain age, this was considered 'normal' behaviour. Both fondly remembered how their black servants lived in huts on their property, and how they used to visit these huts and eat the food -- putu, or maize pap -- that was a regular servants' staple. Indeed, Kees and Andre recalled this time with a certain nostalgia. And yet their narratives also seem to differ significantly. While Kees wanted to relate that the servants on his father's farm had been treated with dignity and respect, Andre admitted that their workers had been underpaid and mistreated at times, and that the root of the problem lay in racial segregation. Kees painted a picture in which the servant setting had been, on their farm, one of equality; moreover, he took this narrative further by arguing that he had actually been "relieved from this burden of apartheid" in his personal life.

But what are the differential effects of the ways in which Kees and Andre delineated the servant settings on their respective farms? Both, after all, drew on similar elements to describe their servants' lives and living conditions: they were labourers who worked for their parents, who lived in huts ('primitively,' as another informant told me), and whose regular diet consisted of maize. The unequal positioning of servants on both farms becomes obvious, since it was accepted as normal at the time according to both

accounts, regardless of Afrikaners' own perceptions of servant-employer relationships (Bourdieu 1977). As Goodwin and Schiff have indicated, "[t]he idea of structural discrimination, even when understood, is rarely taken as a personal responsibility" by Afrikaners (Goodwin and Schiff 1995:67); in this vein, Kees and Andre's accounts of the physical and social settings on their childhood farms paints one picture of servants' lives as black labourers on Afrikaner farms. Spatial divisions and allocations on Afrikaner farms, as well as details about wages and living conditions, are indicative of the unequal power relations that existed, by way of an accepted hegemony (Gramsci 1971), between farmers and servants, whether they worked out in the fields or in farmer homes.

The second servant setting that my informants spoke about became, during the apartheid years, the most common form of actual domestic employment in South Africa. This setting comprises those situations where black servants, most of whom were women, worked in the homes and gardens of white people. The majority of my informants lived in urban settings in South Africa, and as a result their stories centered around this type of employer-servant relationship. Once again, the texts that follow are not only indicative of the physical settings that servants lived and worked in; they also demonstrate the dominant social elements, including the direct relation between space and power, recurrent in such settings (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Sibley 1995). As such, they shed light on the myriad ways in which 'difference' and 'exclusion' were constructed and reproduced.

In my fourth chapter, I relate how British South African Joanna Reynolds suffered from extreme anxiety and 'fear of the blacks' while living in South Africa. During our conversation however, she also pointed out that this fear was confused and ambiguous,

mostly because she knew two black women very well, and she was not afraid of them; in fact, "we *loved* each other," she emphatically told me. Of course, Joanna was talking about the black maids who were employed in her household. Consider, in the following narrative, how she paints the servant setting as she remembers it now:

Mieke: Did the servants live at your house?
Joanna: In a separate… area. In a room, almost attached to our garage. And it was just a room with a toilet, and that was it. A separate toilet. Very primitive. Very primitive. I would give Lydia a big hug but, people would frown on that. No - I would hug her, and umm… (grins) she was very respectful, about where she was allowed to go in the house. If we were sitting in the living room like this she would no more *dare* to come in other than to bring the tea. She would never - she would remove herself. The only time she would come in to an area like this is to clean it. …No no no. No. You wouldn't have your maid sitting in the living room with you. Excepting… when we got our first TV, and you know South Africa got TV very late. In the seventies? Seventy-three or… four or something like that. We used to invite her in. And she used to come; she wouldn't sit on the chair, she'd sit on the floor. We'd say "Come and look at the TV, come and look at this!" you know? And we wanted to show her, well I mean she couldn't understand it or anything but she could see the picture. Because she couldn't speak English.
MD: Okay… right.
JR: She couldn't speak very much English. Umm, a couple of words. And we used to speak a little bit of Zulu or Xhosa that we would know. And it's… in a way, I think of the word for this Fanagolo; it's a language that everybody, can understand each other. It's called Fanagolo.
MD: Okay… And it's sort of a mix of different…
JR: Yes. Fan-a-go-lo, literally means "this way." "Like this." So I would say… umm… "To make koeksusters [Afrikaans, lit. 'cookie sisters,' a popular snack in South Africa], I have to do this, that and that. Fanagolo. Like this." You know? So this language got the name of Fanagolo, and it's uh, a very simplified way… Uh, and it started I believe in the gold mines, where you had all the different tribes coming together, working as workers in the gold mines and none of them could understand each other. And so Fanagolo came up, you know…
MD: And that's what people spoke to their servants and the servants spoke to them?
JR: Yes. Yeah well we would learn a little bit because we would be the ones that would have to make ourselves understood to them. Because we were asking them to do things. For them to make things, for them to… anything. So, I learnt a little bit of that and that's how we used to communicate. So anyway, she would come in and sit on the floor… never dream of sitting on a chair… And - no shoes on… She would never come in the house with her shoes on. Always barefoot. And her head always covered. Their heads were always covered. Never walk around, or be in the house bareheaded. It was not respectful. Umm (clears her throat), and she would watch the television and then she would decidedly not feel comfortable. And then she would leave.

78

Joanna's words touch on several important elements that structured the settings that black servants and their white employers shared. First she describes, though briefly, the personal, physical space that live-in servants occupied on their employers' properties. While I gathered similar descriptions of servants' living quarters from other informants, such memories were often brief, consisting only of a scant portrayal. This may be due in part to embarrassment or shame on the part of white South African migrants, since servants' rooms tacked onto the back of wealthy suburban homes were and remain so starkly reminiscent of inequality, in both the distribution of goods *and* social status. Rebecca Ginsburg, who has investigated servants' living conditions in Johannesburg, describes servants' rooms as follows:

> Backrooms varied only slightly in size and plan, generally measuring about eight by ten feet, almost always constructed of brick, with concrete floors and no ceilings. They rarely had electricity. Furnishings consisted usually of the cast-offs of the employer. A twin bed, wardrobe, and small bench were standard. Not much more could fit inside. There was a single door that locked with a key, usually held by both the worker and her white employers, and, typically, a single, small window. One generally had to walk through the front gate of the property and along the side of the main house to reach the back room. Landscaping devices like tall shrubs or walls that partially blocked sights and sounds that would otherwise carry between the back room and main house were a common feature (Ginsburg 2000:87).

As Ginsburg indicates, servants' use of space was severely restricted - not only by way of the tiny personal rooms that they were allocated, but also in their movements around the property, which were almost completely controlled by their employers. Joanna's narrative is indicative of this in her description of the servant's 'automatic disappearance' after she served tea in the living room. 'In no way would the servant have *dared* to sit down on the couch!' I was often told. Even when the television was introduced in South

Africa, and Lydia's employers invited her into the living room "as part of the family" to witness some of the first broadcasts, she is described as having sat on the floor and yet having felt uncomfortable there, leaving the room, it seems, as quickly as she could.

A further element that sheds light on the ways in which oppressive servant settings and interactions with employers were an assumed part of daily life in South Africa is found in Joanna's description of Fanagolo, a language used to communicate with servants. In her study of servants in Zambia, Hansen writes that "Kitchen Kaffir, Chilapalapa, or Fanagolo is a hybrid language consisting of elements from Zulu, English, and Afrikaans" (Hansen 1989:67, n.124). As a language of, mostly, command-and-obey expressions, it provided at the same time "a language of subordination" (Hansen 1989:67). Joanna was well aware that this was an underlying current in the use of Fanagolo; as she admitted, "we had to make ourselves understood to *them*." A variant on this issue arose in other interviews and conversations, where informants related that they had 'spoken in simple English' or plainly had 'spoken down' to their servants. The basic conception was that servants did not fully comprehend English or Afrikaans; thus a simplification of sentences, interspersed with words from 'tribal languages,' was deemed the best solution.

So far, I have given some examples of how differentiations in the control over and allocation of space, intimately connected as it was to an unequal distribution of power between master and servant, appears evident in the memories and stories that white South Africans related to me. This assumed and normalized inequality was based on racist and class ideas that relegated black South Africans to physical labour, whether on farms or in the homes of white citizens. Bourdieu's notion of the habitus is relevant here, for habitus

is created, maintained and reproduced in physical and social settings. As he has argued,

> ...it is their present and past positions in the social structure that... individuals carry with them, at all times and in all places, in the form of dispositions which are so many marks of *social position* and hence of the social distance between objective positions, that is, between social persons conjuncturally brought together (in physical space, which is not the same thing as social space) and correlatively, so many reminders of this distance and of the conduct required in order to 'keep one's distance' or to manipulate it strategically, whether symbolically or actually, to reduce it (easier for the dominant than for the dominated); increase it, or simply maintain it (by not 'letting oneself go,' not 'becoming familiar,' in short, 'standing on one's dignity,' or on the other hand, refusing to 'take liberties' and 'put oneself forward,' in short 'knowing one's place' and staying there) (Bourdieu 1977:82).

The habitus operates in the way that Bourdieu has described it here; most importantly, it

includes the normalization of unequal power relations (as Foucault has explored

regarding the history of Enlightenment Europe) that may be reproduced for long periods

of time without being questioned or confronted (see Foucault 1977, 1980). It is therefore

significant that Kees and Andre could visit and share a meal with their black playmates in

their huts, even though boys like Kees's friend Kumanji would never have been able to do

the same in the homes of their parents' white employers. Similarly, Joanna and her

family could invite their servant Lydia into the living room to watch television, but Lydia

could never have chosen to do so herself. In South Africa, both under apartheid and

today, conceptions of race and class clearly dominate(d) the ways in which unequal

power relations, and consequent access to space and other material resources, were and

are normalized in the employer-servant relationship.

Servant Settings as Gendered Experiences

A final matter that needs to be addressed concerning servant settings is the various

ways in which such settings were gendered (Moore 1988). I have already touched on this

issue in the preceding discussion: in the case of servant employment on Afrikaner farms, it was most often the males who worked in the fields, and the females in the farmer's house. I have also stressed the point that by the mid-20th century, most domestic workers who worked in urban households in South Africa were women (in contrast to Zambian male servants; see Hansen 1989 above). However, it is important to discuss the gendered nature of domestic labour in South Africa in a separate section, putting special emphasis on the ways in which black women ended up at the bottom rung of a labour hierarchy. Following Cock,

> [p]overty, labour controls and a lack of employment alternatives combine to 'trap' many African women in domestic service. They are trapped in a conditions of immobility within which they are subject to intense oppression. Such oppression is evident in their low wages and long working hours and in the demeaning treatment of them by the white women who are their employers (Cock 1989:1).

This systematic 'triple oppression,' according to Cock, "presents a challenge to any oversimplified feminist notion of 'sisterhood'" (Cock 1989:1; see also Moore 1988:89). In this vein, an examination of the relationship between black female servants and their white employers, especially the white 'madam of the house,' is pertinent to an understanding of both a servant's positioning *and* white South African domesticity.[13] In the next section, I thus address the gendered aspects of the domestic servant experience in South Africa.

The narrative that follows was gathered during a visit with Afrikaners Johan and Evelien Boshoff. Johan worked as a pastor in a Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria for

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[13] At the same time, we must not forget that black males were also hired by white people to work as servants (though they did not tend to live-in). In South Africa, black males could be employed as gardeners or 'handymen,' though most often they simply went by 'boy' (regardless of their age), carrying out various tasks around the house, such as gardening and cleaning their employers' vehicles.

many years, before moving his family to Canada a couple of years ago. His wife Evelien was born in Holland; her family relocated to South Africa when she was an adolescent. Because Evelien's family came from the Netherlands, they were not familiar with the white South African colonial habit of hiring one or more black servants to work in the home. Nevertheless, after Evelien married Johan, as her responsibilities as pastor's wife grew increasingly and as their three children were born, the Boshoffs decided to employ a black female servant as well, like most of their acquaintances around them. In the text presented below, Johan and Evelien's memories reveal some of the ways in which their servant Betsy's female gender, coupled with her 'tribal [or black] African-ness,' shaped and influenced her difficult position as a female black domestic servant.

Johan: ...Betsy, she stayed with us. And she ate good food, [but] from our plates, basically and, -not from the plates-, but when we dished up, she would get a... you know? She was really part of this. And yet -- and her dad was a Baptist minister -- and yet, the cultural... being exposed to people living on western mindsets, you know? Umm, she would raise her bed... have you heard of the tokolosh? She would raise her bed -- and this is very common -- and put it on bricks, or these paint-tins... tins where you can buy paint in, to raise the bed. Because there's a little guy and he's the tokolosh. And he's a very nasty... little man with a... high sexual appetite.
Evelien: He's this short. (Indicates with her hand) And he comes to rape the ladies at night. That's why they wanna raise their beds so he can't get up there.
JB: Yeah. And when Evelien came back from Holland one time, she bought Betsy one of these red scarves; the Dutch zakdoeken [Afrikaans, lit. 'pocket-cloths,' originally used to blow one's nose] hey? When she gave it to her, she went crazy! Why? Because, now this is a sign, the red, that she must marry that guy, "thank you!" You know? The point is that... the cultural, the cultural... you live - you spend every day, how many hours with that person.
EB: She stayed for eight years with us! Certain things stay... almost primitive! They are from ages ago. It stays there.
[...]
JB: So there's a huge downside there when we talk about having a huishulp [Afrikaans, lit. 'house-help']. Because on the one hand, the up was, it's job creation. And the women - thank God for His Church and for the women of Africa. I say that every time. Because without the Church boy, what will be left? And without the women of Africa. They are wonderful, they are just amazing. So we created jobs, and they would go, they would work, and send money home. You know? And then the mom, her mom, or her family,

would look after the children, and what have you. So, the up was, it was creating jobs, but the down was, it disrupted the social dynamics…

EB: Their own families.

JB: …And yet - but again, let's not understand family life in a black or in most African tribal nations, like, 'it's a one-on-one, Evelien is my wife, I'm gonna be loyal to her.' It is not that simple!

EB: If you have black people working for you, they would come to you and say "Oh I need a day off because I have the funeral of my mom." And then, say six weeks later, they will come to you and they need another day off, because they have a funeral of their *mom!* And after six times, you would say, "But how many moms!.. do you have! You already buried your mother!" You know? But they have so many mothers…

JB: So their perception is… it's a community. Their identity is, it's like the community identity, the family. So they have extended family. They have lots of moms, because the motherly are like, their moms! One day (laughs), we got a call from a store, they said - because Betsy, she wanted to have an account at the…

EB: Say, an account at Sears.

JB: …at Sears. Hey? So I cosigned for her. And uh, got this call, because she stopped paying her payments! And so I called her, and I said "Betsy, what's going on?" And basically she said, well, she's been wearing the clothes for months you know and she's been paying and she bought it already, why should she…

EB: She couldn't understand why she needed to pay on, and on…

JB: …pay, like, the full amount! It's just - she got it; she paid some; and… "it's done now." You know?

EB: "I'm becoming tired of this payment; I have my dress and why should I pay more! I already *paid* for it!" You know? They don't understand that you have to pay the full amount before you can stop paying! Oh, she didn't understand that.

JB: And it's a person of - how old would she be, forty years old? And living with us, and still very childish, you know?

Johan and Evelien's narrative is indicative of several important issues that female domestic servants had to deal with, as they lived on the properties of and carried out tasks for their white employers. As discussed above, live-in servants like Betsy often stayed in single-room dwellings attached to the rear of their white employers' houses (in the colonial era, homes intended for white South Africans were built with this room already at the back). A number of informants related that their servant put her bed on bricks, and their impressions of the tokolosh (along the same lines as Johan and Evelien's) would often come up at the same time. Ginsburg however, who has worked with domestics in

Johannesburg, provides an alternative explanation to the one that my informants tended to delineate:

> Bed legs were raised on bricks or empty paint tins. The dominant white view of the practice was that superstitious Africans did this in fear of the dreaded *tokoloshes*, mythical creatures that attacked unsuspecting humans in their sleep. Several of my informants chuckled at this idea. On the contrary, they said, not only did this arrangement increase their storage space, it also created room for hiding a guest's things and, if need be, the guest him- or herself (Ginsburg 2000:94).

What does this tell us about the possible understandings that existed between many employers and their servants? Was the tokolosh indeed feared by female black servants, or should this phenomenon be seen, rather, as a 'weapon of the weak,' or an 'everyday form of resistance,' to use James Scott's phrases (see Scott 1985, 1990)? While I do not wish to argue one way or the other at this point (but see below), *both* possibilities nevertheless suggest that understandings and trust relationships between female domestics and their employers were often ambivalent and fragile. Johan and Evelien's narrative reinforces this point again and again: it was not just the matter of the tokolosh that they characterized as "primitive" and an example of "tribal" behaviour on Betsy's part; it was also evident in her reaction to the red cloth she received from Evelien, and in their view of her 'irresponsibility' and 'immaturity' regarding the dress she purchased on her Sears account. The Boshoffs' words therefore give us a sense of the physical, social and ideological settings that female domestics had to face, as well as the racism, that impacted on their employers' interpretations. Their living conditions were extremely taxing, because they were not empowered in the spaces that they occupied. Rather, the social and geographical spaces in which they lived and worked were structurally controlled (both physically and in white people's subtly racist discourse, which is

indicative of informants' claim to knowledge of African cultures - a knowledge that in turn produces power [Foucault 1980:59]) for their paternalistic employers. This is one major aspect by way of which female black servants' lives were, and remain, lives of oppression.

Apart from the gendered aspect just discussed, Johan and Evelien also described a second, decidedly gendered element of the servant setting by way of which female black servants' lives were socially deprived. This element concerns the uneasy balance, of which the Boshoffs were also aware, between the notion of job creation and the deprivation that live-in maids suffered because they could not live with their own husbands and families, nor raise their own children. Interestingly, and significantly, the Boshoffs seemed to downplay this form of gendered social suffering by arguing that family life in 'African tribal nations' is organized according to notions of community rather than the nuclear family. Yet Betsy's daughter only got to see her mother "on holidays"; for the majority of the year, she lived with her grandmother. In this way, it is true that many extended family members, whether grandmothers, aunts or sisters (notice how these are all women), have taken responsibility for raising the children of black women who were employed as live-in maids, and who were unable to care for their youngsters themselves. Nevertheless, as Cock has also pointed out, this does not in any way *lessen* the (formative) importance of the mother-child relationship in the lives of black South Africans. Instead, women's lives away from their children represents "the disruption of family life that the system of migrant labour entails" (Cock 1989:43), and which often also reflects a difficult and painful separation. As one South African servant put it, "My child does not remember that I am her mother. She doesn't love me too much

and this is difficult for me" (quoted in Cock 1989:10).

Earlier in this chapter, in the section where I framed the anthropological literature relevant to the topic of the chapter, I mentioned that white South African women have also been seen as subordinate in gendered terms. In this vein, white South African patriarchy (perhaps especially in the case of Afrikaners; see Goodwin and Schiff 1995, Seegers 1993) ensured that the primary place and domain – the setting -- of females, as wives and mothers, was in the home. This is significant, as it shows that the employer-servant relationship, although based on an extreme situation of class difference supported by an ingrained ideology of racism, was also a relationship between women, both of whom would have been subject to what Cock has called 'the politics of dependence.' Thus, while "the key to understanding the domestic worker's situation is her dependence on her employer, the employer is frequently in an extremely dependent relationship herself" (Cock 1989:106).[14] At this point in my analysis, I am concerned with the possible ambiguous situations that could arise in cases where the relationship of economic dependence between white husband and wife and between white 'madam' and female black servant intertwined, got confused, or muddled up. Sandy Richardson's words demonstrate that this indeed happened in her parents' household:

Sandy: My dad was a very difficult person, and she [Doris, the servant] never ever spoke against my dad; *never*. I don't ever remember her… saying… something bad against my dad; …because at the end of the day my dad was her employer. And she would never have.
Mieke: Was he ever cross with her?
SR: There were times when I think he was very angry with her, yeah. …And sometimes,

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[14] This was not always evident in the narratives that I collected, but this could be due in part to some white South African women simply not *seeing* their lives as 'subordinate' or 'dominated by patriarchy.' On the contrary, and as Cock has argued, these women seem to accept their position vis-à-vis their husbands and other men in their class mostly without resistance (Cock 1989:109).

my dad viewed my mother and her, I don't know… together. As like, partners. (giggles) I don't know - "*You and Doris-*" …I can't remember what the accusation would have been. But… "*You* need to make sure that you get your servants sorted out, so that she *does* the right thing." And "*You* need to show her how to do the ironing!" It was my mother's job to straighten Doris out - Doris was in trouble and my mother was in trouble. And my dad was cross with both of them. But then, I came from a very chauvinistic house. Where my dad was *defffinitely* the boss. Definitely the boss. And women were… (grins) women were really not, at equals. You know? My mother's role, in my dad's mind, was to raise us children; and to look after the house. If it meant having servants, then you had servants. But her job was to make sure that life was running just beautifully for him; and… I'd say my mom basically, took care of everything that needed to be done that wasn't related to my dad's work directly. My dad -- Mieke -- never lifted a finger, at home. It was not his job.

Sandy's story illustrates that an examination of gender and gendered interrelations must be central in any analysis and understanding of the physical and social servant settings that shaped the lives of female black servants *and* their employers. Indeed, gender domination (Cock 1989, Moore 1988), both in the lives of "maids" and "madams," should be seen as yet another part of the normalized and assumed habitus that informed and reproduced structural relations and social inequalities in South Africa (Bourdieu 1977).

In this section, I have discussed some of the ways in which 'servant settings' were created and maintained in South Africa, both under apartheid and in the decade that has passed since apartheid was dismantled in 1994. I have emphasized that the female black servant-white employer relationship, as it was lived out in specific domestic settings and as it was remembered and related to me by white South African immigrants now living in Canada, illustrates the unequal and oppressive distribution of space and power in the South African context. Inequality and oppression were experienced on various levels, and differentially as well, depending on one's constructed class, 'race' and gendered position, but they were experienced especially intensely by black women (Cock 1989:1, Moore 1988:89).

Between Empathy and Mistrust: Analyzing the Labour Relationship

I found that speaking with white South African migrants about the maids they had personally employed, or whose labour they had benefited from as children in South Africa, generated both emotional and defensive reactions. While most informants did not hesitate to bring up the topic, it was still a sensitive one that needed to be approached and discussed with care. This is, I believe, because many white South Africans are constantly torn between being aware of (and feeling guilty for and empathetic about) the social and economic suffering that their servants had to endure (in contrast to the relative wealth and political power they themselves enjoyed), and the notion that they had to protect themselves from their servants; that is, their basic mistrust of servants. Analytically, this balancing act (which could be exacerbated in the migrant context through the workings of memory) may be conceived of in light of Foucault's insights on the links between knowledge and power, and Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and dual, or contradictory, consciousness, as discussed in the introduction to the thesis. To reiterate, beginning with Foucault:

> ...power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress, if it worked only through the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression, in the manner of a great Superego, exercising itself only in a negative way. If, on the contrary, power is strong this is because, as we are beginning to realize, it produces effects at the level of desire - and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing knowledge, power produces it (Foucault 1980:59).

The unstable dialectic between being aware of servants' suffering on the one hand and mistrusting one's maid on the other is indicative of the operation of apartheid power in South African settings. On the one hand, it is clear that apartheid hegemony and all that it entailed -- ideas of nonwhite 'race inferiority' and ideals of segregation -- reinforced an

understanding among white South Africans that justified and maintained their power and advantage. But this totalitarian hegemony, though it may have seemed strong and 'total' while apartheid lasted, was actually deeply ambivalent and (to use Foucault's word) fragile, precisely because it operated by way of *censorship, exclusion* and *repression*.

In what follows, I am concerned with the minute, everyday experiences of apartheid hegemony in the lives of 'ordinary' white South Africans and their servants, and not, in an immediate way, with South African political developments. This distinction is important, because lived levels of consciousness and mistrust never depended solely on 'that one day in 1994,' as a way of speaking (though such levels were undoubtedly influenced by political developments). Instead, and regardless of what the apartheid government was or was not doing at any particular time, white South Africans who were not regularly involved with the government (though they were, to a certain extent, always somehow connected to it; see Chapter One) had their own insights and viewpoints; they lived their own lives and experiences with apartheid within and outside the walls of their own homes. The knowledges and justifications of racism, inequality and oppression that apartheid hegemony, by way of the National Party, reproduced in white South Africans were not always strong or unchallenged; rather, these ideas could be and often were ambivalent, as indicated in the narratives and texts that follow below.[15]

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[15] One of Foucault's main contributions lies in the distinctions he drew between different forms and structures of power. As he emphasized, power is strong when it produces effects at the levels of *desire* and *knowledge* (producing a kind of 'successful power' to which people adhere). Alternatively, power is weak when it operates through exclusion and repression (producing an 'unsuccessful power,' to which people [may eventually] refuse to adhere). In this section, instead of pointing towards the ways in which power successfully produced certain knowledges in the lives of white South African migrants (see Chapter Four), here I aim to demonstrate that the hegemonic power of apartheid, and its produced knowledge, was actually an ambivalent one (balancing between consciousness of servants' suffering and distrust of them). Apartheid power eventually came to be challenged *because* of its ambivalent nature, for it was fraught with

I begin by examining two narratives that are indicative of white South Africans' awareness of the social and economic suffering that their servants often had to endure. Afrikaners Andre and Marie Botes moved to Canada in 1980, because they "did not agree with apartheid" and they did not want to raise their three young children in the South African environment of the time. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Andre grew up on an Afrikaner farm. Marie's parents ran a café/variety store in a rural area, close to one of the homelands in eastern South Africa, for much of her childhood. She and Andre met in grade six, when Andre's family resettled in South Africa after Kenya, and what was then known as Tanganyika, became independent. After they married and their children were born, and as Andre was teaching at university, they hired a domestic servant. Her name was Linda, and Andre framed his narrative in the following way:

Andre: We had a black worker, a lady that worked with us; and then we moved, and her sister who was an older black lady came to work with us [Linda]. And you had to deal with all the issues of, they needed a pass to be able to work within the white community. Which was... you know official papers, to allow them to work in the white community. And this old lady was a wonderful old lady. She was just gentle, I mean -- they grew up in that system -- so even though they were at times mistreated, there was a relationship.
    But what happened at the time [in the late 1970s] within the townships was, because the apartheid system got... strengthened, it meant that young blacks did not have a relationship. Many young blacks grew up within the township... their parents went to

rules, oppressions, and deprivations that were clearly, at a most basic, moral level, inhumane towards South African servants. My informants were aware that this was the case, and the discourses they drew upon when talking about their servants often indicated their own difficulties with this issue.

    Gramsci's work reinforces the idea of totalitarian apartheid power as, in the long run, ambivalent and 'unsuccessful.' The situation in South Africa as apartheid dragged on may be illustrated as follows: "A crisis occurs, sometimes lasting for decades. This exceptional duration means that incurable structural contradictions have revealed themselves (reached maturity), and that, despite this, the political forces which are struggling to conserve and defend the existing structure itself are making every effort to cure them, within certain limits, and to overcome them. These incessant and persistent efforts (since no social formation will ever admit that it has been superseded) form the terrain of the 'conjunctural', and it is upon this terrain that the forces of opposition organize" (Gramsci 1971:178). The narratives presented in the section that follows demonstrate the 'structural contradictions' that had come to define employer-servant relationships as apartheid slowly began to crumble (to see how Foucault analyzed resistances and oppositions to dominant power structures -- though he did so in a less specific way than did Gramsci -- see Foucault 1978:95-96).

work, during the day. Oftentimes because of the transportation and just the rules and regulations, they had to be back in the township… Some of them, at times got up at three, four o'clock in the morning, to line up -- to walk for miles, or to line up for a bus -- to get to the white area, and by the time they get back it's nine, ten o'clock at night. Okay? So it's a long day, mostly… traveling and I mean, it was incredible! And in this, you broke up the family so there's… You know a lot of what happened within the townships -- and we could see it even as students going in -- this thing can't work, because you're disrupting family life! So these young blacks grew up far more militant; they didn't have contact with whites. They really didn't. Where you know, with us, growing up on a farm, there was apartheid but there was a relationship. They didn't have that. All they had was, they never saw their parents, they worked for minimum wage, there was poverty, and when they got back [from work], what they could tell you was, some of the abuse they had that day, and they're tired, and the kids were ruling… the townships. And they got militant, and then the political uh… uh things hit them too, so they became the militant ones.

So at the time… it was in seventy-six and then in seventy-nine it erupted *again* it erupted. And at the time they were burning buses! In Pretoria and things. Because they were really… heating up and you had a lot of those things… And we uh… Linda couldn't go home! We just said to her, "…whether it's illegal or not, you're staying with us." Okay? She was our servant, so she stayed in the home with us and before we left we made sure that she had another part-time job… that she could keep her papers. Because the moment they lose it… you're *back*! So if you get laid off, and this is your job, you don't have papers anymore! They're not valid, because you don't have a job now! So okay, *back* you go! And often they were shipped off to a place that they'd never seen! Because, they'd grown up in the township; now all of a sudden they have to be shipped off to… 'the homeland.' …And the homelands were basically run by traditional blacks! So, and the ones here were not traditional. The homelands were divided into tribal areas, whereas there was a mix of cultures within the townships. I mean, Zulu and Xhosa would marry! So, what are the kids now? You know I… I mean, those are all some of the realities.

In this text, Andre's words reflect some of the structural inequalities and difficulties that domestic workers had to face, including those that arose if they did not live on their employer's property. They had to carry passes, by law, that stated that they were employed at such-and-such an address. Their working hours were generally long, and the pay was low, though my informants did not often discuss specific salaries (see Appendix 2 for an exception). Andre also points towards the social and political upheavals that enveloped South Africa when apartheid began to crumble, which made travel to and from work, especially for female servants, a dangerous endeavour. Finally, and perhaps most

importantly, Andre draws a distinction between those black South Africans who grew up on farms, or who worked in white people's homes in urban settings, versus those who grew up in the townships. Whereas those who got to know white people at least 'had a relationship' with their 'rulers,' the young women and men who lived in the townships had no direct contact with white people. Moreover, the latter's own parents were often away from the townships, working in mines or in the white sections of town; a factor that, according to Andre, strongly influenced the disruption of black family life and the 'militancy' of young black South Africans. The question here is not so much whether relationships between Afrikaners and the workers on their farms were necessarily 'better' or supposedly 'more peaceful' (in a physical sense) than the anti-apartheid militancy that bred so angrily in the townships. Instead, Andre was arguing that the anger and upheaval in the townships caused part of *Linda's* suffering as a black domestic worker.

A second narrative is also indicative of empathy for the servant's difficult position. In the text that follows, Julianne Madison, a medical doctor now working in Toronto and married to a Canadian, with whom she has three young children, remembers the domestic worker her parents employed while growing up in South Africa. Julianne's family moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town when she was still a young girl, and their servant Gertha accompanied the household across the country, away from her own family, because "it was just… my mom didn't think she could live without Gertha and Gertha didn't think she wanted to live without our family." Julianne's words express the difficulties that Gertha endured as a black South African woman; a domestic servant who lived away from her own family:

Julianne: And we had Gertha staying in a room in our backyard, which was… it was

terrible, I mean I think back on those days, too… Even though my dad thought he was more liberal, he wasn't as liberal as he should have been, umm… She used to stay in a little room with cement floors, and maybe a mat or whatever and a single bed; and she had this bathroom that you had to walk outside to the bathroom, and yeah I know it was South Africa and it didn't snow and it wasn't minus forty but still it wasn't sort of an enclosed little thing. So she had an outside room and a bathroom, that you had to walk outside the room to get to the bathroom. And she never used our bathroom. She would always have to go and use her own bathroom. She never would… she couldn't use ours - even though she had to clean our bathrooms every day she couldn't use our bathrooms.

And then she came with us to Cape Town and then, after a year -- not even a year, I think it was less than a year -- my parents felt that they couldn't do this to her because, it was just too hard, I mean, she'd have to come to Johannesburg to see her family, and then her one son became a school teacher. …Which was like, a very prestigious thing for… considering his… the parents, you know? He'd managed to work his way through school and become a schoolteacher. And she was really proud of him. [And] her oldest son became a policeman… and, one day the schoolteacher just disappeared; he just… went to school one day and never came back! And they never… and it was terrible, he just - *disappeared!* and nobody knows whether he… he wasn't married or anything yet, 'cause he was young, he was just out of school; and nobody… we never really knew what happened to him. I can't think what his name was… Gerald was her oldest son, the policeman, and then… his name was… Jimmy, oh… I know she had… she had three sons… I can't remember which one - what his name was now…

He just… I remember he just didn't know what to do 'cause she didn't know whether he had been killed or something, or whether he… and why in God-, nobody knew anything about him; he just disappeared and… or whether he had just left and gone and joined, you know, some political wing somewhere or what happened to him… We never ever found out, and I remember she went home, and she came back and she said, "No, he's gone! He's just *disappeared!*" And it was just like, she just accepted it eventually, it just seemed so… So that was just… horrible. I mean her one daughter got pregnant also -- Elisa was her name -- she got pregnant and then she was… she sort of had to support her daughter, her pregnant daughter, and I mean, it was just so hard for her, you know? And her family lived, sort of in a black… area, which is two hours' drive from Johannesburg and she used to get to go home once a month, she'd go home and deal with… whatever was happening at home.

So that was a hard life for her, and I mean I never even realized, you know when I was growing up… but she was really, she was such a nice person, you know you know she just did so much for us kids and she was just so… She was just wonderful, she was so nice and I think my parents made sure that we respected her, you know… Even though they were not perfect, you know in their… they expected her not to sit on the furniture or anything. (grins) She never ever… I don't ever recall, even as a young child, her ever sitting on the furniture or doing anything that they didn't - you know, but they expected us to be utmostly respectable to her. And you know, so she was almost like a second mother to us, she was just… she was always there, you know? (See Appendix 3 for a fuller version of Julianne's narrative)

From time to time, Julianne visibly became sad and upset as she remembered Gertha, and

what it had been like to live with her. It was obvious that she had, at different times in the

past, considered and reconsidered the odd relationship that she and her family had had

with this black South African woman. It was not just the 'little oppressions' that occurred

from day to day in the house - the fact that Bertha could not sit on the family couch, or

use the same bathroom that the family used. Certainly those experiences heightened

Gertha's suffering, as Julianne well realizes. But what is more, Gertha had a whole other

life, of which Julianne was only half aware. Certainly she didn't know what this life was

like, but she did realize that the mysterious and painful disappearance of Gertha's son was

something that did not make any sense; that normally should never have happened; and

that was an indication of, perhaps, the madness that lay behind apartheid's mask.[16]

The narratives just discussed clearly demonstrate that many white South Africans

were conscious of their servants' hardships and sufferings, though to varying degrees; this

consciousness changed over time and could also be contradictory (Gramsci 1971). Yet,

as I have indicated above, this awareness -- indeed, this care, paternalistic[17] as it may

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[16] See Nancy Scheper-Hughes's *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (1992), where she discusses the politics, and implications for the people of the Alto do Cruzeiro, of the sudden 'disappearances' that occur on too regular a basis in northeastern Brazil. See especially pgs. 186-187 and Chapter 6, entitled "Everyday Violence: Bodies, Death, and Silence" (pgs. 216-267).

[17] Paternalism was deeply embedded in the employer-servant relationship. According to Stoler, "one of the most common observations about the racial discourse of colonialism is the patriarchal, protective familial metaphors in which it was cast. Students of colonial discourses in Africa, Asia, and the Americas have often commented on a common thread: namely, that racialized Others invariably have been compared and equated with children, a representation that conveniently provided a moral justification for imperial policies of tutelage, discipline and specific paternalistic and maternalistic strategies of custodial control" (Stoler 1995:150). Paternalism is also evident in some of the excerpts that I analyzed above; reconsider, for instance, Johan and Evelien Boshoff's remembered relationship with their servant Betsy, and Andre Botes's narrative concerning Linda (see also Part II of the thesis). (In addition to the paternalistic habitus, an alternative facet of the 'family metaphor' may be found in Julianne's narrative, related above, when she says that Gertha was 'almost like a second mother' to her and her siblings. This description of the white child-black servant relationship was very common among, especially, female informants.)

have been -- often went hand-in-hand with a basic mistrust that also defined the employer-servant relationship. Memories and stories that pointed towards the lack of trust that had characterized the relationships between my informants and their South African servants often took shape around the topic of theft. Hansen made reference to the frequency of this occurrence in her fieldwork as follows:

> Since employers never really trust their servants, they need to watch them as well. The atmosphere in the household is openly characterized by distrust: employers lock up their valuables... You never know, they claim, what kind of company the servant keeps; he or she may be in cahoots with thieves. There is no end to the stories, most of which are true, of long-trusted servants who suddenly stole from their employers (Hansen 1989:253-254).

As I argued earlier in the chapter, domestic labour needs to be understood first and foremost from a global economic, class-based perspective. In this vein, it is perhaps not strange that servants who worked in white households tended to steal "a little here, a little there," as one informant put it. In other words, the 'race'-based distinctions and material inequalities between employers and servants in South Africa were so dramatic and obvious that taking a bit of salt from the pantry, or maybe a couple of potatoes for the family back home, might not have seemed like *theft* to the servants themselves (or they might have felt strongly that it was justified, indicating the contradictory consciousness that also existed in the minds of servants [Gramsci 1971]). Employers, however, who considered themselves as having worked hard for the material accomplishments they enjoyed, thought about stealing in a different way. Notice especially in the text that follows how Johan and Evelien reacted when they discovered that 'their' Betty was stealing:

Johan: Uh… sugar would disappear. Teabags would…
Evelien: They just take a little bit. Because they think, you… don't notice it…

JB: You know? Just things like that would happen.

EB: And you have so much, "why can't I just take a little bit?"

JB: And you have so much, why can't they... such a different worldview. [It's a] different set of ethics, I think...

EB: They don't feel it's wrong...

JB: If you catch them out, then it's wrong.

EB: But if you don't catch them, then... Yeah I missed Tupperware. I had a lot of little containers, you know? And I missed that. And you had like, certain margarines you could buy then, and they had nice containers where they came in, and uh, all yellow, with a white cap. So, like that. So, you bought that specific brand of margarine because you knew if you buy that, then you have these containers, they were very nice! So I had lots of them! With little kids, you always wanna have - you make your own... dough, or clay, or things for the kids, and you do stuff with it... And they just disappeared like... crazy! She must've thought I had enough! You know? She felt - this is the only thing that I missed. Yeah. That's the only [thing] I... I ever missed. And I... I can't say it was her but... who else? I mean, that's what you think, you know? No one else is working for me, or no one else is doing the dishes, it's... where is my stuff!

JB: (grinning) ...It's either the *dog*... or the *maid!*

EB: That - yeah. You... sometimes you make jokes about that. "I only have one sock... where is it! *Must* be the maid." You know? You're... they just make jokes about that.

In this narrative, an element of surprise is first of all apparent. Johan had told me earlier that "crime would slip in with servants," but "not with Betsy though!" Apparently, though the Boshoffs had few concerns about possible "theft problems" with Betsy, they were taken aback when she began to take small plastic containers from the house. "She must've thought I had enough!," Evelien pondered, more than a little surprised. One way in which Evelien's surprise might be interpreted is by relating it to white South Africans' lack of (or limited) knowledge *or* denial (consider Bourdieu's habitus [Bourdieu 1977] and Gramsci's notion of contradictory consciousness [Gramsci 1971]) in reference to black servants' lives and living conditions. As already indicated, this does not necessarily mean that employers were completely unaware of the inequalities and hardships that dominated the lives of black South Africans. Indeed, they often were aware (albeit to different degrees) of extreme differences between their own life circumstances and those

of their servants (as servants themselves also recognized, as conveyed through informants' accounts of contradictions between loyalty to and theft from their employers). The point is, rather, to demonstrate that to a large extent, white employers did not often involve themselves with the personal lives of their servants. As a result, they were largely unable to envision the material poverty that, more often than not, drove female black South Africans to seek jobs as domestic workers in the first place.

A second relevant issue in this text pertains to the way in which the Boshoffs draw on what seems to be a standard white South African joke as a way of dealing with their ambivalent feelings about possible thefts committed by their domestic servant. The joke claims that if anything is missing in the house, 'it must be the maid - and if not the maid, the dog.' As Cock put it, and as should be evident by now, "relationship[s] between domestic workers and their employers [are] intensely paternalistic. This has two implications: it consigns the worker to a dependent and powerless position and it generates a sense of power and superiority in the employer" (Cock 1989:81). While this might have been 'normal' and 'accepted' during apartheid, we need to ask what happens in the case that a servant starts to steal. Indeed, what if small amounts of Rand (South African currency) are constantly missing from supposedly well-hidden places? Such occurrences confront paternalistic attitudes and behaviour, or, in line with Foucault, the power of paternalism -- part of apartheid power's apparatus (see n. 17) -- does not live up to 'expected apartheid standards,' dictated by the state. As discussed in the next chapter, black humour forms one route by way of which white South Africans deal with the insecurities that emerge from an awareness of being resented by the people they employ, within an overall system of political and economic oppression. Here, as in the fourth

chapter, it becomes clear that black humour serves to reproduce the essentialist notions and racist stereotypes (even comparing black people to dogs) that ultimately surround and affect all black South Africans (see also Herzfeld 1997a on cultural intimacy).

Suspicions and/or experiences of theft by one's servant thus formed one element that contributed, and may still contribute, to the mistrust that existed between employers and their workers in South Africa. But for Johan and Evelien, stealing was only one of the issues that confused them about Betsy and other servants. Consider how our conversation continued:

Evelien: There was something else that I was thinking about… what maybe is interesting is, like, if you get a new maid working for you, you have to be careful what kind of jobs you give them. If, for instance, they come to you, then you would say "Okay, your job will be - you do the floors once a week and you do the windows once a month," or something like this, you know? Because if you wanna change that, after you hire them… they don't do that. You *cannot* change their job.
Johan: "You said that… once a week, so why…"
EB: Like, say my mom had someone working, Hilda, and she's still working for my mother, Hilda is a grandmother now and she's just this… very short [little lady]. But, Hilda is very strong. If my mom would ask her, "Hilda, this week, I don't feel so good," or, "I don't have time, please, could you clean the kitchen cupboards for me, inside?" then she would just say, "No! Because you didn't tell me that when I started."
JB: And she's been working there forever!
EB: And a lot are like that.
Mieke: Really! Do you think - do you know why?
EB: Maybe some do it, I don't know, but there are many out there and they just refuse, they say, "Well, that wasn't part of the deal!"
MD: How do women deal with that? Do they get mad?
EB: I think they do!
JB: Some might, oh definitely!
EB: Or you get frustrated sometimes, but uh… or they do it, but…
JB: Like they would put the picture frames upside down. On the… then they turn them…
EB: -t- Like if I have candlesticks and there are no candles [in them], they don't - they just don't know what's… like, what is the bottom part, if they dust the thing…
JB: …or what's the top or the bottom. They would put the things upside down, you know?
EB: Or if they clean your - I don't know why but they would hang things… Betsy did it too! Even in [Marieke's room!] Marieke, she's a girl, so she has lots of little things in her bedroom. If she dusted Marieke's room, Marieke always had fun afterwards because

many things were put… wrong! Upside-down! Backwards, you know? On the shelf…
MD: …Do you think they ever did that on purpose, or something?
EB: I don't know…
JB: I… I… (starts to laugh)
MD: …I'm just-…!
JB: No, it's a good, fair question!
EB: …Everybody's complaining about it, oh, how they put your furniture back, if they clean the floor - if you clean my house, you put things back the way you *got* it!
MD: …the furniture back where it was, yeah.
EB: (clasps her hands) …She would, maybe put the table *this* way! Or…
MD: (laughing)
EB: …you know? Or put all the green pillows on the…
MD: …on a different couch.
EB: Yeah! It's just… it's always a frustration, they never put things in their place, back. Or - I can't say they never, that's not true but… there are maids out there who are excellent and they know exactly what they're doing but many of them… don't…

This conversation is especially enlightening, because it illustrates so well the uncertainty that comprised the basis of the employer-servant relationship. If a servant consistently put things back in the wrong places, setting picture frames on their side instead of straight up, turning candle holders upside down, or returning a set of linens to the wrong closet for the umpteenth time, she obviously confused her employers. "What is wrong with her?" they might have asked between themselves; "Doesn't she know that she's supposed to put those books back in the living room rather than in the dining room? I must have shown her a hundred times by now!" As a result, employers may draw the conclusion that their servant is 'ignorant' or 'stupid' because she does not remember where to put things in the house, or how to put them back correctly, even if she has carried out the same task repeatedly for a number of years. Moreover, drawing such a conclusion illustrates one of the ways in which racist 'knowledge' about black South African servants' behaviour (and, by implication, knowledge about all black people) was (re)produced and normalized in the oppressive social setting of apartheid South Africa (Foucault 1980:59).

When I implicitly suggested that workers like Betsy might have done these things on purpose, the Boshoffs seemed surprised and struck - they didn't know what to say. But on the part of servants like Betsy, we might imagine their behaviour here as similar to that mentioned earlier, regarding their talking about that little male spirit, the tokolosh, and their refusal to shift the terms of the initial labour agreement. If women actually put their beds on bricks to have more storage space, or to hide their visitors, perhaps their 'strange' habit of returning things to the wrong places could also be interpreted as a form of agency or 'everyday resistance' (Scott 1985, 1990), or as a form of counter-hegemony as a conscious strategy against their employers (Gramsci 1971). As Ginsburg has argued, it may have given "these women the satisfaction of taking control of their lives and making bearable hard conditions" (Ginsburg 2000:94-95), just as "stealing food from the kitchen to feed an extra mouth... could [have provided] a pleasing sense of undermining unjust authority" (Ginsburg 2000:95). This aspect of the employer-servant relationship therefore contributes to my analysis of the mistrust that existed between employers and their servants.

While narratives differed among informants (which points towards the fact that servant-employer relationships varied from one household to another), a basis of mistrust nevertheless seems to have characterized most, if not all, such relationships. As Marcia Ravenbury, in reaction to my (perhaps naïve) probing eventually proclaimed exasperatedly,

Marcia: *Look*, umm, you *do* get people that were, racialistic and, treated the black people badly. You know what I'm saying? But I think with our families... we felt sorry for them; and... you know they treated us well, we treated them well, kind of thing. Because you can also get... -t- bad umm... uh maids and what have you. That will steal you out of house and *home!* You know what I'm saying! You get some really bad people. So

you've also gotta be very careful who you employ! I mean, that's another thing, people have been murdered by their own gardeners that have worked in their garden and have... you know? So you gotta be careful about it when you employ somebody like that.

Marcia's words starkly remind us of the ways in which the employer-servant relationship was directly linked to white South Africans' fear of violence and crime (see Chapter Four), and how that fear was experienced even within the confines of their own homes.

As thus far demonstrated in this chapter, relationships between servants and their white employers were highly unequal and oppressive in their very constitution. They were also, mostly because of the inequality inherent in the relationship, ambivalently lived, full of holes and gaps and spaces, where understanding and empathy failed to flourish between the two parties. In the remainder of this section, I address one option that every white South African might have had, and still has, though very few of my informants actually acted upon it. This option pertains to the choice of whether to hire a domestic servant at all. The main ethical issue that this brought up for informants would run something like the following: "Granted that there is something unequal about our hiring a black woman to do the physical labour in our house, we could decide not to hire anyone at all. However, the work that we offer also puts bread on her table and gets her children through school. In addition, it leaves us free to pursue our own activities and to spend more time with the children." Obviously, it is by way of the latter argumentation that the majority of my informants and their families did end up hiring full-time servants when they lived in South Africa; in this way, most of my informants would have agreed with Johan that the domestic labour system was and remains, after all, "job creation." At the same time, we ought not to forget that, from a perspective of socio-cultural reproduction, white South Africans' habitus also contributed to the normalization of the

domestic labour option (Bourdieu 1977).

Albert and Louisa Meyers are one couple who opted not to hire a servant when they married in South Africa: for them, domestic labour symbolized just one of the many ugly forms and results of racist oppression under apartheid. Consider their reasoning as expressed in the following dialogue:

Louisa: There is like, a million other little things in the white South African culture that… you know like the way women are treated, the way-
Albert: Yes. Chauvinism.
LM: -and how helpless women are; that they expect… It's not just the guys that treat the women one way - the women *want* to be princesses, you know? So we just, I think it's a very dangerous thing, not to be in touch with cleaning your own house, cutting your own grass… because I think essentially a lot of those people become bored; and they've got too much time on their hands… no responsibilities… And what you find, when it shows, is when they grow *older*. My… unscientific experience is that people get old there a lot quicker than here. There's no people - they don't tend to stay in their own houses until they are in their 80s, 90s, like here, 'cause they're not fit enough! Like, maybe they are pinned [stuck]… but they are not fit enough. Because they are not working in the garden. Albert's mom is an exception, she does all her own gardening work. And she does it to stay fit. She's a complete exception. But people pay a price for all these servants because by the time they are like… what we would consider really young, like, fifty-five, sixty, they pump their money into these retirement villages. Where you do even less. I mean, now you don't even sweep your own steps. Not that you've ever swept your own steps, you always - the servants do it. But I'm shocked when I get there even now, that my brothers would… there would be a gardener washing your car! It's a big shock to kids; I know one girl who moved here when she was six and she's eighteen now, and she went back for three months to South Africa. And one of the things that shocked her the most, because she essentially grew up Canadian, is the extent to which people use paid labour. You know? It's very disconcerting. You also, if the servant now comes and takes away the cups, you don't help her. Like, you don't take away (picks up her tea cup) - that's seen as spoiling the servant. And so, I think physically people get maybe more - they won't admit to it, but I think they become more self-obsessed; …because they've got more time on their hands! Whereas my friends here, *we* all work pretty darn hard! We all… we've got the whole house to do, we paint our own houses, we all fix up our own houses, even friends we have with like more money! Fix their own houses a lot, they do the whole garden, they do all of that, and it's seen as… we all work… spend a lot of time on physical things! Which I think, by the end of the day [it] leaves you less time to fret, you know? (laughs)
Mieke: Yes. I ask people sometimes, "What did your mother do?"
AM: "She told the servant what to do."
MD: Yeah. And some of them will also say, "she had to take care of my dad." But

maybe that is sort of a related thing.

AM: Yeah. When the husband comes home, the food should be on the table and ready... you know? We are kind of maybe disconnected with... like, I'm not sure whether people our age, if they still...

LM: Because the economy has gone down so much... to maintain the same lifestyle, women now have to start to work.

AM: There are all kinds of people who... I think our generation and younger live quite different...

LM: But again, not.

AM: We knew a woman... she was a member of the ANC before it was legal. She had a servant in her house, but it's also a matter of employment, and if you don't employ somebody...

LM: She pays her really well. She pays her like three times what the going rate is! You know? But, she's the only person we know [who did that]. She was paying...

AM: And that woman survives, her whole family survives on that wage.

MD: So there is a certain dependency, too.

AM: Yeah. So people feel... like it's a two-edged sword, like we had made the decision when we were living there not to have servants. We always did everything ourselves. But there is this thing that you're depriving somebody... you have the privilege of the money and you're depriving somebody else of the opportunity to feed their family. So you know, there's all these wheels within wheels, and ethical dilemmas that you really...

LM: I think if you really want to be ethical there, maybe you should just pay a black mother to stay home, and raise her own kids! And not let her work for you, but give her... you know.

MD: With the extra money that you have, support her.

LM: Yeah.

AM: Yeah, or have like a morning job only or something, and pay her a good wage...

LM: Yeah but I mean, this is umm, horrible for the kids, because... I think men especially essentially; umm... marry very quickly if their spouse dies. Oh! Within a year a widower would marry again!

AM: In months, sometimes.

LM: Because they cannot survive without a woman! Like they really need a...

MD: This is in the white community?

LM: Yeah! Because they really need someone to tell them "...You have to wear this tie, with this shirt," and who would...

AM: ...cook the food.

LM: ...be sure things are well. They might have the servant to cook but they would strongly suggest...

AM: Well, the servant might "not know" how to cook the food! (grins)

LM: Yeah. And see that the table is nicely laid, and... You know, see that the clothes go to the drycleaner and see that it gets back, and all that kind of stuff. So very much, they need a manager. For their personal lives. And they just fall apart once they don't have a wife! Because, they... as these managers, that hold them...

MD: Is this different in the Afrikaans, than in the British cultures? Or is it sort of similar?

AM: I think it's quite similar, actually. The differences on that level are very small. And

104

of course there's so much intermarriage.

LM: It might appear large, but…

AM: There are many sort of intermarried nowadays…

LM: It might appear… there's a cynical little saying that goes, "The Afrikaans wrote it and kept the National Party" - now the National Party were the ones who invented the whole apartheid thing and kept it going. Umm, they voted them into power "but the English prayed that they would stay in power." So I don't think that the English are necessarily big partners for justice; they were very happy with the system!

MD: Yeah. They lived in the comfort of it.

LM: Yes. They were very happy to have… it's easy now, to criticize whatever but they were very *happy* to have a police force that had absolute power, they were happy to have this massive security, they were happy to have segregated living areas.

In their conversation with me, Albert and Louisa touch on a number of issues, all of which relate to the effect that the employment of domestic servants has had in South Africa. About halfway through the text, Albert refers to the double-edged sword that I mentioned earlier: that to hire a domestic servant was (and remains) a form of job creation that ensured, for many black families, their basic survival. But despite these "wheels within wheels," Albert and Louisa nevertheless opted not to hire a servant. They were thus motivated by several reasons, including their recognition that the domestic labour system actually comprised a vital force that kept the apartheid system -- and the normalized ideas and hegemonies associated with that system -- going, and that ensured its structural reproduction, at least in part. In addition, as Afrikaners they saw that this form of labour had a negative effect on their culture (which, for them, on this point, was the dominant white South African culture, including both Afrikaners and British South Africans). In this vein, they saw their white South African neighbours and fellow citizens turning old before their time, fretful because they had too much time on their hands, and its widowers remarrying because they couldn't live without a 'household manager.'

Their examples turn around one basic theme: that there are certain things in life

for which each healthy adult person is responsible. If you are married, then you might carry out these things together, but that does not override the fact that there is basic work associated with a home; that there are basic tasks to be carried out by each individual. Albert and Louisa were clearly referring to the kind of domestic labour, both productive and reproductive, that ensures the continued operation of a home, including mowing the lawn, fixing the garage, grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning the floor, and raising the children (see Harris and Young 1981). In their view, failure to take on such basic responsibilities would inevitably lead to the negative consequences mentioned above, including laziness (to which other informants also referred). The Meyers' critical stance towards domestic servant employment derives from two basic perspectives: first, they saw the oppressiveness that it entailed for female black servants and their families; and second, they argued that it has worked to the detriment of the white South African 'culture' that ruled South Africa for so many years.

I began this section with the claim that Foucault's insights on the workings of power and Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and contradictory consciousness help us to comprehend what has been in South Africa (and what still is, not only in South Africa) an exploitative form of labour. I argued, from Foucaultian and Gramscian perspectives, that apartheid's totalitarian power, operating as it did "by way of censorship, exclusion and repression" (Foucault 1980:59), was not always unchallenged, both by those who benefited most (employers) *and* least (servants) from it. Though it influenced and continues to influence the lives of South Africans in damaging ways, the nature of apartheid power was fragile and unsuccessful (see n.15) in its production of racist and exclusivist policies. Migrants' stories testify to the fact that during and after apartheid,

relationships with servants in many households were far from simply straightforward deployments of uncontested inequality and paternalism: between boss versus servant, superior versus inferior, white versus black, as the apartheid apparatus may have aimed for them to be. Instead, their narratives were fraught with memories and experiences that demonstrate the ambivalence that lay at the base of all employer-servant relationships. This uncertainty led to a consciousness of injustice among both employers and servants - a consciousness that nevertheless was contradictory in light of the hegemonic workings of apartheid ideology (Gramsci 1971).

Apartheid power needs to be understood as a 'system of relationships' that was never constant, rather than as a 'thing in itself.' This line of thought, elaborated on by both Foucault and Gramsci, may be fruitfully linked to my earlier discussion of white South Africans' habitus in relation to servant settings (Bourdieu 1977; see above). On the one hand, both the physical and social aspects of servant settings were a normalized part of everyday white life in South Africa during apartheid, and to a lesser extent they remain so today. Still, the habitus that constituted relationships between servants and employers was never wholly predictable or clear. Though a consciousness of and empathy towards servants' lives and difficulties seems to have been developing to different degrees among white South African immigrants (it is part of their memory work about earlier periods in their lives), it is important to remember that such awareness and empathy may be developing, at least in part, as a result of their international migration. This became apparent during fieldwork when people wanted to speak about the relationships they had had with their servants, including the contradictions that pervaded those relationships, without always exactly knowing how to put their memories and thoughts into words.

My observations led me to consider that the migrant move from South Africa to Canada may be influencing white South Africans' habitus in this regard. Not only has apartheid been dismantled in South Africa itself, but a removal from the country and the adaptation process in a new environment, taken together, seem to be affecting the ways in which informants now think about the servants who cared for them, or whom they employed. Their international migration allows for a reflection on the life that they lived in South Africa and are living in Canada. In the fourth and final section of this chapter, I therefore turn to the question of how memories and experiences with servants remain relevant to those (especially women) who now reside in Canada.

Missing and Remembering Servants in Canada

During fieldwork, not only did women (though often hesitantly) speak about how they missed their former servants' labour in their new domestic settings; several also related how they tried to stay in touch with the servants they had employed in South Africa. In this final section of the chapter, I discuss these continuing aspects of the employer-servant relationship as they are currently experienced by white South African migrants. First, I address how women indicated that they missed their servants' work upon coming to Canada, which can be an adjustment that takes some years to overcome. Second, I focus on women's descriptions of how they have tried to maintain contact with servants, and the extent to which they have been successful in their endeavours.

As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, one experience that is often associated with the move from South Africa to Canada (at least on the part of white South Africans) is an experience of downward mobility, or, as Katherine Newman has called it,

a "falling from grace" (Newman 1988:x). The white South African experience cannot, of course, be directly compared to Newman's account of the situation of the American middle class, because the causal factors that contribute to downward mobility among the American middle class differ significantly from those experienced by white South Africans who have relocated to Canada.[18] Nevertheless, the idea that "people who have attained a degree of occupational or financial success in their adult years see their achievements evaporate" (Newman 1988:20) was familiar to a number of my informants. As several pointed out, coming to Canada was like 'being newly married again' or 'starting from scratch all over again.'

In the chapter at hand, I am especially concerned with the ways in which women experienced downward mobility in the domestic sphere. While the majority of informants employed domestic servants and gardeners while living in South Africa, this luxury had to be abandoned upon arrival in Canada.[19] Below, I present two conversations wherein my informants Evelien Boshoff and Marcia Ravenbury spoke about the difficulties of running their households without the help of their maids. Notice especially how their husbands reacted to what they had to say.

Evelien Boshoff:
Evelien: One thing… what's interesting, now that I live in Canada, it's so - it's like

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[18] Causal factors that contribute to the downward mobility of white South Africans now resident in Canada include: the political, and consequent social, transitions that have swept over South Africa since the early 1990s, including efforts towards labour equity on the part of the ANC government in South Africa; the expense of international migration; the lack of a supportive (South African) community network in the migrant context (as experienced by several, though not all, informants); and the lack of job opportunities, especially for middle-aged white South Africans who have university degrees that are not recognized in Canada.
[19] Following my conversations with white South African migrants, the luxury of employing domestic servants has been largely abandoned by many of them in Canada for two reasons. First, household help is largely unaffordable in Canada, especially for those who are struggling financially. Second, it is not near as common among the Canadian middle class, as it was (and is) in South Africa, to hire a domestic servant. (However, for an exception, reconsider n.4 of this chapter and Appendix 1.)

having kids. You understand your mother so much *better*, now that you have your own children. I understand my servant, my maid, so much better, now that I have to clean my own house. Her-

Johan: ...That's a new one! I like that! (laughs)

EB: -her frustration, you know? It must... it mustn't have been easy all the time, cleaning someone else's house. Because I feel sometimes, "Why do I have to do this? ...Yeah I have to do this! This is my house, this is my responsibility." And she was paid for doing that. But I... understand, it's not always the nicest job, I think, to have, although we were very good people for her. When we had a good life, and she was out, our kids enjoyed her and she enjoyed our children, they spent hours, and she was standing ironing, Marieke and Betsy, they were always sitting, Marieke would get a barstool and she would sit with Betsy and they would chat like two old friends, you know? Like, they had a very good bond. Even when we came to Canada, Betsy would make a little note and mail it to us, and she wanted to know 'how's Marieke doing,' and that... I think we do get a very close bond. They become your family, sort of. Like, that's uh... yeah, that's how I would see it anyway. They... you miss them. If they're not there, and... if they're there, it's... you have your frustration but you have that with your family too!

Marcia Ravenbury:

Marcia: ...I mean, if you think... like what you pay them [servants] is *peanuts*. You know? And that's why I don't have a maid here because I can't afford one! You know what I'm saying, I do all my work here! That was a big adjustment, for me! (grins)

Shawn: (laughs)

Mieke: Yeah, did you miss her?

MR: (laughing) Yes, I did!

MD: Yeah... In what ways did you miss her? Just, doing basic housework, kind of thing?

MR: Yes!

MD: What she used to do - yeah! Like clean, or whatever...

MR: Look, where... Look. You're white, living in South Africa you're very spoiled when it comes to that. Because you can have a gardener, and a maid, and all that. You know? And then when you come to Canada, and you pay... seventy dollars, for like two hours for them to come and vacuum quickly... you know? I can't afford that!

MD: Yes... you can't afford it, no.

MR: No!

MD: No. More women have said that. It's difficult for them.

MR: Yes.

MD: And they miss... not only do they miss the work that they did, that you now have to do yourself but they also miss the companionship. That's what people said.

MR: That's right. Absolutely.

MD: And you just have someone to talk to, during the day.

MR: Yes, you have somebody there so the house was not sort of empty, you know? So it is... and I mean people in Canada don't understand the maid-system, you know? When you had a maid... they don't understand that. You actually feel almost embarrassed to say, you know, "I had a maid that, cleaned up after me," kind of thing. (grins) But it's

just the way it *was* in South Africa! It was *accepted!* That's... you know, "That's the way it is!" kind of thing.

In these texts, Evelien and Marcia both admit that they have found it difficult at times to run their own households, and to carry out the physical labour associated with it. This is not simply an experience of not wanting to do the dirty work, like cleaning the floors and scrubbing the toilets - instead, women have difficulty with the fact that they don't know *how* to go about accomplishing specific tasks, and certainly not systematically. On the one hand, the migration experience thus pushes these women to learn a whole set of basic duties that they often never had to do in South Africa. As Marcia points out, this experience is often too embarrassing to mention to the Canadians she meets, because they fail to comprehend what could possibly be so difficult or frustrating about cleaning an oven or cooking the family's regular evening meal (other than the everyday frustrations that sometimes accompany these tasks).

A second important indicator in Evelien's and Marcia's narratives may be found in their husbands' reactions to their explanations. While Marcia's husband Shawn didn't say a word, he did laugh. Certainly Marcia grinned and laughed somewhat as she related her story, but her laughter was more demonstrative of her embarrassment at admitting her difficulties. Shawn, it seemed to me, was laughing more at his wife than at anything else, though he may have been embarrassed for her. Alternatively, Johan's reactions to his wife Evelien's words clearly point towards the patriarchy that, according to the literature, dominates white South African marriages and households (Cock 1989:135-137, Goodwin and Schiff 1995:90-96, Seegers 1993). At Evelien's explanation that she understands her maid so much better now that she has to clean her own house, her husband's "That's a

new one! I like that!" (though exclaimed as a joke) points toward an important issue.

Indeed, it is possible that Johan and Evelien do not converse much about Evelien's

difficulties in adapting to household work in Canada, which leaves Evelien on her own in

her family, in this specific aspect of their migration experience.[20] But Evelien stands her

ground: ignoring her husband's comments, she continues to explain what her experience

has been like. Thus, while patriarchal notions may have dominated and particular

silences been normalized (see Gal 1991) in the marriages and households of white South

Africans in South Africa (in part through the domestic servant system), the migrant

context allows for a reflection on these issues and on South Africa's racist history,

especially in the case of immigrant women. Along with the narratives considered

throughout this chapter, women's accounts of experiences of downward mobility by way

of missing a servant's labour in Canada are thus illustrative of the ways in which white

South Africans' habitus is changing in the 'new' Canadian context.

A final, concluding matter that needs to be included in this chapter concerns the

ways in which women have tried to maintain contact with those nannies and servants who

played such significant roles in their lives in South Africa. Their words on this point

were often sad, difficult, and tender, as Julianne's narrative poignantly shows:

Mieke: Do you know what became of her [Julianne's childhood servant Gertha]?
Julianne: Yeah, she went back to Johannesburg. My dad found a job for her as a nanny
in Johannesburg. Through umm, some friends of his that were looking for a nanny. So
she went to work for this family, and actually it was a little bit closer to her home, from
where we [had] lived. And, when I went back to South Africa in 199... the first time I
went back? It was before I brought my husband back, so it was... anyway one of my
trips back in the early nineties, I went up to Johannesburg. And I phoned her up and I
went to visit her at her... at her umm... place that she was working and umm... it was so
funny 'cause I went to visit her specifically and yet she... called her madam, the lady she

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[20] This may be interpreted in light of Bourdieu's habitus, as discussed earlier in this chapter (1977).

was working for and introduced me and wanted me to sit down and talk to her, the lady that she was working with, and I'd actually come to visit *her*, you know! I didn't *wanna* talk to the lady that was living in the house, I'm not *interested* in the lady in the house; I wanted to know about Gertha, and everything…

And I was older now as you know, I'd finished university and I was just (deep sigh), you know, I wanted… and then, I remember, she took me to her room, finally, which I was wanting to see her room, you know… (grins) And James was there, her husband, and I spoke to him for a little while and it was… it was just so nice to see Gertha again 'cause it was just so sad… I mean I… I remember… it was so sad when I said goodbye to her, because she was older now and… and umm, and I was terrible! I just never cared [she didn't write me] you know she was… she could write, she could write her name, I never ever saw her write letters or anything, so I don't know if she could… I don't know actually if she could write… I never paid any attention to know… how well… but I never… I sent her Christmas cards for a few years, and umm… I never heard back from her ever, so, umm, I don't know… umm… (weeping softly) And one -- except -- one year I did, I did send her… and I always used to send her like, some… twenty Rand or something, if I had any currency here, just as like, you know a little Christmas present, it was nothing really but… Her daughter once wrote back to me, Elisa, and she was now working, umm… she just wrote… she just wrote a short note and said, "Gertha says thank you for…" you know, whatever.

So then I wasn't sure whether Gertha was working, or like retired, or… you know 'cause she was older and then… (deep sigh) I don't know, I just… it just… over the years it's been, like I've just kind of lost contact with her, which is… And I'm surprised that my parents also lost contact with her, 'cause she lived with us for all these years, like twenty years! But that's just the way it was, even though my mom and her lived in the same house and did everything together, I mean… there still was that distance, that culture that just… difference that… They just didn't, uh… sort of keep, as in touch as I would have expected, you know… You would expect two people that lived in the same house for twenty years [to keep in touch]…

Domestic life in the homes of white South Africans, which was so significantly shaped by the continual presence of black servants like Gertha, is not easily forgotten or dismissed. Instead, white South African migrants, and especially women, mull over their experiences and memories, often unsure of what to do; of whether they have a continual responsibility towards their maids even after they moved to Canada, and if so, how they might act upon this responsibility from afar. In one way, major migrations must be seen as experiences that, in the end, reinforce already constituted 'dividing lines,' first physically, but also economically and socially. Certainly, migrations are about evaluations of life before the

move and after the move, and in the case of white South Africans, migration to Canada

allows for an in-depth consideration of how relationships between servants and employers

were constructed and maintained in South Africa. But a move halfway across the world

also limits informants' involvement in the lives of former servants, even in those cases

where they may have wanted or felt responsible to keep in contact. Julianne's sadness at

having lost touch with Gertha -- a person for whom she feels partly responsible -- must be

understood in this light. Most of my informants, albeit to differing extents, were aware of

the fact that the employer-servant relationship was highly unequal and oppressive, and

Julianne's words are a case in point.

At the same time, it must be remembered that such before-and-after evaluations

are processes. To put it another way, there is a definite distinction to be made between a

woman who moved ten years ago and who has made three return trips, on each such

occasion having taken along a suitcase of good second-hand clothing for her 'old'

servant, and a woman like Leona who only moved two years ago, and who has struggled

continually during this time to run her household in Canada without the help of a servant

(see the introductory illustration to the thesis in Chapter One). Adaptation and evaluation

processes take time; they must be lived rather than merely experienced in a matter of

months, or even a year a two.

And yet even time won't always make sense of the past, or make peace with the

past, as Julianne's words demonstrate. This is ultimately the reason that migrant

women's memories of their former servants in the South African context are indicative of

a certain amount of sadness and difficulties. Julianne may visit South Africa and make a

specific effort to go and see Gertha, just as she may send some Rands over for Christmas.

In the end, such efforts form but small, though clearly well-intended, gifts and reparations in the face of major political, social and material inequalities. In addition, it seems that it is often only in the Canadian context that the South African immigrants I met became increasingly conscious of the 'race'-, class-, and gender-based distinctions and contradictions that characterized the employer-servant relationship in South Africa (Gramsci 1971). While immigration to Canada thus works favourably in the lives of many white South Africans, and while their habitus (Bourdieu 1977) may change over time as a result, their former lives and histories are not so easily forgotten or repaired.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed the multiple ways in which former employers of black, mostly female servants in South Africa now speak about the relationships they had with their domestic workers and other servants. I have argued that, along with the dismantling of apartheid and with time, migrant surroundings like the Canadian one allow white South Africans to reconsider the roles they played in South Africa's racist history. Through an analysis of the power relations that permeated the employer-servant relationship (Foucault 1978, 1980), and more particularly, by drawing on Bourdieu's notion of the habitus (1977) and Gramsci's concept of contradictory consciousness (1971), it becomes clear that white South Africans' habitus, reproduced in South Africa (especially during apartheid), often undergoes a significant transformation in Canada. To understand this transformation, one needs to take into account the 'race'-, class-, and gender-based structures and inequalities that defined the contexts of the employer-servant relationship in South Africa. This allows us to comprehend, at least in part, migrant

South Africans', especially women's, difficulties in having to make do without a servant in their new domestic surroundings, just as it is indicative of the ambivalence that remains implicit in 'servant memories' long after a labour agreement has ended.

Chapter Four: Discourses of Subjectivity and Violence

You've gotta understand that… there are lots of feelings about this… But I think that umm… white people in South Africa in those years were just as much victims, as black people. But victims in a different way… We were victims of -- I think -- propaganda. So, not so much of uh… not victims in the traditional sense, but our information and our news, were very strictly controlled. So what was put out by the press and what was put out by the radio, was very strictly controlled. So you believed what you were told. And so consequently, you weren't able to assess and judge situations I don't think in a normal fashion. You believed what the government basically told you. And, those white people that chose to… to question it or to judge it, in a way, got… got themselves in trouble.

-Sandy Richardson

The last time, when I came back, when we were there in 2000, I basically went through a severe… I don't know what. I had seven bad, bad nightmares. After I came back. And they escalated. And, as they went on, in one of the last nightmares I was crying in my sleep, pleading with my family, to leave. Begging them! …You know another nightmare, my favourite brother-in-law was shot in the head through the car window and at his funeral, someone said, "Oh," -- said to me -- "I don't know why you are crying so much, his death was quick, he never even knew what hit him." And I started screaming at her, saying well, "How can you, be so… Look at his, two kids!" Like, "Why can you say, 'it was a mercy, it was so quick'?" So, I went into, almost becoming -- in the two months -- coming back, almost going through shock, like, "I can't believe… how… I… I…" You know? …You know I would pay, for plane tickets for anyone to visit me, but… I don't… at all… have the - it's too upsetting to me.

-Louisa Meyers

In the chapter that follows, I address discourses[1] concerning 'white' South African

migrants' memories and experiences of subjectivity and violence[2] in South Africa, both

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[1] On the instability of discourse, see Foucault 1978:100-102, where he writes that "we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. […] Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault 1978:100-101). In the current chapter, I employ the notion of discourse to analyze informants' narratives of subjectivity and violence. To analyze such narratives *as* discourses is relevant in this context because they pervaded, without exception, all of my interviews (though of course in multiple ways, as Foucault points out as well).

[2] As will become clear in this chapter, the notion of 'violence' is used in various ways in different contexts by informants. It is therefore necessary to examine the political, social and economic contexts that inform people's conceptions of violence (including the migrant context). In South Africa itself, these contexts

during the apartheid years and in the decade following the dismantling of apartheid. Such memories and recollections took on various forms among informants, and the extent to which people identified themselves as *victims* per se also ranged considerably. However, most migrants spoke about how 'the system' of apartheid (as 'a government-controlled propaganda system') had effectively 'brainwashed' them, to the point that they rarely thought to question it until their university years. This sort of recollection, concerning a type of subjectivity that arose as one result (among many) of the violences of apartheid, may be considered as one type of discourse that is prevalent among white South African migrants who were all in a privileged class position in South Africa. In addition, people spoke at length about the current rising levels of violence and crime in South Africa by way of which another type of discourse, concerning a threat of physical violence, became apparent.[3] In this chapter, I analyze the different narrative strategies that migrants drew upon to explain their subjectivities and experiences of violence. I argue that individuals' specific experiences of violence, as well as the stories that circulate about the potentiality of becoming victims of violence in South Africa, create a strong incentive for them to

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have undergone a process of rapid transformation in recent decades, due to the dismantling of apartheid. Accordingly, people's conceptions of violence have also changed, and one of the aims of this chapter is to come to an understanding of this transformation. A second, related point must be kept in mind as well: the notion of violence may be narrowly *or* more broadly defined. Keeping these two points in mind, in this chapter I show that informants' current discourses of subjectivity and violence are productively engaged to make sense of South Africa's major structural changes. White South African migrants now speak about (1) a subjectivity that they experienced during apartheid *as* whites (some characterize this subjectivity as a 'violence' imposed upon them by the apartheid apparatus), which then (2) 'changed' to a sense of the threat of physical violence in South Africa that has come to be broadly defined as including (organized) crime, break-and-enters, robbery, assault, rape, murder and even the spread of HIV/AIDS in the country. See my further analysis below.

[3] Mark Shaw, in his work entitled *Crime and Policing in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Transforming Under Fire* (2002), provides much supportive statistical data. On the one hand, there has been a steady increase in levels of violence and crime in South Africa since the early 1990s (Shaw 2002:15-21). However, Shaw also argues that apartheid controls and policing, "[w]hile creating the conditions necessary for crime to prosper in some areas, ...effectively sealed these areas off from more affluent and white communities" *during* apartheid (Shaw 2002:9). In light of the narratives that follow, these two factors and their

leave the country of their birth (see Bourgois 1995 and Leyton 1996, 2000 for analyses of the significant impact of stories that promote a *fear* of violence). Moreover, in the migrant context memories of, and discourses about, violence are productively engaged to justify migrants' decision to come to Canada.

In the first section of the chapter, I consider the relevant literature that serves to place informants' narratives in the appropriate theoretical contexts. As will become clear, Gramsci's notion of hegemony (1971) and Foucault's insights on the productiveness and subjectivity of the body (1977) are useful in light of the first main topic discussed in this chapter (discourses about 'white subjectivity' during apartheid). In addition, Caldeira's theoretical framework in her book *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (2000) provides a useful vantage point for an examination of the second main topic (discourses regarding physical violence). I also draw on Taylor's (1994) notion of a 'politics of recognition' in order to explain white South African migrants' current preoccupation with forms of subjectivity and violence.

In the chapter's second section, I present a number of texts that illustrate the first type of discourse delineated above, about people's experiences of 'the system,' including memories on the part of white South African males who served in South Africa's 'border wars' during apartheid. The third section accounts for memories of more recent (mostly post-apartheid) events that relate to informants' experiences and stories of violence in South Africa (the second type of discourse mentioned above). Included in this section is a discussion of the fear and perceived 'danger' of the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS among, predominantly, the black population of South Africa (Marks 2002, Williams et al 2002).

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significance for the white communities of South Africa should be kept in mind.

In the fourth section, I discuss how the continuing prevalence of 'white South African black humour' in the migrant context is indicative of people's perceived fears and tensions regarding everyday life in South Africa, just as such humour reproduces racist stereotypes and essentialisms (see Brandes 1980, Herzfeld 1997a). I conclude my analysis by drawing the different subtopics together again in a fifth section. Throughout, I argue that the different memories drawn upon by informants generate specific discourses that show the impact that extreme institutionalized racism has had in South Africa, as well as in the identity projects of people from South Africa even after their migration. These discourses are, in the end, productively engaged to make sense of South Africa's major structural changes, just as they work to justify and legitimize migrants' decision to leave South Africa.

Analyzing Discourses of Subjectivity and Violence: Theoretical Approaches

The Need for Recognition

In order to come to an in-depth understanding of the different and differentially experienced forms of subjectivity and violence that people spoke about in their stories, we need to ask what these notions might actually mean for white South African migrants (see n.2). In this vein, it is important to remember that informants were born and raised during apartheid, but that most of them also experienced the political and social transformations of the early 1990s in South Africa. In addition, their international migration signifies another major social, political and often economic rupture in their lives. The question thus becomes: how, and for what reason, do people draw on notions of subjectivity and violence to *explain* the changes and ruptures they have experienced?

From the post-apartheid, migrant vantage point, white South African memories and discourses of subjectivity and violence bring to mind Charles Taylor's paper, "The Politics of Recognition" (Taylor 1994), wherein he argues:

> The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being (Taylor 1994:25).

In recent years, in both scholarly and popular literature, the ideology of apartheid has come to be represented as a colonialist, totalitarian power that disadvantaged and oppressed nonwhite people in all aspects of South African life (for examples, see Beinart 2001, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997, 1999, Krog 1998, Malan 1990 and Mandela 1994). As mentioned above, debates and discussions about the legacy of apartheid and 'the ongoing South African situation' have become forms of common discourse in South Africa amongst all segments of the population. Because such talk also continues quite unabatedly in both public and private domains among white South African migrants in Ontario, we need to examine what their particular discourses are about, and the reasons why these discourses take the particular slant that they do.

Following Taylor, narratives that invoke experiences of subjectivity and violence may be considered *discourses of recognition*, first of all "in the intimate sphere, where we understand the formation of identity and the self as taking place in a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others" (Taylor 1994:37), and second "in the public sphere, where a politics of equal recognition has come to play a bigger and bigger role [over time]" (Taylor 1994:37). In this vein, memories and recollections of different forms of

subjectivity and violence are illustrative of white South Africans' quest for recognition

and understanding in the face of what has become a harsh criticism of *those white people*

who benefited from apartheid and colonial history in a wider sense.

Apartheid Hegemony and Political Technologies of the Body

The first type of discourse discussed below -- about subjectivity -- is concerned

with people's references to and descriptions of 'the system' under which they grew up. In

this vein, informants frequently referred to the apartheid regime and all that it entailed

during the apartheid years as 'the system,' itself a term that is indicative of a type of

social-psychological control, or brainwashing. As such, the system of apartheid in South

Africa, disseminated through a host of institutions, can be compared to the totalitarian

communist governments[4] that controlled parts of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet

Union during the Cold War period (Burawoy and Verdery 1999). In Gramscian terms,

retrospective references to a controlling propaganda system point toward a hegemonic

formation, the active "organization of consent" (Crehan 2002a:102) that apartheid

designers and institutors exercised, also over the white minority in South Africa. Gramsci

considered this possible aspect of hegemony in the *Prison Notebooks* as follows:

> The first element [of politics] is that there really do exist rulers and ruled, leaders
> and led. The entire science and art of politics are based on this primordial, and
> (given certain general conditions [i.e. under the conditions of a class society])

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[4] It is important to keep in mind the distinction between actual governments, who exercise hegemony, and ideologies. As Crehan has pointed out, for Gramsci the notions of ideology and hegemony were not the same. As she writes: "To turn hegemony... into little more than a synonym for ideology is... to rob the notion of hegemony of much of what makes it a productive and useful way of approaching power. Hegemony in the prison notebooks, I would suggest, is an approach to the question of power that in its exploration of empirical realities -- how power is lived in particular times and places -- refuses to privilege either ideas or material realities, seeing these as always entangled, always interacting with each other" (Crehan 2002a:200; see also Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:1-48 on the distinction between ideology and hegemony).

irreducible fact. [...] Since the division between rulers and ruled exists even within the same group, certain principles have to be fixed upon and strictly observed. For it is in this area that the most serious 'errors' take place, and that the most criminal weaknesses and the hardest to correct are revealed. For the belief is common that obedience must be automatic, once it is a question of the same group; and that not only must it come about without any demonstration of necessity or rationality being needed, but it must be unquestioning (Gramsci 1971:144-145).

One way to interpret white South African migrants' stories of the violence of apartheid, and their subjectivities within that system, is by referring to Gramsci's notion of hegemonic formations *within* a ruling or dominant class. However, to add to a Gramscian analysis, it is also worth considering the apartheid system in light of Foucault's analytical work on the operation of power through disciplinary control (Foucault 1977). In this vein, I am particularly concerned with Foucault's insight that the productiveness and subjectivity of the body operate together in the creation and sustenance of normalized power relations in different settings. Following Foucault,

> [s]ubjection is not only obtained by the instruments of violence or ideology; it can also be direct, physical, pitting force against force, bearing on material elements, and yet without involving violence; it may be calculated, organized, technically thought out; it may be subtle, make use neither of weapons nor of terror and yet remain of a physical order. That is to say, there may be a 'knowledge' of the body *that is not exactly the science of its functioning*, and a mastery of its forces that is *more than the ability to conquer them*: this knowledge and this mastery constitute what might be called the political technology of the body (Foucault 1977:26, emphasis added).

Clearly, white South African migrants' current conception of something outside of themselves that was imposed upon them (by way of psychological and physical ways-of-being) -- the apartheid system -- illuminates Foucault's general observations. In addition to Gramsci's and Foucault's insights, since apartheid took place in the past, discourses of subjectivity also serve to show the changing nature of memory construction, whereby

informants' memories of apartheid demonstrate a certain metamorphosis over time; an evolution of memory from one form to another (Teski and Climo 1995:8). In large part, this is a result of the recent South African political and social transitions (see Kenny 1999). It may also be seen as a necessary reconfiguration on the part of white South Africans in order to come to terms with their roles and positions in South Africa during the apartheid years.

Important questions arise out of white South Africans' current representations of themselves as 'victims' of the propaganda system of the National Party; as people who 'did not know' what apartheid truly entailed for the nonwhite population of South Africa. Indeed, what does it mean when people say that they 'did not know' of the social and physical pain and suffering that apartheid caused? To what extent does this now-dominant way of speaking, this resounding argument, represent a truth (in terms of subjectivity) or an underlying guilt for, or denial of, apartheid's implications? In his book *States of Denial: Knowing About Atrocities and Suffering* (2001), Stanley Cohen explains that

> [d]enial is understood as an unconscious defense mechanism for coping with guilt, anxiety and other disturbing emotions aroused by reality. The psyche blocks off information that is literally unthinkable or unbearable. The unconscious sets up a barrier which prevents the thought from reaching conscious knowledge. Information and memories slip into an inaccessible region of the mind (Cohen 2001:5).

Following Cohen's definition, how do we know whether white South Africans are now dealing with 'states of denial' concerning their lives in South Africa during the apartheid years? Since the apartheid regime was "based on forms of cruelty, discrimination, repression [and] exclusion which [were] 'known' about but never openly acknowledged"

(Cohen 2001:11; see also Borneman 1992 for a discussion of similar issues in post-WWII Germany), how are white South Africans addressing the racist political history of South Africa, including their possible collusion with this history (Cohen 2001:14-18)?

These questions are complex and ambiguous ones, perhaps especially so for the researcher, who has the duty to carefully record, analyze and represent all informants' lives and words (see Barrett 1987, Ginsburg 1993). For my examination of discourses that address the subjectivities of 'white life' in South Africa during apartheid, I have chosen to analyze particular texts in which informants spoke to me about fear, about 'not knowing,' and about 'the propaganda system of the National Party.' Accordingly, section two of this chapter illuminates Gramsci's analysis of the workings of hegemony on the dominant classes (1971), just as Foucault's political technology of the body (1977) demonstrates the intricate ways in which the National Party and the whole apartheid apparatus had managed to embed itself in the lives and bodies of white South Africans during apartheid (this point could also be considered in light of Bourdieu's habitus; see Bourdieu 1977). Moreover, retrospective discourses concerning '*forced* containment' by and through the apartheid system link ambiguously to people's discourses regarding the threat of physical violence in post-apartheid South Africa; discourses that express, ultimately, a '*desire* for containment,' as I explore in the next subsection.

Caldeira's 'The Talk of Crime': Discourses of Physical Violence

The second main type of discourse analyzed in this chapter concerns informants' elaborate stories about the high levels of violence and crime in South Africa, both personally experienced and heard about especially since the early 1990s (see n.3). For

white South Africans, these levels, and the stories that circulate about them, present definite physical dangers. In the second part of the chapter, I am therefore concerned with the discourses that migrants produce about a perceived physical threat of violence in the 'new' South Africa. While the violence of the apartheid regime was spoken of as the cause of white South African subjectivities during apartheid, the reason for the second type of discourse, concerning the threat of physical violence, lies elsewhere (though informants often struggled to explain where). Yet it was this latter discursive form that was invoked most often as a motivating force in people's choice to leave South Africa and to immigrate to Canada.

Teresa Caldeira's study *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (2000) investigates how experiences and fears of violence among various segments of the Paulistano population, Brazilian political changes, and transformations in citizenship rights have intertwined to produce new patterns of segregation in São Paulo. These are reflected in informants' narratives and discourses (see Foucault 1977) that express their fears of 'the Other' (in the case of white South Africans, as an essentialist category, most often referring to 'the blacks') and of becoming victims of violence and crime themselves. Moreover, Caldeira also argues that such discourses are productive of the anxiety that people expressed (see also Bourgois 1995:32, Capps and Ochs 1995:46-52). In other words, the talk of crime, which is about violence, but also about the *fear* of violence, partly generates the structural segregation that has come to dominate São Paulo (Caldeira 2000:19). Following Caldeira:

> Narratives of crime are a specific type of narrative that bestow a specific type of knowledge. They attempt to establish order in a universe that seems to have lost coherence. Amid the chaotic feelings associated with the spread of random

violence in city space, these narratives attempt to reestablish order and meaning. Contrary to the experience of crime, which disrupts meaning and disorders the world, the talk of crime symbolically reorders it by trying to reestablish a static picture of the world. This symbolic reordering is expressed in very simplistic terms, relying on the creation of clear-cut oppositional categories, the most important of which are good and evil. Like other everyday practices of dealing with violence, crime stories try to recreate a stable map for a world that has been shaken. These narratives and practices impose partitions, build up walls, delineate and enclose spaces, establish distances, segregate, differentiate, impose prohibitions, multiply rules of avoidance and exclusion, and restrict movements. In short, they simplify and enclose the world. Narratives of crime elaborate prejudices and try to eliminate ambiguities (Caldeira 2000:20; see also Leyton 1996, 2000 and Low 1997).

In relating my own research findings, I draw on Caldeira's analysis in order to demonstrate the ways in which white South African migrants' stories of fear, violence and crime (as experienced, or heard about and then adopted) constitute a particular way of speaking, a specific discourse, which reflects their ambiguous post-apartheid position as white South Africans. This discourse expresses and produces experiences, perceptions and opinions about violence and crime in South Africa, and it does so, as Caldeira has also pointed out, in highly stereotypical and essentialist, and therefore oppressive ways (Caldeira 2000:33). Moreover, international migration itself does not ensure that discursive strategies learned in a particular place and time are so easily let go of or reconfigured. Instead, informants' particular narratives, even when speaking about their new Canadian context, are still reflective of white South African experiences and subjectivities.

To talk about current levels of violence and crime with white South African immigrants, or about the protective measures that, mostly, white people take (and can afford to take) in order to prevent their becoming victims of physical violence in the 'new' South Africa, is to talk about fear. Several informants thought it ironic to be

experiencing increasing levels of fear, anxiety, crime and violence in a country where an extreme form of racist totalitarianism had been dismantled, with great joy and hope for the future, only a decade ago. While some people were clearly disappointed and disillusioned with this development, others (my four nonwhite informants most emphatically so) explained that it should be understood as a 'natural,' temporary moment in South Africa's transition to democracy. This latter stance resonates with a concept that Caldeira writes she developed with James Holston to explain the prevalence of violence, crime and segregation in São Paulo. In this vein, the concept of *disjunctive democracy* accounts for the contradictions and ambiguities that have marked the transition to democracy in 20th century Brazil (Caldeira 2000:51):

> …in Brazil political democracy has brought with it not respect for rights, justice, and human life, but their exact opposites. The talk of crime not only expresses and articulates other negative processes of change, but it also represents the limits and challenges to Brazilian democratization. In fact, the universe of crime indicates the disjunctive character of Brazilian democracy in a double way: first because the increase of violence itself erodes citizens' rights, and second because it offers a field in which reactions to violence become not only violent and disrespectful of rights, but also help destroy public space, segregate social groups, and destabilize the rule of law (Caldeira 2000:52).

In light of Caldeira's comments in the above quotation, it does not seem out of order to expect the transition to democracy, also in South Africa, to be disjunctive and challenging. Certainly such elements are evident in the particular discourses that migrants evoke when discussing or explaining their lives or the lives of family and friends who still live in South Africa. Moreover, their discourses of physical violence also work productively in the migrant context to justify the emigration choice and as a strategy to adapt to life in Canada.

Following the theoretical literature discussed in this section, I argue that

discourses concerning different forms of violence illustrate a need for recognition on the part of white South African migrants (Taylor 1994). This need was referred to numerous times by informants' emphasis on the fact that the South African situation is incredibly complex, and that the majority of outsiders fail to understand how complex it really is. "They just think it's a matter of black and white, but it's not that simple!" I was told repeatedly. Yet at the same time, most informants certainly realized or had struggled with the fact that South African history is indeed a colonial and a racist one. To different extents, they knew that by virtue of their whiteness, they were implicated in this history. Therefore, ambiguities and insecurities often emerged in their quests for recognition. As will be shown below, violence discourses, which in part serve to justify white South Africans' lamenting the current state of the country (including 'black rule') and their choice to emigrate, also reflect people's own awareness of the ambiguities that sometimes pervaded their arguments. However, such awareness did not necessarily lead to a less essentialist use of language - a fact which in turn contributed to the contradictions apparent in the discourses themselves.

Apartheid Propaganda as a Discourse of Subjectivity

In the previous subsections, I described how white South African migrants' discourses of subjectivity and violence can be roughly divided into two main types. The first deals with recollections of having grown up during apartheid, and with how consent was produced at the time. In this vein, the majority of informants argued that the apartheid propaganda system affected not only the black population, but also the white population of South Africa, whose consent to their position was constantly reinforced

through apartheid hegemony. The second type addresses more recent memories and recollections of (fear of) physical violence and crime, especially after apartheid was dismantled and a 'democratic' South Africa was instituted. However, my delineation of these two types of discursive strategies -- of ways of speaking and remembering that are specific to two main time periods -- are not mutually exclusive; indeed, they often overlap and intertwine in several ways. This factor should be kept in mind in the following discussion of white South Africans' narratives of their lives in South Africa when apartheid reigned.

The following conversation with British South African Joanna Reynolds took place on a beautiful June morning in 2003. In contrast to most of my informants, Joanna and her then-husband had come to Canada already in 1977, a year after the Soweto riots had taken place.[5] Even after all these years, Joanna was still uncomfortable speaking about her South African history and the influence that this history has had on her throughout her life, also in Canada. We were alone in the house that she shared with her second husband, a Canadian, when she described for me how fear and anxiety had dominated her life:

Joanna: I was very nervous… living in South Africa. There were a lot of uprisings… there was a lot of unrest, with the African people, they were very very unhappy with their lot; and… you can't blame them; because of… what had transpired. And, because of their situation in life, if you have nothing… you're gonna steal. And so, unfortunately a lot of them were in a situation where they would break into houses. And so, break-ins in houses were rampant. Very common. And that is why, when you go to South Africa, you wouldn't find one window in a house without a burglar guard on it. *Every* window, in this room, would have… a bar on it. Either a padded one, or something… something

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[5] A number of informants (including Joanna) who had left South Africa before the end of apartheid told me that their decision to emigrate had generated incredible conflict between themselves and their white South African families and friends. They were considered 'betrayers of the fatherland' and 'chicken runners' in light of the 'trying times' that white South Africa was then going through.

to stop people from coming in. Every window, no matter how big or how small. Because… and this is primarily the black people - I'm not saying only but primarily the black people who had nothing… they *stole!* And that was just the way it happened! That made me very nervous. Because, what would happen is, they would break into homes… and then not just steal but then murder the people, in the home. …That's an uncomfortable feeling. Very uncomfortable feeling. At the time, I did not know that I had a… an anxiety condition. I knew I was nervous. But umm, I was abnormally nervous.

Mieke: More than others.

JR: More than others. And, it just grew and grew and grew until eventually umm, I… uh I was doing, silly things. …I was doing things that were - not - normal. And - because I was so scared. …I'll tell you one of them. If my husband would come home late from work at night. And, when the lights… when it was dark and the lights were on, I couldn't walk past the windows in my house - I would crawl on the floor, because I was afraid of being seen, that I was on my own.

[…]

JR: [As a medical condition] my anxiety should have been treated, way way back and it wasn't. Nobody recognized it! They always used to say, "Oh, Joanna's nervous," you know, "Joanna's nervous." You know? But anyway… it got worse, and worse, and then… in 1976 the Soweto riots took place.

MD: Right.

JR: You've heard about that.

MD: [The riots were about the state of the educational system] of the black people?

JR: Right, that's right. And, these people - and when I was at school, funnily enough, earlier, there was an uprising where all these… thousands of Africans came over the hill where my school was. And they were *chanting* and chanting and sitting… you know, waiting… to do *battle* you know, ohh… It's frightening when you're in it and you live it and you don't forget it, you know?

MD: Hmm…

JR: Anyway, 1976 the Soweto riots happened, and I said to my husband at the time I said "You know, this… country… has got… is going to change. It is, it has to." You can't take thirty million black people, and three million white people who are ruling those people - that can't last forever. Especially if it's not in their favour! You've got three million who are running the country, running the government, and these thirty million, strong… have no say no vote no nothing! They - they - they've got minimal schooling, their umm, homes, there's no electricity, no running water, no nothing, you know, so… I said, "There's going to be a revolution, there's gonna be an uprising, there's gonna be something worse than these '76 riots. In my opinion… So I really want to leave South Africa."

[…]

JR: …My first husband and I were divorced. He met a much younger woman and uh, he left me for her… In fact, this illness of mine [anxiety] cost me my first marriage. Because my husband just - couldn't understand… I think he thought I was loony at times, you know?

Joanna's narrative demonstrates how anxiety dominated her life in South Africa (and later in Canada as well, until it was medically treated a couple of years ago). A close look at her words reveals that her fears were based on, or grounded in a conception of, 'the black people.' For Joanna, 'the black people' were 'the Other,' the unknown. Her fear especially stemmed from the fact that there were so many black people in South Africa, thirty million of them, and they were unhappy black people. A mere three million white people -- the group with which she identifies herself -- would not be able to hold on to their power for long; in fact, Joanna was convinced that some kind of revolution or country-wide riot would eventually upset the power imbalance. This anxiety and insecurity about the future of South Africa, and especially her own safety therein (signifying an awareness that oppression and exploitation does lead to uprisings and revolutions), eventually led her to Canada.

Despite her fears of 'black people who steal and murder,' Joanna also argues that their reasons for doing so were understandable. They had minimal schooling; they had no food; their life situations were very difficult. As a result, they broke into the homes of the well-off white community. Nevertheless, Joanna's anxiety about possibly 'being attacked by the black people' overrode such reasoning: upon witnessing a protest march held by the black community in the streets of Durban, fear overcame her. From Joanna's description, it seems that a certain group of black people drew on their own tribal history -- perhaps by enacting 'traditional warfare' -- to protest their oppression by the racist white government and population of South Africa, producing fear and anxiety in her. Joanna's narrative thus indicates how governmentally legislated discourses of racial segregation and the notion of otherness had come to dominate the consciousness of white

South Africans. In the long run, this othering encouraged fear of members of South Africa's nonwhite communities, even if their social and economic suffering was clearly evident.

If fear of 'the Other' and denial of their rights and suffering by way of racial segregation was encouraged and induced by the apartheid government, it is important to consider in detail how white South Africans now, in the post-apartheid period, describe their lives -- as children and adults -- under apartheid. This theme is especially significant because the legacies of apartheid in South Africa (and of course, racism and racist legacies on a worldwide scale) have far from disappeared. In order to comprehend how racist thinking operated and was reproduced, it is worthwhile looking at white South Africans' memories and descriptions of their own segregated lives in South Africa. While Joanna's narrative indicated how fear controlled much of her life (thereby demonstrating the actual integratedness of subjectivities and fears of physical violence), other informants pointed towards the ways in which racial, including social and cultural, differences and otherness were an assumed and normalized part of daily life in apartheid South Africa.

Before looking at the following conversation with Afrikaners Kees and Jantje Louw, however, I want to emphasize that discussions surrounding the normalization of apartheid thought and actions, and apartheid-based lives, remain very sensitive issues (see Borneman 1992:119-127). To what extent, we need to ask, were many white South Africans individually conscious of the extent of the racist-based harms inflicted on the nonwhite communities of South Africa? Of course, lives follow unique trajectories, and people's narratives differed when it came to pinpointing specific events, places or people

that had led them to question South Africa's apartheid system. Nevertheless, by carefully

asking people how they first became aware of the apartheid struggle, it became clear that

most people did not question apartheid until their early adulthood. Kees and Jantje

Louw's words are a case in point:

Jantje: Yeah you don't - notice - it, I grew up not knowing there was a struggle! Everybody seemed to be *happy!* *No* struggle, until - later, only very, very later, until... You know, you only see the things... it's a lot with the media, media plays a big role, in everything. Umm, so when you say... I mean, in 1974 we got the TV and I mean, then, by that time, I was just about to get married! I got married in 1974 and I just wanna add that, I think uh... growing up, not knowing it... you know, everybody, even the blacks, the whites, everybody seemed to be happy, the children walk and... there was no struggle. I tell you, I think only much much later, when this whole thing got sort of to a point where they were gonna decide what...
Mieke: And it got out into the world, very public...
JL: Yes. And umm, the reason that South Africa didn't have TV is apparently, they don't want to uh, expose them to the television, they... they thought it was not gonna be good. That was the reason.
MD: That was another government policy.
Kees: Yeah that was a government policy.
JL: You see?
KL: We were told it was because of the economy. "It's bad for the economy to have a television." ... "In a country."
JL: Yeah, so...
KL: But I don't know... but that's what I heard. I don't know...
JL: I don't know - we don't know.

Kees and Jantje's conceptualization of how they grew up under apartheid -- that is,

without really knowing that there was an apartheid struggle going on -- demonstrates the

sadness, and especially the expressions of confusion, that this system has generated in the

lives of white South Africans. Moreover, Kees and Jantje's defensiveness and anger on

this point was not unique: many informants explained that they truly had not *known* about

the oppressiveness of the apartheid system.

It is important to examine what exactly white South Africans mean when they

indicate that they did not know about the apartheid struggle. On the one hand, it would

seem that they must have known about apartheid. It was, after all, the one government policy that dominated everything; it indicated how South Africa was being ruled. In the words of Andre Botes, "Nobody had to tell you, as a white, that you were better than a black. It was accepted. I mean, 'we *rule* them,' right?" Indeed, white superiority was an assumed and normalized part of daily life under apartheid, to the extent that many white South Africans never thought to question the segregationist basis of the apartheid system. Many white South Africans are therefore now dealing with the legacy of a racist system under which they lived very favourable lives. Once again, Kees and Jantje's words are indicative of others' thoughts as well: they did not know about the struggles behind apartheid's façade, because they had no access to an unbiased or free media. Their media was, in fact, fully controlled by the National Party government. Clearly, the hegemonic force of the apartheid government was incredibly strong, perhaps especially as it was exercised over apartheid's adherents (Gramsci 1971).

During our conversations, informants often seemed unsure about feeling guilty; about whether they *should* feel guilty or whether they *were* guilty for 'being white' and having lived in South Africa during apartheid. This seems to be one major result of the hegemony of apartheid that dominated their lives in South Africa. Indeed, informants were torn between guilt on the one hand ("Could or should we have known, and what could we have done?"), and blaming the propaganda system of the National Party, 'the brains behind apartheid,' on the other. As well, by way of the latter, possible states of denial (Cohen 2001) were most often expressed. In this vein, and not unlike Joanna, Kees and Jantje's discourse did not address the oppression and victimization of nonwhite people during apartheid. Instead, they searched for reasons to explain their privileged

positions as white South Africans during apartheid - a search that was painful, and taxing, in itself.

Several informants argued that the National Party propaganda system was to be blamed for white South Africans' 'not knowing' of apartheid atrocities. One of the themes that surfaced in discussions of the propaganda system concerned male informants' subjectivities as a result of having served in South Africa's border wars. In retrospect, informants who spoke about having served in these wars (only a few did so) distinguished between a time of not having been aware and then of having become aware of the horrors that these wars had actually been about, and of the reasons why they 'had to be fought' at the time. As apartheid began to crumble in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the National Party government tried to hold on to power by continually increasing repressive measures against their various opponents. One way in which this was done was through the organization of military-run border patrols, including raids into neighbouring countries. Since the countries that bordered on South Africa had gained independence by that time, the threat of anti-apartheid activity just outside of South Africa's borders was greatly feared. This 'threat' was communicated to white South Africans as 'the communist threat,' or '*die rooigevaar*' ('the red threat'), as one informant explained to me.

Following Beinart,

> [i]n 1977 the period of national service demanded from young white men was extended from nine months to two years; they could be recalled for camps or commando service. The number of servicemen who could be mobilized increased to over 400,000. National service sometimes entailed long terms of duty on the Namibian border, even raids into Angola. Hostility to communism, terrorism, the ANC, and opposition movements was inculcated into servicemen. Many learnt a language of male bravado and violence - of themselves as heroes fighting dehumanized targets. State-controlled radio and television became a conduit for total strategy objectives. Private gun ownership rocketed amongst whites in the

1980s. Existing school cadet programmes were expanded. War comics, while hardly unique to South Africa, became a staple of the corner shop. The local version portrayed the *Grensvegter* (border warrior) fighting against the predictable forces of darkness and disorder (Beinart 2001:264).

In the above quotation, Beinart describes the hegemonic measures and structures that the National Party government imposed on the whole of South Africa during the 1970s and the 1980s (Gramsci 1971). In the following text, British South African Steve Brown explains his personal becoming aware of this hegemonic violence, through his own experience in the South African Defense Forces (SADF):

Steve: The politics, and the propaganda system of the National Party government was *incredibly* strong. You know? …There was conscription. You were a white male South African. You went to the armed forces for two years, and if you didn't, you went to jail for four. I served there, everybody did. Umm… but… it was a growing up… And I remember at a confirmation class… umm… fifteen, sixteen year olds… and I was out at university, we were just helping out with it. And there was a debate on a killing. And murder, and serving in the forces. And uh, the one guy… fifteen… said… we were talking about, umm… in the light of killing and the army and he said, well, "One day… when you are… walking patrol… on the border, in the combat zone. And a terrorist stands up in front of you and points a gun at you, you have to shoot or be shot and therefore it is not murder and therefore it is not against the law." Right?
Mieke: Right…
SB: And, I'd said to him at the time, in fact it was after, I'd finished my National Service and everything and I said "Man, you've got it all wrong… The *day* you report, to the local Master's Station in your tatty jeans and your mother and girlfriend in tears, is the day you've decided to kill." Because from then on, you're undergoing training… to become a soldier. And soldiers don't think. Soldiers do. …But, the interesting perspective, is the wayyy… the propaganda system was running. "Our boys on the border." Right?[6]

On the one hand, Steve's words are about the operation of apartheid hegemony, in this case through the South African military, though he is now, in retrospect, conscious of the

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[6] See John Borneman's ethnography *Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State, Nation* (1992), where he writes that "[m]en in the Nazi military, like men in every military, were taught to follow unquestioningly the hierarchically given orders. (The high rate of desertion and massive number of executions in the last years of the war testify to the difficulty of creating such total submission.) Never to think independently, they were told, would eventually result in victory and a reassertion of German authority. For the many men who had until the last minute believed in a Nazi victory, the Nazi defeat marked more than a military and

workings of this hegemony. In Gramsci's words, "military influence in national life means not only the influence and weight of the military in a technical sense, but the influence and weight of the social stratum from which the latter (especially the junior officers) mostly derives its origin" (Gramsci 1971:214-215). It may be argued that the hegemony of military influence, exercised through a specific social stratum, will be at its strongest and most vicious when the power of a dominant class is already deeply threatened (as was apartheid power in the late 1970s and early 1980s). Moreover, armies are of course always indicative of political technologies of the body, precisely because they represent and embody the 'will of the State' not only in a psychological sense, but also in immediate physical ways (Foucault 1977:26).

But Steve's narrative is also indicative of another matter: his specific subjectivity as a white South African male who carried out active service on behalf of the Nationalist Party government and military on South Africa's border. As will become clear, people's subjectivities are key to understanding their conception of apartheid propaganda and hegemony as violent systems that oppressed them as well (just as it oppressed nonwhite people). As the next text illustrates, border service memories can clearly be harrowing and painful, deeply embedded as they remain in the minds of many white South African males. According to Afrikaner informant Johan Boshoff:

Johan: Personally, my biggest struggle was after four, five months in Canada. And uh, someone wrote a letter in a South African newspaper. And it caused a national... incident, because people were just talking and writing and I followed it, via the Internet. And [the writer of that letter] was of my age, and he went to Angola and to the war, and I've done that; and Evelien was expecting and I had to go there, and he opened up the can of... worms. After twenty years he says, "Gosh, but *what* was this all about," you know? "Was it worth it?"

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social capitulation, it meant the collapse of a cosmology" (Borneman 1992:126).

Mieke: The war.

JB: …And the war, and the dying, and what we had to go through. And uh, my goodness! In South Africa it caused a huge thing, but very privately… it was a huge struggle in my mind because all of those… things… the experiences surfaced. But again, being here, in Canada, I felt that layer upon *layer* was just lifted from me; and it was restoration taking place in me; so that was truly the… the toughest time that I went through. It was like, May… April-May-June, of our first year [here]. So…

MD: You were dealing with memories from that war?

JB: Absolutely. Absolutely. There was this incident in the paper and that kind of just… boom, okay?

MD: Yeah… that was one of the things that you brought with from South Africa.

JB: Yes. And you did not realize how frustrated, and how aggressive you are. And uh, even here in meetings, and I'm used to like, you know, "It's gonna be tough and rough," you know and - *no!* The correction level [in Canada] was just, frustrating almost, I wanted to shake them, say… "…Please!" But no; it's not the Canadian way!

Johan's narrative not only reinforces Steve's earlier point about the propaganda system of the National Party; it also shows how the border wars had a tremendous and lasting effect on the subjectivities of the white males who served. Johan now admits that he carried a great deal of anger and frustration within him as a result of having fought on the Angolan border. These hidden, or perhaps unconsciously adopted, negative elements were manifested by way of different forms of aggression expressed in his everyday life, and not until twenty years later did he actually get to deal with their devastating impact, in part as a result of a public letter written by another former SADF soldier, and in part because of his move to Canada.[7]

In light of the production of white South African subjectivities during apartheid, both Johan's and Steve's narratives, as well as Kees and Jantje Louw's words and the explanation of Joanna Reynolds (see above), illustrate Geoffrey White's point that

> [b]y situating memory in historical and institutional contexts, narrative representations can be seen to be embedded in wider fields of textual and social

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[7] See also Chapter Seven (wherein I relate segments of Sandy Richardson's life story), the subsections entitled 'University Years' and 'Christianity as a Route to Protest.'

significance… [A]vowedly collective histories frequently take on both personal and sociopolitical relevance, mediating subjective worlds and social realities. The claim is that public constructions of history are inevitably discourses of identity. Beginning with the observation that historical narrative is a powerful and possibly universal medium for representing who 'we' are in relation to others, [practices that represent collective pasts] also work to constitute cultural subjectivities. The 'history' discussed here is largely self-conscious history; stories about the past are constructed in… spaces that are at once objects of community interest and deliberate efforts at self-fashioning. Historical narrative not only represents who 'we' are in relation to others, but who 'we' are in relation to ourselves through time - past, present, and future (White 2001:495-496; see also Desjarlais and O'Nell 2000 and White 2000 on the notion of subjectivity).

When white South Africans invoke discourses concerning not knowing about apartheid atrocities and the propaganda system of the National Party, they tell their stories by way of drawing on their own subjective experiences. Their personal accounts, though unique in the case of each person, point towards a shared retrospective conception of apartheid hegemony (Gramsci 1971). They all highlighted that their consent to apartheid was imposed upon them from the time of their birth. In different ways over time, they became self-aware of how their subjectivities were formed through the apartheid system, including their positions within this system (as soldiers, or civil servants, or students, or simply as white citizens of South Africa; see Carbonella 2003). Clearly people's subjectivities, revealed through a discursive retelling of their histories, are central to an understanding of their conception of apartheid propaganda and hegemony as also forms of violence (exercised over white South Africans, generating productive and subjected bodies [Foucault 1977:26]), just as they indicate a need for recognition in the face of overwhelming scholarly and popular disavowal of the racist apartheid system, in which they are implicated (Taylor 1994).

Remembering the Transition: Discourses of Physical Violence

Thus far, I have presented and examined some of the ways in which white South Africans now remember and express how they lived under apartheid. Their current reasoning out of those years, including their talk of fear of 'the black people,' of 'not knowing,' and of the apartheid apparatus as a propaganda system, are indicative of a specific discourse relating to their subjectivities vis-à-vis the 'system.' At the time of my fieldwork, the apartheid system had officially been dismantled for nine years, representing a time of many and far-reaching transitions in South Africa. From 1994 to 1999 South Africa was led by an interim ANC-led government, headed by Nelson Mandela. In 1999, Thabo Mbeki took over the presidency. According to Beinart,

> Mbeki is... seen as less inclusive than Mandela, especially of non-Africans, and less relaxed about opposition, including criticism from within his own party... While Mandela stressed conciliation, Mbeki proclaimed a specifically African Renaissance [which] was increasingly invoked in the context of affirmative action, African historical achievement, and African cultural ambition (Beinart 2001:304).

While Beinart's words give an indication of South Africa's general political development since the end of apartheid, I am specifically concerned with how South Africa's white citizens experienced the political and social effects of this transition. An analysis of their memories and recollections here provides insight into their choice to leave South Africa, including their continued justification of this decision in the Canadian setting. As I spoke to informants, it became apparent that their narratives about the post-apartheid years were, in important ways, differently constructed than were their stories of the years when apartheid still ruled. This was also the case among those who had left South Africa before apartheid was officially dismantled in 1994. Each informant still had relatives and

friends living in South Africa, and many had made one or several return trips to the country. Extended family and friends' experiences turned out to be of great significance to white South African migrants, a significance that was often reinforced with every return visit.

How were discourses concerning the post-apartheid years differently constructed than the ones discussed above? In general, informants' recollections presented the South African political and social transformations of the last decade through an increasing emphasis on the fear and danger of physical violence and crime. As a reconfigured violence discourse, migrants' many stories of violence, crime, and even chaos, of things 'going down the drain,' portrayed their current perception of South Africa as a place where the threat of break-ins, hijacking, murder, rape and the spread of HIV/AIDS is rampant. Once again, my South African informants were talking about fear, which has now come to represent the constant possibility of physical danger. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed Caldeira's work on violence, crime and segregation in the Brazilian city of São Paulo. As demonstrated in her work, accounts of crime and violence are often indicative of the ways in which people try to come to terms with rapid social changes, especially in countries that have been shaped by long colonial histories. They in fact "attempt to establish order in a universe that seems to have lost coherence" (Caldeira 2000:20), and they are illustrative of the fact that instituting democracy is often a 'disjunctive' process (Caldeira 2000:51-52). Moreover, these kinds of stories are usually told by drawing on stereotypical and essentialist notions (Caldeira 2000:20; see also the introduction to the thesis), thereby justifying continued differentiation between various segments of the population. In my examination of the texts that follow, I draw on

Caldeira's insights to explain and problematize informants' extensive discourses of (the fear of) physical violence in the 'new' South Africa.

In the previous section, I began with the words of Joanna Reynolds, who spoke about her fear of 'black people,' about her anxiety of 'the Other,' which as a category remained largely essentialist. To show how notions of fear and an unknowing and essentializing of 'black people' continues to characterize white South Africans' accounts, also in the post-apartheid period, consider the following narrative. Shawn and Marcia Ravenbury immigrated to Canada in the late 1990s, coming from the Indian Ocean coastal city of Durban. During a late Saturday afternoon interview, Shawn, Marcia and myself got talking of a return trip they had made to Durban, and of how the make-up and organization of city space had changed since the end of apartheid. Between ample coffee and cigarettes, Marcia, who had struggled much these last four years with homesickness and depression, got up from her seat at the dining room table. "I'll show you a photograph," she announced, "of New Year's, something like it... out of the newspaper." Grinning, she walked to the fridge, where the photo was displayed: a picture of one of Durban's beaches on a recent holiday. One cannot see the beach at all - there are so many people, also standing in the water, and all of them are black.

Shawn: The black folks come in busloads on those days. But you know what? Then you just work around it, right? But I was - I was quite surprised. The only thing that didn't surprise me I guess is just still there's just this racial intolerance.
Mieke: (Marcia places the photograph in front of me and I react.) Oh wow...
Marcia: Now these people are all trying to swim in the sea. And, I mean it's ridiculous. And the amount of drowning... the amount of kids that go missing on the beach...
MD: That's a lot of people...
MR: It's horrific!
MD: This is where they sit? (pointing at the picture, a certain spot)
MR: No they're *swimming!* They're standing there in the sea! They're trying to swim!
MD: This is the sea. This is the beach. Okay...

MR: Yeah!

MD: Now that is a lot of people.

MR: And I mean, the amount of people that drown, I umm… My mother lives right on the beachfront in Durban. And a friend of hers went for a jog. The next morning after New Year. And there were like, black bodies, lying on the beach. They were *dead!* They had drowned!

MD: And that happened… this year?

MR: The - now! Yeah! And she said to one of the lifeguards… you know "What's this?" and apparently - I mean most of these people come from the locations and they don't know how to swim. And there's no way lifeguards can control a crowd of people, that can't swim in the sea. You know what I'm saying? And, the lifeguard said, apparently at six o'clock at night the lifeguards… go home, they go off-duty. And they call all these people out of the sea, you know, "Come out, there's no lifeguards, swimming over," and they don't come! They just carry on! And of course all the lifeguards go home, and these people are drowning! …And I mean there's kids - they have hundreds and thousands of kids, that go missing in the crowd because they come in busloads. From the townships to the beach. They're like, [on] an outing.

MD: Yes.

MR: And those kids stay in tents, on the beach, for weeks.

SR: For weeks, before their mothers come back and fetch them. Can you believe that?

MR: I mean…

MD: How… what do they eat?

SR: No, they're looked after by…

MR: They're looked after.

SR: …by the Salvation Army or whatever.

MR: Yes!

MD: Okay.

SR: But, the fact is that…

MR: …parents haven't, even bothered…

SR: …that, the mother loses a child on the beach, and doesn't go back and look for her child until days later! …W-what's with that? Can you imagine that happening in Toronto? Right?

MR: No-o, it wouldn't happen here. You know? …So that is really horrific.

MD: (reading the caption) "…more than a hundred thousand people."

MR: Yeah.

SR: But I think if anything, we are probably… I think we've developed a much higher level of tolerance, for people of colour, since being in Canada.

MR: Yes, definitely.

Shawn and especially Marcia's words in this text demonstrate how, in the post-apartheid context, space and place have come to be reconfigured and re-inhabited in the 'new' South Africa. Whereas under apartheid's rule Durban's lovely beaches were reserved for

the white population, restrictions on nonwhite movement have now been lifted, and

public spaces are 'freely' accessible to all segments of the population. For Shawn and

Marcia, their relatives and friends and other white South Africans, this transition has,

however, in turn restricted their movement in public places like the beach. This is not

because they are not allowed on the beach on New Year's by law, but because they

perceive that going there on New Year's would be a very dangerous thing to do. A

hundred thousand black people sitting on the beach and standing in the sea, 'lost children'

and 'irresponsible mothers,' lifeguards who go off duty while people are drowning: all of

this is, as Shawn and Marcia repeatedly exclaimed (in what is a decidedly racist

narrative), completely beyond their comprehension. And what is beyond their

comprehension is indicative of the fear and anxiety that Joanna also delineated. Whether

by crawling on the floor for fear of being attacked by 'black people,' or by staying away

from the beach on a holiday because it is 'a dangerous place,' white South Africans are

still confronting their 'race-based' fears of 'the Other,' of those 'black people' who do

things, or who might do things, that are inconceivable -- even chaotic -- in the minds of

many white South Africans.

As also indicated in Shawn and Marcia's narrative, potential victimhood in the

'new' South Africa is perceived as deriving from the threat of physical violence. A

second form of physical danger became apparent in informants' stories of the recent

spread (in the last decade especially) of HIV/AIDS, mainly among the black population

of South Africa (see Marks 2002, Williams et al 2002).[8] For a number of people,

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[8] An extensive debate about HIV/AIDS has arisen in South Africa, and consequently in medical
communities around the world, concerning the current South African president Thabo Mbeki's stance on

especially those who had teenage or adolescent daughters, the potential of rape by HIV/AIDS infected men spelled a significant physical threat. To contextualize how they see this threat, in large part based on certain rumours circulating in the white communities concerning 'black men's views of how they can be cured of AIDS,'[9] let us first look at the following narrative, taken from an interview with British South African Julianne Madison. Julianne first came to Canada in 1989. A medical doctor now practicing in Canada and married to a Canadian, she returned to South Africa a few years ago with her young son for an eight-week internship, which also enabled her to spend some time with her parents in Cape Town. Julianne described for me the shock she experienced when she realized the extent to which HIV/AIDS had spread in South Africa:

Julianne: ...I mean the AIDS issues are real, I didn't realize what was going on - how bad they were! When I was in South Africa that eight weeks working in the hospital - AIDS and kids! That was a children's hospital, it was just, I was... I was totally, I mean when you think of AIDS, I mean I immediately think of wanting to put on like a complete *suit*, to keep away from it being... I mean I just, you don't see it [here], you're not in contact with it often enough to be... you know, with people that have AIDS, to -- you know that -- to be completely comfortable with it, whereas there, they told me one in five children has AIDS, in that hospital. And I mean there it was, they didn't put gloves on or anything, it was very eye-opening and I mean the... (sighs with a grin) they used to say, (whispering) it's terrible, the patient used to come in to the operating room and they had AIDS and the nurses just used to say, "This is a high five!" And it took me a few days to figure out what 'high five' meant, but H - I - and then V. That's, like, the Roman

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the causes of the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa during the last decade. During my fieldwork, many informants referred to the issue by repeating one side of the debate, which in very simple terms runs as follows: "Mbeki doesn't believe that HIV causes AIDS." For my informants, this supposed 'viewpoint' by Mbeki (which is not an accurate presentation of Mbeki's argument) then serves to reinforce their view that the current governance of South Africa is in incapable hands (signifying in yet another way how stereotypical, racist notions of black Africans' 'inabilities to lead' are reproduced). However, Mbeki's actual argument these last couple of years has included a call to reconsider the roles that inequality and poverty play in the spread of HIV/AIDS. For a brief overview of the debate by medical anthropologist Paul Farmer, see Farmer 2001.

[9] That is, by 'having sex with a young white virgin.' Such contemporary legends (as Diane Goldstein has called them) about HIV/AIDS are certainly not limited to (South) Africa, though informants tended to speak about them in this manner (as in, 'people would not think this in Canada'). See my further analysis below. For an example of how certain contemporary legends concerning HIV/AIDS are operative in North America, see Goldstein 1992.

numeral five…

Mieke: Oh…

JM: So they used to say, "high five!" and then we'd know: this one's got AIDS. And that's how they just used to say it, you know? Just like, "ah, haha…" and so, it is real, it's true, I mean it's a big problem there. But they don't, I mean, they were just taking… they sort of live with it now. You know, the medical community. I mean, obviously you wear gloves when you… with needles and stuff, but I would have expected, you know, almost (grins)… "Oh my goodness!" you know, "it's AIDS!" But it's just because we don't see it [in Canada], we don't see it as often here, so when we hear - I mean I know in our hospital if (sighs) somebody is HIV-positive we're… (whispering, then gradually louder) "HIV-positive okay, be careful now! Be careful, be *careful* what you do, this person's HIV-positive, don't prick your finger, you be careful!" You know, everybody is sort of on a high alert, whereas there it's just like, the medical community has got used to it.[10]

While Julianne's narrative vividly illustrates some of the ways in which HIV/AIDS may be differently constructed and reacted upon in the medical worlds of South Africa and Canada, the high prevalence of the virus, especially among the black population of South Africa, signified a dangerous form of potential physical violence for some of my white South African informants. For example, Afrikaner migrants Johan and Evelien Boshoff expressed worries concerning HIV/AIDS and the chance of their eldest daughter Marieke, now twenty years old, being raped in the South African context. Their argument was also indicative of the essentialist ways in which the potential of physical danger, like 'being raped by black men,' is perceived among many white South Africans:

(Johan has been talking of the high levels of violence in post-apartheid South Africa)
Johan: This feeling of being a potential victim, yeah. And I was afraid for my daughter's safety especially, Marieke. 'Cause kids, they can't play outside anymore. 'Cause, where we lived, it was just… not good. And, with rape… and sex being a cultural issue and not a… sexual issue.
Evelien: Hm-mm… (agreeing with Johan)

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[10] To contextualize Julianne's narrative, consider the following numbers, from an article by Shula Marks, published in 2002. Marks writes that "[a]n estimated 8.8 per cent of adults in Africa are infected [with HIV/AIDS] and in the seven countries of Southern Africa at least one in five is infected. There are said to be over 1,500 new infections everyday in South Africa alone, most of them young women… [T]oday the Republic [of South Africa] allegedly has the largest number of people living with AIDS in the world, with approximately 23 per cent of its adult population infected…" (Marks 2002:15-16).

JB: So if you would try to teach them about safe sex, and things like that, and AIDS…

EB: …you offend their culture.

JB: …they find that you're offending them, because you're interfering with their culture. And that's being racist.

Mieke: They draw on those kinds of arguments?

EB: Oh, so easily.

JB: Exactly. And it's ridiculous. And uh, with the AIDS crisis… oh! Well, and the belief that -- if I may say that -- the chance for a white girl to be a virgin, or… it's bigger, so they believe -- maybe you've heard this -- that having sex with a virgin is a way of getting rid, of the AIDS.

MD: Yes.

JB: Yes. And even - yeah. So, things like that. It's… kind of silly but it means that my kid, becomes a target.

Johan and Evelien were not alone in their argumentation here: other informants, and especially those with young daughters, discussed the current HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa with reference to the danger they perceived in it for themselves and their families in the form of potential rape. In their view, this danger is culturally conditioned. It is therefore not just a matter of there being high levels of rape in the country, perhaps because of 'the breakdown of the family' or 'rampant poverty,' though such factors may contribute to high levels of violence in any context. Instead, Johan and Evelien, among others, indicate that both a causal and consequential factor of HIV/AIDS among South Africa's black population is their 'loose' sexuality; their lack of 'sexual self-control.' Moreover, they 'cannot be taught' about safe sex because they will just "play the race card," as another informant once put it. And the 'cultural belief' that having sex with a young white virgin will cure you of AIDS's ultimate devastating impact is not only 'ridiculous,' but also physically threatening (see Marks 2002:20-21). Johan and Evelien's narrative thus illustrates not only the real fear that the potential violence of rape has created in the post-apartheid context, but it does so through the construction and reproduction of highly essentialized social categories (Caldeira 2000:20).

Thus far, I have discussed how the reshaping of public space and the spread of HIV/AIDS among, mainly, the black population of South Africa in the post-apartheid decade have increased perceptions of potentially becoming victims of physical violence among white South Africans. My next example of a physical violence narrative serves to illustrate a third discursive strategy that white South African migrants repeatedly invoked. This particular discourse was very characteristic among informants, in its mentioning of violence-upon-violence-upon-violence, indeed a listing of acts of violence, as they were both experienced and heard about via family and friends. The following account was related to me by Steve Brown, with whom I spoke extensively about the matter of violence. Steve and his wife Leona arrived in Canada only a few short years ago, together with three young children. When I met them in the spring of 2003, it soon became apparent that their migration had not been an easy one. Leona was battling depression, and her repeated depictions of South Africa as a lovely, quite safe, and especially warm place contrasted strongly with those of her husband, who tended to speak of South Africa as "going in the direction of the rest of Africa," a place where violence and corruption have "run rife" and economic development has "stalled." Speaking about white South Africans' perceptions of violence and crime, Steve contrasted the views of those who had left South Africa with those of the people who still remain in the country. This narrative also provides a strong example of how migration experiences might be gendered, including the marital difficulties that Steven and Leona's migration seems to have generated (or exacerbated) (see Del Negro 1997 and Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996 on this point; see also Chapter Nine):

Steven: Umm… South Africans I think have developed through the propaganda system,

in the past, through the struggles that are going on, the security systems... the ability... to choose to believe and listen to what they want to, without... and blocking out. Just, an *absolute* block-out. Now, we were talking about the first people we met, the first South African we met who had moved and lived outside [this was before Steven and his family moved]. And the father was telling us about... how bad the change in politics were, and how bad the security system was gonna be and how bad security was... And I pictured him as having a hard time with the move! 'Cause a big move is massive! Right? Moves... even moves across countries is stressful. And here was a man who had given sixty years of his life into a country... had a great passion for the country... worked in the economics, and things, and now was... for whatever reason, transposed, halfway across the world. Because that's where his children had gone. He needed to go if he wanted to see his children and his grandchildren. ...He was having a hard time settling... but to justify him staying and being here, he built this *shrine*... that he -- almost just -- imagine the picture... of this little shrine, that he built of the violence and the crime in South Africa. Which he... stoked the flames of every day... to make him stay, right? In his head. So, when we met him [during our first visit to Canada], he was talking about, "how bad [the violence was in South Africa]" and we were thinking, "...You know what...? It's not that bad!" Right?

Mieke: No, no. He's exaggerating.

SB: Well -- no -- is he exaggerating or are we blocking out?

[...]

SB: Uh, one of the things that Leona... I've heard her say is, "None of my immediate friends had anything bad happen to them."

MD: Hmm...

SB: ...And I say, *hold* on a minute... Our neighbours had a home invasion; they were woken up at night with a flashlight with someone in their home... Our neighbour below us, was *murdered* in his house... right? The next neighbour across, had her purse stolen, from inside the house; the son had his wallet stolen from inside his bedroom... Umm... we had... two motor vehicles stolen - or attempted theft, or theft from motor vehicles, our own personal motor vehicles. We had an attempted break-in at the back door of our house... My first boss's parents were assaulted and left for dead in their driveway... My brother's in-laws... umm... his wife's sister's... someone related by marriage... was shot and killed in his own driveway. Her brother has been hijacked twice... And Leona's mother's... good friend from South Africa will say, "There's crime everywhere in the world, and it's not so bad and not so serious." But her daughter's... school friend... and her fiancé, were hijacked, just two hundred meters from the house that Leona grew up in. And the fiancé was killed! Right? So you place that into a Canadian context and you say, "This is terrible!" And these are - these are people that you're not reading about in the newspapers, these are people that you're tracing through personal relationships. And yet... Leona's mom's friend will say, "No, it's *fine*." Why? Because you - block out. ...Right? You - block out, and you wipe out. (takes a deep breath) Umm... one of the struggles that Leona will say is well, you know, "I would rather face the security issues than the [Canadian] winter."

MD: Hmm...

SB: "...No you wouldn't!"

Steve's tense and difficult narrative is indicative of several important points. In the first place, his manner of speaking -- his discursive strategy -- shows the productiveness of his argument. Listening to him expressing his experiences was truly like watching him fight with the things he was trying to say; and yet his words illustrate Caldeira's insight that "the talk of crime is not only expressive but *productive*" (Caldeira 2000:19, after Foucault 1977 and de Certeau 1984, my emphasis). It is productive in the multiple ways that the words themselves, and the memories they reflect, tend to reorganize the South African landscape in a metaphorical sense, especially in the minds of white South African migrants, as Steve indicated above. Thus, "[t]alk [of violence] and fear organize everyday strategies of protection and reaction that restrict people's movements and shrink their universe of interactions" (Caldeira 2000:19-20). In this vein, Steve would never take his family back to South Africa, despite his wife's wish to go back and the marital difficulties. And neither do Johan and Evelien Boshoff encourage their twenty-year-old daughter to return to South Africa, not even to finish her undergraduate degree. To the point that Albert and Louisa Meyers decided not to have babies until they held their Canadian passports in their own hands.

In the second place however, Steve's account of physical violence balanced uneasily between the perceived reality of physical violence in present-day South Africa, and the possibility that those who remain in South Africa live in the constant denial of this reality (Cohen 2001:5). Of course, these two possible choices (to interpret the situation either one way or the other) can, and do, have important consequences in the lives of immigrants. On the one hand, an interpretation of South Africa as an unstable,

violent place reinforces and justifies migrants' choice to resettle in Canada. On the other, if this interpretation is false -- if a migrant thinks that the social situation is really not so bad in South Africa -- then plaguing questions might arise (as they do for Leona, for one) concerning the move to Canada and whether this displacement was actually worth it.

From the perspective of research carried out in Canada among white South African migrants, it is clear that discourses that operate to evoke the dangers of physical violence in South Africa play a key role in these migrants' lives. In an earlier section, I considered Caldeira's conception of 'the talk of crime' as a strategy that symbolically reorders the universe for people whose world seems to have 'lost coherence' (Caldeira 2000:20). As she puts it elsewhere in her book:

> The symbolic order engendered in the talk of crime not only discriminates against some groups, promotes their criminalization, and transforms them into victims of violence but also makes fear circulate through the repetition of histories, and, more important, helps delegitimate the institutions of order and legitimate the use of private, violent, and illegal means of revenge. [...]
> Beyond maintaining a system of distinctions, narratives of crime create stereotypes and prejudices, and they separate and reinforce inequalities (Caldeira 2000:38-39).

It is certainly possible that crime talk or violence talk operates in similar ways in the South African setting (though informants like Steve argued differently, by describing white South Africans who still live in South Africa as blocking out perceptions and realities of violence and crime). But in my examination, it is clear that informants' migration experience strongly impacts their discourses of the threat of physical violence in South Africa. As Steve said in one of his narratives (presented above), an international move is "massive," and for my informants, one way of coping with the tensions generated by their migration is to continually think about and vocalize why coming to Canada was a

good choice.[11] In other words, they are continually busy justifying their decision to leave South Africa, and one way of doing this is by re-invoking, again and again, the physical violence that 'looms around every corner in South Africa.' This simultaneously tended to result in an idealization of Canada and its political and legal structures, especially in the case of those migrants who had only been in Canada a few years. As Johan Boshoff emphasized several times, in Canada "big brother is on my side."

White South Africans' Black Humour[12]

You know you are in South Africa when…
-you save up for months to buy a video machine for someone to steal.
-you consider it a good month if you only get mugged once.
-Rwandan refugees start leaving the country because the crime rate is too high.
-things don't get stolen, they get affirmatively acquired.
-the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) summons you for non-payment of TV license fees when you don't have a television.
-you are likely to spend less time in prison for shooting the SABC license inspector, than for actually not having a TV license.
-the police offer R1000.00 for reward leading to the arrest of someone, or three cows.
                    Source: http://stathakis.spidee.net/rsa/joke.html

Mandela Visit
President Mandela goes on an official state visit to a small country in the middle of Africa. At the airport he is met by this country's Minister of Harbours. All of a sudden Mr. Mandela realizes that this is absurd, this country has no harbours as it is landlocked! He is very puzzled and decides to find out what the story is. At the official state banquet later that evening, he leans over to the President and asks, "Mr. President, why do you have a Minister of Harbours when you don't have any harbours?" The President looks

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[11] Migration-generated tensions were evident especially in the lives of people who had not been able to secure a job in Canada. But then, the majority of informants have dealt with, or are dealing with, a 'fall from grace' in the Canadian context, to draw on Katherine Newman's title (Newman 1988), even if they have found employment. White South Africans were mostly well off, or "spoiled" in South Africa, as some informants admitted. Moreover, the low Rand value (in exchange for the Canadian dollar), unrecognized South African university degrees, job insecurities, and a relative lack of servant employment in Canadian middle and lower middle class homes sometimes combine to create a domestic migrant situation that is not nearly as easy, in many ways, as life in South Africa.
[12] In using the term 'black humour,' I am referring to humour that addresses everyday difficulties, or humour that makes light of what are, in reality, highly tense situations. I am not specifically referring to humour about black *people*, though in the case of 'white South African black humour,' jokes usually *are* about black people, reflecting continued political and social tensions in South Africa.

Mr. Mandela straight in the eye and says, "Well you know that may be true Mr. Mandela,
but I was just as puzzled at why you have a Minister of Law and Order?"

Source: http://stathakis.spidee.net/rsa/joke.html

As I began my fieldwork, I soon discovered that white South African migrants, especially those who had arrived most recently, had their own sense of humour. This was expressed by frequent complaints about a supposed lack of humour in the Canadian context, and it was reinforced by specific South African jokes that people related to me. For instance, one informant suggested to her Canadian spouse that they name their newly acquired, pitch-black puppy 'Nelson' - an idea which "horrified" her husband. Another told of an email that circulated among white South African friends, with pictures of road construction in rural South Africa under the newly elected black government, where one of the photos showed a stop sign saying SOTP instead of STOP. And yet another related the one about the black cleaner who got a job working in the hospital. Whenever patients were brought into the emergency room they would always be dying in their beds, but no one could figure out why this was happening… until they discovered that the cleaner was always pulling the plugs so that he could do his vacuuming.

South African humour, my informants told me, is a coping strategy. It provides a way of dealing with the social, political and economic tensions that surround everyday life in South Africa, so that a truly funny person -- one who is able to crack a good, witty, cynical joke -- is much appreciated and celebrated in the country. In his ethnography *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (1980), anthropologist Stanley Brandes provides a starting point for interpreting humour in different cultural contexts. As he writes,

…we have come to recognize that what is funny in one cultural context may prove

dull or trite, or even repugnant, in another. Humour, in fact, may be said to be the most sensitive barometer of the concerns and preoccupations that are shared by a group of people. Without an understanding of humour, of what makes people laugh, we can never hope to penetrate to the core of a people's mentality in order fully to understand what motivates them to act as they do (Brandes 1980:97; see also Herzfeld 1997a on cultural intimacy).

The first thing to keep in mind, then, is that the jokes and witticisms that I came across were gathered from a specific segment of the South African population: from white, both British and Afrikaner, South Africans; and so the sense of humour that I am concerned with here reflects their particular feelings and perspectives. Because much of the (current) humour addresses themes of fear and violence, and because it works productively in racist and essentialist ways, I conclude this chapter with a specifically strong, linguistic example.[13]

On a warm summer evening late in June, I brought up the somewhat contentious issue of South African humour during an interview with Afrikaners Johan and Evelien Boshoff. We had just been discussing the prevalence of violence and crime in present-day South Africa, and they had described for me how downtown Pretoria, where they had lived for many years, had changed drastically in the last decade. The picture they painted of their former neighbourhood is worth considering in light of the joke about downtown Pretoria that follows:

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[13] Informants also related a number of jokes that reflected the historical tension between the British and the Afrikaners, that is, the ethnic tensions among whites in South Africa. For instance, while the British used to tell 'Van der Merwe jokes,' the Afrikaners used to call the British 'salties.' Van der Merwe, a 'typical' Afrikaner last name, is meant to denote an image of 'the redneck Boer with his gun slung across his shoulder.' The word 'salty,' on the other hand, refers to the British, who were seen by the Afrikaners as 'standing with one foot in South Africa and the other in England.' It denotes a British South African man's penis which, according to the above perception, thus hung in the ocean. It is meant to invoke both a sexual and a patriotic insult. However, following my informants, recent forms of black humour in South Africa, rather than reflecting the old tensions between the British and the Afrikaners, now turn around issues of

Mieke: What was it like in the inner city?

Johan: It's apartment buildings… like… two hundred apartment buildings. It was *huge*. And beautiful parks and stuff, but by now it's all fenced in… I was threatened at gunpoint, things like that, you know, and it's just terrible now, to go there, people don't… it's not safe, really…

Evelien: It was, when we moved in there, it was [safe]. It was the prime spot. If you wanna go for a… good breakfast. Or a nice dinner in a restaurant, or you wanted to buy a beautiful gift, or go to a flower shop, you had to go to where we lived, and… year after year you could see it went…

JB: …disintegrated…

EB: …it disintegrated. The shops closed… umm… people moved out, streets became really unsafe, and dirty, and lots of street kids sleeping there in winter time, and you couldn't really move around anymore, it was not the same. It just changed so much. And the parks. Oh, my goodness - *dirty!* And a lot of uh, double waste.

JB: Like visitation, you cannot go - we had an iron gate, six or eight feet maybe around the church! So people would come to church and then we would lock… the gates, eh? And we will have someone outside, patrolling.

MD: All the cars inside there?

JB: All the cars inside… right?

EB: You always have to look over your shoulder.

[…]

JB: The last incidence is… I was manhandled; got thrown downstairs and out the door. The one day, I was forcing my way into a building; and I had right of entry; and the person says, "No, *I* am the law, and you're not coming in here." And I was involved with the city councils, the policing forums and for the NGO, kind of involved; so I was kind of… in there. And I said, "I'm coming in!" And I forced my way in. And uh, run up the stairs, at least. Then I was umm, then I was… dragged out, from… stuff like that. And that was truly… I find it… uh… very upsetting, even now, so… And that was I think the last straw.

It was in this tense, post-apartheid Pretoria context that the following Afrikaans joke, or

play-on-words, arose. As Johan indicated, like other languages the Afrikaans language

allows for much punning, joking, and creativity with words:

kuif/kop hout/kapper - lit. cowlick/head wood/cutter - Afrikaans for 'woodpecker'
hout/kop kuif/kapper - lit. wood/head cowlick/cutter - black hairdressers in the street

Johan: Umm, Sunnyside. This beautiful downtown area that we have talked about, changing. People starting - there are vendors on the streets, selling stuff. Okay? And so you can't walk by, because someone might pickpocket you. It's a change in the *culture*. There is a bird in South Africa and it's called a *kuifkop houtkapper*. The bird's a

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political, social and economic insecurities. It is these forms of humour with which I am concerned here.

woodpecker. And then you would find a little… shack on the street, and that's the place where they cut hair. Okay? The blacks.

Evelien: The black people sit outside, they don't care. They just do it outside!

JB: And sometimes, racists, they… when people refer to the blacks like as… hout-koppe… wood-heads… So they change kuif-kop hout-kapper… now hout-kop, wooden head… cutter of the kuif! You see? So it's just, using a word, and they just play by switching some of the… yes, it's a play on words. And it's just a beautiful expression of their frustration, because of the kuifkapper, the blacks are now invading…

EB: Cutting their hair in the streets!

JB: …and then, "and they're coming," you know? And when you hear it, it's so creative! I mean I don't like it… but it's funny. And you just laugh, and you say "Yep, there's another… houtkop kuifkapper!"

And so, Johan's Afrikaans play-on-words, which comprises a specific reference to 'black people who are cutting hair in the streets,' could be translated into English as 'those black *loggerhead hairdressers* invading and working in the middle of the streets.' This joke reflects a number of transitory issues that white South Africans, in the post-apartheid years, have had to deal with in South Africa. Not only does it point towards changes in the social organization of city space, but it does so in a highly stereotypical, racist way. This joke is thus indicative of the specific discourse that white South Africans (in this case, Afrikaners) draw upon to explain how they experienced post-apartheid transitions, whereby the linguistic legacy of an institutionalized racism clearly remains apparent.

Nevertheless, as Johan related his joke, it seemed to me that he was uncertain of how funny this joke really was, especially in the Canadian context. After all, he found it necessary to add that he doesn't like this kind of joke… yet it remains funny. In this way, ambiguity concerning black humour, precisely because it almost always has racist undertones (no matter how creative a play-on-words it might be), was not uncommon among my South African informants. One couple in particular expressed their extreme

dislike of South African black humour; to them, it was only one aspect of white South African culture that one had to reject in order to truly 'make the switch in one's head' concerning racism. Albert and Louisa Meyers phrased this rejection as follows:

Louisa: If you hear any sentence starting with the statement, "I'm not a racist, but…" then you know there's trouble coming. Because it… it's a way, of telling a racist joke… or saying something… and in a sense you'd almost think that by saying that, whatever you say afterwards is okay, you know?
Albert: Yeah… I think in most stressful societies people deal with the problem [of guilt], through humour. And so the South African jokes aren't funny, for us. But people make jokes, like… people use jokes to defuse hate… fear and anger.
LM: All the time. Uh… so for instance. A South African plane fell off the east coast of South Africa. Umm, close to the island of Mauritius. And it was on its way to Taiwan, so there were a lot of Chinese people on it. So *immediately*, within *hours*, the joke is going around, "Where do the sharks go for Chinese takeaways?" Because of these…
AM: People think it's funny…
LM: It's a black humour. To use the word, like, humour, you know what I'm saying. It's like a very… uh, we would find it now in bad taste to say, "Where do the sharks go for Chinese takeaways?" To this plane which has fallen in the sea," I mean that's an awful thing to say!
AM: It would be like joking about the Swiss Air disaster.
LM: Yeah! Like, "Where do the sharks go for Swiss…" what, "Swiss meatballs?" I mean we would see it as the most horrible thing to say! And I mean, they've got lots of jokes about rape, about attacks, about things like that; which… we don't even listen to. We are not… in the circles, I don't think people tell us those things anymore, because it's just…
AM: Sometimes we get it forwarded by email.
LM: Yeah. The other kind of jokes you would get forwarded is jokes about the black government, how they run… the government, so they would have a list of statements that government officials would make. And it would be like, speaking incompetently or this… you know these forwarded email things. And so, it would ostensibly be funny, but it's actually very… racist.

South African black humour must be understood as a common discursive strategy prevalent among white South African migrants; in this vein, jokes like the one related by Johan, concerning the black hairdressers invading the streets, point towards memories of perceived threats of physical violence in South Africa. Yet, as Johan's explanation of his Afrikaans play-on-words hesitantly indicates, and as Albert and Louisa's argument

clearly shows, white South African migrants often are well aware that black humour is far from neutral. It instead expresses sentiments that derive from South Africa's racist colonial history, and by drawing on essentialist social categories it in fact works to reproduce such racist and oppressive categories (Caldeira 2000, Foucault 1977, 1980).

On the one hand, whether in the form of sayings, cartoons, jokes or plays-on-words, black humour thus comprises a discursive (coping) strategy by way of which white South African migrants try to re-establish order in relation to a South Africa that has lost coherence for them; a South Africa in which the prevalence of fear, violence and crime since the end of apartheid is difficult to comprehend (Caldeira 2000:20, 33). While such discursive strategies were common, in one form or another, in the narratives of most of my informants, Albert and Louisa's words indicate an alternative way of dealing with such discourses. Because of their conception of the underlying social, cultural and linguistic mechanisms that serve to reproduce racist and essentialist discourses and stereotypes, they have consciously chosen to reject white South African black humour. In one sense, their stance demonstrates a decided rejection of apartheid hegemony (Gramsci 1971).[14]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the ways in which white South African migrants'

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[14] See also the second quotation with which I opened this chapter, from one of the interviews I had with Albert and Louisa. Clearly, discourses of physical violence certainly came up in my interviews with this couple. But as Louisa's words in the opening quotation also demonstrate, her concern (in the dream) is just as much about the hegemony that dominates current white South African culture, of which she is highly critical, as it is about the actual (reasons for) high levels of violence and crime in South Africa. The important point to keep in mind is that unlike many others of their background, Louisa and Albert are very conscious of their own and other white South African migrants' use of stereotypical and essentialist notions and categories.

discourses of subjectivity and violence concerning the apartheid and post-apartheid years have come to be differently constructed. Yet their accounts were also often ambiguous, overlapping and collapsing the different time periods, and constantly moving backwards and forward through time. Moreover, it is difficult to pinpoint when exactly people began to think in terms of the forms of subjectivity and violence that I have analyzed. Memories are not static entities; rather, their nature and productivity change as people move through the motions of their lives, and as their subjectivities shift. In this vein, while an informant might now delineate a specific time as the moment when he or she became aware of the apartheid struggle, or of the hegemony of the National Party, this may not have been as clear for people when they first experienced that moment.

Despite these complexities, white South African migrants' experiences of and the discourses they now produce concerning the propaganda or 'brainwashing' of the apartheid system (Foucault 1977, Gramsci 1971), as well as their more recent discourses vis-à-vis the threat of physical violence in the 'new' South Africa (Caldeira 2000), indicate that these issues form running themes throughout their lives. Not only are these discourses key to understanding what has motivated white South Africans to leave South Africa in recent years; indeed, their continual evocations of the constant threat of violence and crime also work productively to sustain their international migration choice, just as they reproduce racist and stereotypical categories, mostly concerning the nonwhite segments of South Africa's population.

The section on white South African black humour illustrates that the discursive strategy of joking helps white South African migrants to deflect some of the difficulties and tensions that they have faced as a result of post-apartheid transitions. This strategy is,

however, problematic - also in the Canadian context where, my informants frequently complained, their jokes were not considered funny or appreciated. Precisely because of the complex nature of the different discourses of subjectivity and violence discussed in this chapter, white South Africans' stories are, ultimately, also indicative of a need for recognition among white South African migrants (Taylor 1994).

Chapter Five: Afrikaner Christianity and Political Consciousness

The man who loves his life will lose it, while the man who hates his life in this world will keep it for eternal life (NIV Study Bible [1995], The Gospel of John, 12:25).

An in-depth anthropological approach to the lives of 'white' South Africans who have moved to Canada must, at times, distinguish between the experiences of 'Afrikaners' and 'British South Africans,' not least because informants themselves often identified with and relied on this social distinction in their own explanations. In this chapter, I am specifically concerned with two aspects of Afrikaner life that proved significant in the memories and experiences that Afrikaners[1] shared with me: namely, the important roles that Christianity and politics have played in their lives. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how discourses of subjectivity and violence are generated among migrants. While such discourses are operative in the lives of the Afrikaners whose stories I analyze below, in this chapter I wish to focus on another aspect of, in this case, certain Afrikaners' experiences. This aspect concerns what may be considered a Christian counter-hegemonic discourse to the dominant apartheid discourse that pervaded South Africa in the decades before 1994.

The first section of the chapter serves to place the topic of Afrikaner religiosity in its wider anthropological contexts. In addition to a review of relevant anthropological

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[1] In this chapter, I do not analyze the narratives that I collected from all of my Afrikaner informants. I focus instead on those particular texts that point towards informants' accounts of their political and religious awareness, already during apartheid, of the social, political and economic inequalities that apartheid generated. I have chosen to do so in order to engage with some earlier anthropological depictions of Afrikaners and Afrikanerness (for example, see Crapanzano 1985, Patterson 1981 [1957], Seegers 1993; see below). It should therefore be kept in mind that this chapter only examines the narratives of a group of Christian Afrikaners; I do not aim to depict the differences, for instance, between Christian and secular Afrikaners. I am rather concerned with the engagement that took place between Christianity and politics in South Africa, during apartheid and into the post-apartheid period.

approaches to the study of religion, I discuss how Afrikaner Christianity has been constructed in academic literature. I then propose an analytical reading of Afrikaner religious narratives and experiences by drawing on Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, Foucault's insights on power/knowledge, and Gramsci's concept of consciousness. By drawing on their work, I aim to demonstrate, first, the all-encompassing and enduring power (or hegemony) of the Christian faith in the lives of many of my Afrikaner informants, and second, these informants' simultaneous awareness of the racism and oppressiveness of the apartheid regime. I am thus particularly concerned with one element of Afrikaner life (Christianity) that continues to be meaningful in the lives of the Afrikaners whose stories are discussed below; but it continues to be meaningful, at least in part, because it has been able to incorporate important, counter-hegemonic viewpoints and discourses.

The analytical framework thus delineated forms the basis for an understanding of informants' accounts. A second section addresses Afrikaners' memories of their Christian experiences in the South African context. In my third section, informants' views on the historical interweaving of the Afrikaner religion and apartheid politics in South Africa are considered. Fourth, I analyze the observances and narratives that inform Afrikaners' religious experiences in the Canadian migrant context. In my conclusion, I tie the analytical strands together again.

Theoretical Guidelines and Literature Review

Religion and Power

In a paper written about a dozen years ago, entitled "Religious Regimes and State-

Formation: Toward a Research Perspective," Dutch anthropologist Mart Bax argues that "in anthropology it has been almost standard practice to treat religion and politics as the private preserves of separate sub-disciplines" (Bax 1991:8). The problem with the anthropology of religion, he goes on to say, is that

> [r]eligion is approached largely from a symbolic or culturological point of view. It is conceptualized as a system of meaning (supported by symbols and rituals) concerning "ultimate" goals. This approach does not leave much room for a systematic inquiry into the social conditions and forces that generate and change such systems of meaning (Bax 1991:8).

Certainly symbolic approaches to the study of religion have served to convey 'systems of meaning' and "the relating of these systems to social-structural and psychological processes," as Geertz proposed some decades ago (Geertz 1973:125). But recent years have also seen an increased interest in the multiple and shifting ways in which religious formations are constituted in political realities. To put it somewhat differently, academics concerned with the latter issue have investigated how religious systems may be tied to the operation of power in societies (see Asad 1993, 1999, van der Veer and Lehmann 1999 [eds.], Wolf 1991, 1999).

In the current chapter, I draw on symbolic and political approaches in the anthropological study of religion, in order to demonstrate how both the symbolic and the political were and remain closely intertwined in the lives of Afrikaner migrants. Bax suggests that belief systems be linked to processes of state-formation by looking at the relationship between religious and worldly regimes; the confrontation of religious regimes with other such regimes; and the internal tensions, polarities and dialogues within religious regimes (Bax 1991:11). A number of anthropologists have explored these approaches (especially the latter) in European settings (see the volume edited by Badone

[1990], Verrips 1973, and the volume edited by Wolf [1991]). As Badone has argued regarding internal tensions and dialogues within religious regimes, the relationship between informal religious systems and more formal structures "is more than simply oppositional. Rather than viewing official and popular religion as monolithic entities, immutable and distinct, it is more fruitful to focus on the dialectical character of their interrelationship" (Badone 1990a:6). As I explore in my ethnographic analysis, popular religion "as referring to those informal, unofficial practices, beliefs, and styles of religious expression that lack the formal sanction of established church structures," has played an important role in the lives of my Afrikaner informants (Badone 1990a:5-6).

In addition to the study of tensions within religious regimes, the colonial origins of South Africa's Christian developments -- or, the confrontations between Christian regimes and other belief systems in the colonial context -- must also be taken into account (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997). As Bryan Turner has argued, "colonization often involved a religious movement to re-establish the pristine values of the primitive Church. Religious colonization can in these terms be regarded as a form of collective nostalgia for a return to grace" (Turner 1992:38). Through the growth of Calvinism in the Netherlands in the late 16th century, conditions were created "whereby the *predikanten* [the preachers] sought to enforce their views on marriage, morality and religious practice on the Dutch colonies of the 17th century" (Turner 1992:39), also in southern Africa. As a result, Calvinistic notions of human sinfulness and moral perfection led not only to religious, but also to racial and ethnic divisions (Turner 1992:39). This colonial situation, closely tied up as it was with specific religious convictions, leads me to consider Afrikaner settlement in South Africa from a historical-religious perspective. An analysis

of Afrikaner Christianity must therefore also take into account those power relations that were created as a result of early and established colonialism, as developed and instituted under apartheid.

Afrikaner Christianity

As mentioned above and in the introduction to the thesis, the force engendered by religious institutionalism in the southern African colonial context needs to be closely examined. In this chapter, I am specifically concerned with the Christian life of the Afrikaners, including their participation in several Dutch Reformed Church denominations in South Africa, as well as their continued adherence to and practice of various forms of Christianity in southern Ontario. However, before delving into my research findings it is necessary to consider how Afrikaner Christianity has been constructed in the academic literature. A number of South African historians have investigated the development of Afrikaner nationalism in the first half of the 20th century (see Adam 1985, Giliomee 1983, 1994, Seegers 1993). Each of these scholars has argued that religious institutionalism provided one of the tools by way of which Afrikaner nationalism flourished. As Adam has written, "the two principal means by which Afrikaner nationalism has been mobilized [are the Afrikaans] *language* and *religion*" (Adam 1985:173). What follows is a consideration of the ways in which this religion has been described.

In 1957, the first edition of Sheila Patterson's study *The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation* was published. In a chapter entitled "The Chosen People," Patterson describes 'the early Boers' as follows:

At first sight it may seem curious that the stern and sombre doctrines which the good bourgeois of Geneva embraced with such zeal in the sixteenth century should have taken such firm root on the sun-swept, empty veld of South Africa. These doctrines, however, sprang from a reading of the Scriptures, which chronicled the history and religious experience of a pastoral people far removed from the cities, but not from the far-trekking Boers with their flocks and their herds, their men-servants and their maidservants, and their patriarchal families.

To the Boers the Old Testament was like a mirror of their own lives. In it they found the deserts and the fountains, the droughts and the plagues, the captivity and the exodus. Above all they found a Chosen People guided by a stern but partial Deity through the midst of the heathen to a promised land. And it was the Old Testament and the doctrines of Calvin that moulded the Boer into the Afrikaner of today…

The doctrines which the Boers took with them on their long trek through the veld and the centuries were those of sixteenth century Calvinism, reduced to their simplest form in the memory of simple men with only the Bible to guide them. Chief among these doctrines were that of the 'elect' and that of predestination… Further, the Calvinist insistence on personal responsibility and discipline encouraged a race of sturdy individualists… (Patterson 1981 [1957]:176-178).

Patterson's historical rendering of the Boer people's religious beliefs provides the

background to her later description of the religious/politicized Afrikaners of the 1940s

and 1950s. "Today," she writes later, "the Dutch Reformed Church's influence is solidly

behind the Nationalist Party" (Patterson 1981 [1957]:188-189). This depiction is then

followed by a host of elements ideally pertaining to Afrikaner religious life, including:

large, paternal authority-style families are desirable; birth control is condemned; marriage

outside the Dutch Reformed Churches or the Afrikaner group is frowned upon; moral

censorship ought to be applied to reading materials; worship and Bible reading, especially

on Sundays, should be maintained; modern dancing and immodest dress are condemned

by the Dutch Churches as heathen, degrading and promiscuous; drinking is unequivocally

evil; and education should be Dutch Reformed, including instruction in the Catechism

(see Patterson 1981 [1957], chapters V, VI, VII).

Patterson's generalized descriptions of Boer religious beliefs in the past and the effect of Afrikaner religious views on community life around the mid-20th century point expressly towards the all-encompassing nature of Afrikaner Christianity. Arguing that the Calvinist worldview penetrates all aspects of daily life among Afrikaners, she writes that the authority of the Dutch Reformed Church

> has always been immense [in private life]. The Calvinist cannot hope to win personal salvation by godly behaviour, but he can by prayer and action glorify God and create a sanctified society. Such a society can only be achieved and maintained by an all-embracing discipline, particularly when it must survive amidst a host of barbarian heathen[s] and the subtler temptations of an alien and world-wide culture. The application of this discipline is the task of the Church, its ministers and its elders (Patterson 1981 [1957]:189).

Writing in the 1950s, while drawing on the concept of a "national character," Patterson at the same time assures her readers that "national characters" never exist as totalities but as "sets of traits shared by the majority of individuals within the group" and that such characters are "always in the making" (Patterson 1981 [1957]:277). One of the aims of the current chapter is to engage with this idea, particularly its assumed religious bases in the case of Afrikaners as portrayed by Patterson. In this vein, I seek to demonstrate that my informants' religious experiences and practices, though certainly influenced by and at times drawing on 'Afrikanerness,' should not only be understood as (merely) a part of this Afrikanerness. In other words, informants' Christian beliefs -- and not necessarily their Afrikaner Christian beliefs -- have allowed and continue to allow them, at different times, to both incorporate and distance themselves from their personal Afrikaner histories, by way of a conscious separation between Christianity and Afrikaner culture (Gramsci 1971; see below). This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the enduring power of the Christian faith in the lives of Afrikaners. Indeed, this Christian

faith may be as powerful -- if not more so -- if understood, practiced and relied on against racist apartheid policy, as it was powerful for, or in the name of, this racist apartheid policy.

To further support this analytical argument, consider Vincent Crapanzano's depiction of Afrikaner Christian belief and practice during the early 1980s in his ethnography *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa* (1985). While paying due attention to one Afrikaner informant (Hennie) who chose to leave the Dutch Reformed Church, it is interesting to see how Crapanzano then draws on Hennie's description to characterize the Afrikaner religious experience. Writes Crapanzano,

> Hennie's rebellion shows an independence of mind, which, giving the conforming pressures of Afrikaner communal life, is indeed exceptional. The *kerk*, or church, is the spiritual, the social and cultural, in many respects the material, certainly the symbolic, center of the Afrikaner community. Membership in one of the three closely related Dutch Reformed Churches... is an essential prerequisite for membership in the Afrikaner community. "You can't really separate the Afrikaner from his religion," Hennie says. "It is almost like the Jews. You are a Jew by birth and by religion. You are an Afrikaner by birth and by religion." Ninety percent of all white Afrikaans speakers are members of [a] Dutch Reformed Church (Crapanzano 1985:93).

Crapanzano goes on to describe the Dutch Reformed churches as "strictly Calvinist." He argues that theirs is

> a primitive Calvinism embodied in the Heidelberg catechism and the decrees of the Synod of Dort. (All men are totally depraved. God has unconditionally elected a few to salvation. It is to these few that the atonement of Christ is limited. They receive, they cannot resist, the grace of God; they cannot fall even for a moment from His grace.) (Crapanzano 1985:94).

Not unlike Patterson's ideal elements of Afrikaner Christian life, Crapanzano also lists a number of practices that inform the everyday life of Afrikaner "traditional households," including daily Bible reading, hymn singing and prayer, the strong religious emphasis in

Afrikaner education, the dominant role of the *dominee* (the pastor) in Afrikaner

communities, going to church twice on Sunday, and proper dress codes (Crapanzano

1985:93-102). On the political front, moreover, "the Dutch Reformed Churches in South

Africa have not only sanctioned apartheid but are themselves divided along racial lines"

(Crapanzano 1985:99).

By 1985, the year that Crapanzano's ethnography was published, the National

Party's apartheid regime and Afrikaner/white South African dominance in South Africa

had come under heavy criticism, both from within and outside the country (see Mandela

1994). Well aware of the tense atmosphere that was enveloping South Africa at the time

of his fieldwork, Crapanzano chose to depict his white informants by way of the concept

of *waiting*. Consider this summary of his argument:

> *Waiting for something, anything, to happen* was a constant preoccupation in the
> stories I had been hearing, the newspapers I was receiving, and in the literature I
> was reading… The life of those white South Africans with whom I talked (and I
> see no reason to assume that they are very different in this from other white South
> Africans) impressed me as somehow truncated. I found signs of anxiety,
> helplessness, vulnerability, and rage that were not very far from the surface… It
> was infused with uncertainty or at times what appeared to me to be a
> compensatory overcertainty, a stubborn and harsh pragmatism…
>
> Waiting means to be oriented in time in a special way. It is directed
> toward the future - not an expansive future, however, but a constricted one that
> closes in on the present. In waiting, the present is always secondary to the future.
> It is held in expectation. It is filled with suspense. It is a sort of holding action - a
> lingering. (In its extreme forms waiting can lead to paralysis.) In waiting, the
> present loses its focus in the now. The world in its immediacy slips away; it is
> derealized. It is without élan, vitality, creative force. It is numb, muted, dead. Its
> only meaning lies in the future - in the arrival or the non-arrival of the object of
> waiting.
>
> Waiting is always waiting for something. It is an anticipation of
> something to come - something that is not on hand but will, perhaps, be on hand in
> the future. It is marked by contingency -- the perhaps -- and all the anxiety that
> comes with the experience of contingency. *It is a passive activity.* We can never
> actively seek the object of waiting. We can, to be sure, do what we can to ensure
> its arrival if we desire it or to prevent its arrival if we do not desire it, but

ultimately its arrival or non-arrival is beyond our control (Crapanzano 1985:43-44, latter emphasis mine).

Crapanzano's analysis of his white informants' psychological and emotional experiences and states-of-being (the majority of whom were Afrikaner) is presented to the reader at the start of his study. With this characterization, Crapanzano goes on to describe the sociocultural and religious life of the white South African community of Wyndal. I quoted extensively from his argument about 'waiting' because I wish to emphasize the close connections that existed in South Africa between the religious forces of institutionalized Christianity and the colonial policy of apartheid that came to a breaking point in the 1980s and early 1990s. On the one hand, a Christian faith system had developed in South Africa among one segment of the dominant population, based on strong Calvinist, at times considered fundamentalist or literal Biblical, values. On the other, South Africa's dragged-out racist colonial policies crumbled, slowly but surely, as the 20th century drew to a close.

Crapanzano's study of the "people who dominate" (Crapanzano 1985:xiii) was published at about the same time that a State of Emergency was declared in South Africa in the mid-1980s. Clearly, it is necessary to understand writings and depictions of the Afrikaner people and the South African political and social situation from the perspective of the time periods in which they were conceived and written. But now, in the post-apartheid period, I am also concerned with the constructed bases of specific depictions of Afrikanerness, including the continued productive nature of such depictions. To put it somewhat differently, descriptions and characterizations are powerful -- as adopted and believed in -- especially when they are dominant in academic and/or popular rhetoric at a

certain time. From this awareness flows the recognition that changing political and social landscapes require reconsideration.

Certainly the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church was closely tied to the apartheid regime in the 20th century, and I do not intend to discount or minimize the significance of this political relationship. Indeed, it was not until 1986 that the Dutch Reformed Churches formally published the document entitled *Church and Society: A Testimony Approved by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church*, in which apartheid and its 'separate development' policies were finally denounced on Biblical grounds (see Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa-General Synodical Commission 1986). This fact emphasizes all the more the importance of investigating the relationships between religious movements (church) and political realities (state) (Bax 1991). However, in an attempt to engage theoretically with Patterson's and Crapanzano's arguments, I propose that the above depictions and analyses be closely investigated and problematized, because they do not easily allow for the complexities and agency that, according to my informants, defined their everyday lives in South Africa, and continue to define their time in Canada.

One final, important characterization of Afrikaner religious life remains to be considered: gendered divisions and the status of women (Moore 1988). Annette Seegers, in an article entitled "Towards an Understanding of the Afrikanerisation of the South African State" (1993), provides some insight into the gendered aspects of Afrikaner Christian life. In line with the assumed basic tenets of Afrikaner religious communalism already discussed, she adds:

Primarily because of their resilience and steadfastness during critical historical

experiences, Afrikaner women have acquired heroic status. Their great feats during life on the frontier and the Great Trek and their martyrdom during the Second Anglo-Boer War created expectations that women should be feminine yet fiercely strong… A robust image of women does not mean, however, that they are applauded for masculine actions, are the equal of men, or are naturally drawn to public life; rather, women's inclinations are held to be chiefly domestic, as mothers and wives… Although they are designated a natural place, the expectations of women in domesticity are positive. They will be efficient and kind-hearted… But their powers do not generally extend to autonomy or independence: women are creatures of loyalty, who will not confront husbands publicly or when children are present. Under pressure, women support men, not children (Seegers 1993:480).

While Seegers fails to make the connection explicit (it is, rather, implied), it is

important to understand that men's dominant positions in religious and family life have

arisen, at least in part, as a result of Calvinist-inspired Biblical teachings. According to

the *Church and Society* document, the marriage relationship between husband and wife is

one where "the woman -- who was taken out of man -- has been given to him as a fitting

helper in the widest and most profound sense: as a fellow human being, but at the same

time as one who complements and helps him" (Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa-

General Synodical Commission 1986). There thus exists a 'religious tradition' among

Afrikaners that favours a picture of women who stand alongside their husbands, who

agree with them, and who generally do not take action of their own accord or conviction.

This 'tradition' has been amply supported over the years by both academic and popular

descriptions of Afrikaner women as "domestic" (Seegers 1993:480), "subordinate"

(Crapanzano 1985:152), and "chaste and aloof amongst a coloured sea" (Patterson 1981

[1957]:242).

My female and male Afrikaner informants were clearly influenced by, and at

times greatly aware of, women's roles (as opposed to men's roles) as ideologically

promoted by the Dutch Reformed Church and characterized in academic literature. However, one of my goals in this chapter is to reconsider women's and men's gendered experiences in relation to their Christian beliefs and the political environment(s) in which they lived in South Africa. As will be demonstrated, gendered experiences among Afrikaners require a more nuanced analysis than that presented above. Strategies of independence, resistance and agency need to be recognized and incorporated as critical factors in women's own affairs and in their relations with their husbands (Moore 1988:41).

Bourdieu's Habitus, Foucault's Power/Knowledge and Gramsci's Consciousness

Thus far, I have shown that religious belief (in the case at hand, Christianity), as practiced by individuals and groups of people, has both the capacity to join hands with and promote such racist, oppressive policies as apartheid, and the ability to generate counter-hegemonic practices that oppose state oppressions. But what theoretical approaches will serve best in order to demonstrate how religious hegemonies operate(d) in the everyday lives of my Afrikaner informants? To this end, I draw on the insights of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Michel Foucault (1977, 1980) and Antonio Gramsci (1971).

Bourdieu's notion of the habitus may be fruitfully engaged in the current chapter in my effort to relate the combined power of Afrikanerness and Christianity, taken together. One of Bourdieu's definitions of the habitus runs as follows:

> [Habitus is] this immanent law, *lex insita*, laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination, since the corrections and adjustments the agents themselves consciously carry out *presuppose their mastery of a common code* and since undertakings of collective mobilization cannot succeed without a minimum of concordance between the habitus of the mobilizing agents (e.g.

prophet, party leader, etc.) and the dispositions of those whose aspirations and world-view they express (Bourdieu 1977:81, emphasis mine).

By invoking Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, I aim to demonstrate that there indeed were (and always are) moments in time when people's different inherited categories work together to produce in them a knowledge and conception of their world that seems both normal and acceptable to them (compare to Foucault 1980:59, 92-93). In the case of Afrikaners who grew up during apartheid, the existence of such knowledge was related to me through informants' extensive memories and narratives, especially those concerning childhood. In light of Bourdieu's habitus, Afrikaner Christians (including the denomination's "mobilizing agents") who grew up attending the Dutch Reformed Church might not directly or explicitly have learned to draw distinctions between the religious, cultural and political aspects of the Afrikaner churches.

Foucault's insight that power operates through the production of knowledge adds to Bourdieu's concept of the habitus. Indeed, invoking Foucault in this chapter allows for a closer investigation of how and to what extent the Afrikaner Christian habitus actually worked and reproduced itself in the lives of Afrikaner Christians. Foucault contributes the following important point regarding this matter:

> ...I would say that we should direct our researches on the nature of power not towards the juridical edifice of sovereignty, the State apparatuses and the ideologies which accompany them, but towards domination and the material operators of power, towards forms of subjection and the inflections and utilizations of their localized systems, and towards strategic apparatuses. We must eschew the model of Leviathan in the study of power. We must escape from the field of juridical sovereignty and State institutions, and instead base our analysis of power on the study of the *techniques* and *tactics* of domination (Foucault 1980:102, emphasis mine).[2]

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[2] Foucault understood 'domination' as follows: "...in speaking of domination I do not have in mind that solid and global kind of domination that one person exercises over others, or one group over another, but

175

Following my theoretical argument thus far, if informants learned to adopt an Afrikaner Christian habitus from childhood on, then we should not investigate the Dutch Reformed ideology that promoted this habitus if we wish to come to an understanding of Afrikaner Christians' counter-discourses, or their counter-hegemonies. Rather than focusing on 'Leviathan,' or 'the King,' who produced the kind of knowledge that people had accepted from childhood on, we need to examine people's experiences of "forms of subjection" and "the inflections and utilizations of their localized systems" that occurred within the hegemonic operation of the Dutch Reformed Church (Foucault 1980:102). While this Calvinist church clearly played a major role in apartheid oppression, it also produced other, counter-hegemonic knowledges that challenged apartheid. The productiveness of these latter knowledges (indicative of a transforming habitus) must be sought, according to Foucault, within the Dutch Reformed Church itself -- including local ministers and their wives -- rather than in the institutional process that produces authoritative ideologies.

The perspective outlined above, on the reproduction of the habitus, may also be compared to Gramscian hegemony. Writes Gramsci: "In acquiring one's conception of the world one always belongs to a particular grouping which is that of all the social elements which share the same mode of thinking and acting" (Gramsci 1971:324). For Gramsci, the habitus of a collectivity of people would have been comparable to a group (or class) of people who "take part in a conception of the world mechanically imposed by

the manifold forms of domination that can be exercised within society. Not the domination of the King in his central position, therefore, but that of his subjects in their mutual relations: not the uniform edifice of sovereignty, but the multiple forms of subjugation that have a place and function within the social

the external environment," or who "'think', [but] without having a critical awareness, in a disjointed and episodic way" (Gramsci 1971:232). As these quotations from Gramsci indicate, his work was much more geared towards political engagement than was Bourdieu's. In addition to Foucault's call to study the production of various 'dominations' (including counter-discourses and hegemonies) in different local settings, Gramsci's ideas suit my analysis in this chapter particularly well because I am concerned with the political stances and counter-hegemonic involvements of those Afrikaners who tried to work against the apartheid grain in various ways.

Gramsci's insights drive us straight towards the complex issue of change in human classes and societies (to a greater extent than do Foucault's ideas). If a class, or a group of people within a class, share a mechanically imposed conception of the world; if they accept this conception uncritically, then for Gramsci the important question would be: how do people become aware (or how are they made aware) of the fact that certain hegemonies control their lives? According to Gramsci, people need to become conscious of the hegemonic powers in which their lives are so deeply embedded (often, this process occurs through stages of contradictory consciousness; see Gramsci 1971:333). Following Gramsci:

> Critical understanding of self takes place... through a struggle of political "hegemonies" and of opposing directions, first in the ethical field and then in that of politics proper, in order to arrive at the working out at a higher level of one's own conception of reality. Consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force (that is to say, political consciousness) is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be one (Gramsci 1971:333, emphasis mine).

In the case of the Afrikaners whose stories I examine below, "consciousness of being part

organism" (Foucault 1980:96).

of a particular hegemonic force" (apartheid, supported by the National Party and the Dutch Reformed Church) led them to draw the important distinction between Afrikaner nationalist ideology and the Christian faith. As I will show, some Afrikaners' consciousness of this distinction is what allowed them (though to different extents) to actively engage in working against the apartheid apparatus.[3]

Before I move on to the next section, it must be pointed out that even if people become conscious of the operation of certain hegemonies in their lives, that does not mean that they are willing, or even able, to completely reject or discard (certain elements of) these hegemonies. Indeed, Bourdieu's insight into the enduring strength of particular configurations of the habitus (or hegemonic forces) in people's lives serves to reinforce this point. Nevertheless, based on my informants' accounts, it became clear to me that the Christian religion, rather than Afrikaner identity, proved productively and adaptively powerful, both in South Africa and in the migrant context, and despite existing traces of an Afrikaner Christian habitus.

Remembering Afrikaner Christianity

Speaking to Afrikaners in the post-apartheid, migrant context brings up a number

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[3] It is important to keep in mind Gramsci's complex understanding of the relation between religion and politics (which is ultimately rooted in his conceptions of and convictions about the historical and social forces that had generated the Italy of his day). In one of the prison notes, he states that "[t]he three elements -- religion (or 'active' conception of the world), State, party -- are indissoluble, and in the real process of historico-political development there is a necessary passage from one to the other" (Gramsci 1971:266). Gramsci would distinguish, for instance, between 'the Catholic religion of the Italian peasants as an automatically accepted hegemonic force,' which he would consider to be "an element of fragmented common sense" (Gramsci 1971:325), and religion as he defines it above: an 'active' conception of the world, which for Gramsci would always necessarily be political as well. In my understanding of Gramsci, religion must thus be seen as a hegemonic, powerful force that may either operate to blind people politically, or that may operate in the exact opposite direction: to open people's eyes (again, for Gramsci, in a political sense). A 'good religion' would be a politically engaged religion (but see also Gramsci's notes on the relation between 'religion' and 'philosophy' [Gramsci 1971:325-326]).

of complications that have arisen during the past years. In this vein, the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s and the migrant experience are best understood as ruptures that have affected and continue to affect the South African habitus. By no means have such processes taken a unified course in different people's lives, as will become clear in the stories that lie ahead. However, in this brief section I relate some informants' memories of having grown up in Afrikaner Christian households and their roles as Christians in their adult lives. I wish to pay attention to some of the ways in which "the habitus ma[de] coherence and necessity out of accident and contingency" (Bourdieu 1977:87), as people themselves -- by the time I spoke with them -- had also often come to realize. The texts that follow thus convey people's memories of their experiences of Afrikaner Christianity in South Africa, but they are also already (and necessarily) about a conscious distancing from such memories.

Andre and Marie Botes came from South Africa in January of 1980. Of all my Afrikaner informants, they were the ones who arrived in Canada the earliest, because of Andre's stance against apartheid. Andre and Marie delineated for me some of the 'rules' that accompanied membership in the Dutch Reformed Church when they were growing up in South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s:

Andre: We were not taught, to question. You were not questioning *anything*. And you know, it was wrong for many Afrikaners to mix with the English. You know, you can socially… and whatever. But you know there was a line. You don't marry English.
Marie: Yeah. My youth pastor told us, you know, we were in the Dutch Reformed Church. We were in the NG Kerk [one of the Dutch Reformed denominations in South Africa]. Our youth pastor told us from day one, "You know what? It's best… to marry only an NG person. Do not even go to one of the other Afrikaans churches." And, "To marry an English person, that is totally not God's will"; and to go outside, to even Italian or French, that is totally a no - no. So you know… that's what you had to do. So umm, luckily he (Andre) was the same denomination!
[…]

MB: And you have areas. If you're in a certain area you have to go to that church. You cannot go to a different church. They had boundaries. So if you want to go to another church - you *move!*

AB: Yeah, you were assigned... there were geographical boundaries for each church. Okay? And if you happened to be here, on this street, on this side, and you're NG, you automatically go - that's your church. There was no openness of boundaries.

MB: And you kind of had to go to church. That was a very... you just did not, not go to church. You know? I grew up in a church, and my mom, a few years before she died, at 83, she received Jesus. You know. So... and that you hear a lot, because you were in the church, you... go to church, we went twice a day on a Sunday, and heaven forbid if you... you don't go in the evening; you just go. That was it.

AB: Yeah we didn't go in the evening. Because we were on the farm. So, you know, if you had the morning service, we were there.

Upon arrival in Canada, Andre and Marie first joined the Presbyterian Church, where Andre became a pastor. They have since stepped out of this denomination, having joined a charismatic house church movement in southern Ontario.[4] Their various Christian journeys have clearly allowed them to distance themselves from their childhood and early adulthood experiences in the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church. Moreover, their memories of Dutch Reformed life speak to the descriptions of the Dutch Reformed Church and Afrikaner Christianity that I considered earlier in the chapter. One couldn't *question*, one couldn't marry *English*, one had to attend the church at which one was *registered*, one had to attend church *twice on Sunday* - such were the 'rules,' as Andre and Marie pointed out.

A second description of the Dutch Reformed Church comes from Willem and Tanya Visser, who came to Canada with their three young sons only a few years ago. A generation younger than Andre and Marie, their experience as minister and minister's wife in the Dutch Reformed Church is more recent (1980s and 1990s), and their words

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[4] The Christian house church movement partly bases its ideology on a rejection of authoritative church structures and institutions.

point toward some of the changes that this Afrikaner denomination has undergone in the last few decades. Our conversation begins with a topic that I picked up from several informants - that Dutch Reformed Church membership in urban centers was very large in South Africa in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s as a result of a 'macro-approach' to congregational life and worship (see Willem's explanation below). On average, I heard people speak of churches with thousands of members and three, four, five or even more pastors:

Mieke: I've heard more people say that these Dutch Reformed churches were so big, they had three or four ministers each! Was this normal?
Tanya: Yeah. There was even - there were some with six!
Willem: Well, the suburban congregations; six, seven ministers was quite - they called it 'macro-gemeente.'
MD: 'Macro-congregation'?
WV: Yeah. Five thousand members.
TV: Yeah, it's not good, it doesn't really work, it's way too big.
WV: And it is almost impossible to make an impact, I mean, under God, on a big congregation like that. You preach very little; you know, whenever you get a time, whatever you try to build up the other one [pastor] breaks down.
TV: Yeah, that was in the first congregation, it was that way. He [Willem] was reformed; the one was charismatic and the other one was liberal, right?
WV: Yeah... I would say Barthian,[5] liberal, and whatever...
TV: I mean you know, you hear this, and then you hear that on the pulpit, and next week you hear a different thing! And the people don't always understand it, because they don't know what's behind it.
WV: The Dutch Reformed Church went... down, very quickly, since the late seventies. Early seventies you would have still basically a reformed... paradigm. But suddenly... you know, it just crumbled... In our church, it was two and a half thousand members; and in the morning service, around about eight hundred of them would come to church,

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[5] Willem is referring to the Protestant theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968). This Swiss-German professor and pastor "was the intellectual leader of the German Confessing Church, the Protestant group that resisted the Third Reich" (http://www.ptsem.edu/grow/barth). Barth's ideas may be summarized as follows: "The principal emphasis in Barth's work, known as neoorthodoxy and crisis theology, is on the sinfulness of humanity, God's absolute transcendence, and the human inability to know God except through revelation. His objective was to lead theology away from the influence of modern religious philosophy back to the principles of the Reformation and the prophetic teachings of the Bible. He regarded the Bible, however, not as the actual revelation of God but as only the record of that revelation" (http://www.island-of-freedom.com/BARTH.HTM; see also Naugle 2002). It is this latter stance that several Protestant groups (and individuals) have found controversial, or "liberal," as Willem and Tanya's narrative indicates.

sometimes a thousand. But, I think that the average was about 800 people. And it's not always the same 800.

TV: Some weren't such good church-goers, like here, we go in the morning and we go in the evening but there often… three quarters won't… half to three quarters won't even go in the evening! You see? And then they have the two morning services, right? An early one and then… like nine-thirty and one at ten-thirty again. And then people will do their thing on Sunday, you know, go to their family or whatever. So, not so loyal, to go to church twice on a Sunday. Which we appreciate from the churches here, they are very committed to going twice; that we have the Sunday, to worship the Lord!

WV: There's a great lack of covenantal approach, and that's just one of the reasons. A lack of a covenantal approach to church, and uh… faith and the Lord and so on. So it's very… it's too much tradition and too much individualistic. It's part of your *culture* to go to church! That's how we were brought up! Although my dad was always uh… very serious, and he knew the reformed doctrines. But it was only since my mother was converted and then later on, me and my sister and my dad also changed tremendously! He… I think he was always a true Christian. But it was only then that we began to take our belief seriously. But before that it was pretty much a cultural, traditional thing. Like nominal Christians here in Canada would do.

Willem and Tanya's description points towards some of the changes that the Dutch Reformed Church has undergone in South Africa in recent decades. Perhaps it is not so much that the 'rules' have changed, because clearly people still have their name registered at the church office. Rather, it is the regular attendance that seems to be slipping, which, as Willem argued in a different conversation, is due in part to 'secularization and liberalism.' At the same time, he and Tanya distinguish between the Afrikaner habit of church going as a cultural element in Afrikaner life and a true Christian faith that should draw people to church on Sundays because they want to worship the Lord. Here, then, is an initial illustration of the argument that I delineated above: Afrikaners themselves, even in South Africa, drew distinctions between Afrikaner religious culture and the Christian faith. For Willem and Tanya, a certain distancing is necessary between this culture and their Christian beliefs in order for the latter to be practiced in an honest and true manner (see Badone 1990b, Behar 1990 and Brettell 1990

for ethnographic examples of the tension between official and popular religious practices, and anticlericalism in Catholic Europe).

My final excerpt in this section comes from a conversation I had with Afrikaner Johan Boshoff and his Dutch-born wife Evelien, who came to Canada a couple of years ago. Johan worked as a pastor in a Dutch Reformed Church for seventeen years while Evelien carried out 'the required duties of the minister's wife.' Evelien spoke to me in some detail about her experiences in this role, while Johan added to her explanations.

Johan worked in one of the 'macro-congregations' that the Vissers described earlier; as a young man, he was the sixth pastor to join their particular congregation in the late 1970s.

In this way, Evelien became the 'sixth pastor's wife':

Mieke: You said that your duties as a minister's wife were so different in South Africa, than they are here in Canada.
Evelien: Yeah they sort of expect it from you; they never really… it's just how it *is*. It's not as bad anymore as it was when he started, when Johan just started as a minister. But you have responsibilities like, dealing with social groups, the ladies' group, and the Sunday school… Bible study, you are always the chairperson of a lot of things.
Johan: It's a given! It's a given! Or lead the Bible study, or…
EB: Lead the Bible studies… You just had to be there! If you have meetings, you have to lead it! It's just how it goes! If you know… how to do it, that doesn't matter, you are the minister's *wife!* So, you do it!
JB: They would say, "Oh well, you knew what you did when you married a minister, you knew this was part of it, so…"
EB: Yeah because I was from a Reformed church, and then I got married with Johan and he was Dutch Reformed. So there were a few things in the Reformed church that were new for me too! Because I came directly from a Reformed church, to Johan's church. And then they said, "…Well, just do it! Doesn't matter if you haven't seen how we do it! Just go ahead and…" You just learn it. You know? But sometimes it got… you don't always wanna do it; what if you're someone who has a hard time speaking in public!
MD: Yeah. Or praying in public.
EB: Praying in public! Ohh it's… too bad! You just have to!
JB: And Dutch also! With the praying in Afrikaans! At that stage it was… when she was angry, or cross with the children or praying it will be in Dutch.
EB: Yeah, that's still like that, and yeah, then you just had to do it! And… standing in a group of people and speaking is… nerve-racking and you just have to and you get used to it after many years (grins) but in the beginning, yeah… And ministers' wives, twenty

years ago, you just couldn't have a job! Your job was being a minister's wife.

JB: They would frown on you if you did.

EB: It was unheard of that you as the minister's wife would have a job in the secular world, outside somewhere. But lately it's not that bad anymore, you can have your own life, your own job. But you still have responsibilities as the minister's wife. You have to organize many... things.

JB: And I think what caused that part of it, there might be a spiritual... maturity there, that led to that; but I think the realities of the economy, it's going off the rails, stuff like that. So they said, "We cannot pay the minister any more. Okay. Give his wife work." So she goes, gets a job somehow... you know, it will go like that; it wasn't really said like that, but that was truly part of the argument.

EB: For me it was... hard, having Johan's colleagues... their wives. I mean, we were the youngest [pastoral couple]. And I am five years younger than Johan, so I was really very young when we started! In our first congregation I was twenty-three years old! And all these other ladies were much older! Some of them could be my mom! And that was kind of hard for me, because I felt I have no credibility; I had nothing to say; nothing to add because I'm so much younger. And I'm not from this church, and I'm not from this... denomination, originally, so I really had to... earn the right to speak, sort of. And then they would let me do things. At the beginning I had a few moments and they were tough. But yeah, it took time, but at the end it was well. Then they knew, "Okay, Evelien, she can do a thing, it's okay. Let her do this and that's fine." Yeah, it took a while for them to accept me, until "this girl can do things."

Evelien's words point, first of all, to the importance of a gendered approach to Afrikaners' narratives, for two elements of institutionalized Afrikaner Christianity that have clearly been neglected and underestimated in the academic literature are the roles and experiences of women in Afrikaner churches and communal life. From Evelien, we learn about the operation of the Afrikaner religious habitus in the everyday lives of women, especially those who had roles to play as ministers' wives in the Dutch Reformed Church. Following Bourdieu, "[t]he homogeneity of habitus is what -- within the limits of the group of agents possessing the schemes (of production and interpretation) implied in their production -- causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and hence taken for granted" (Bourdieu 1977:80; compare to Foucault's notion that the power relations at work in the Dutch Reformed system produced the

necessary knowledge for Evelien to take on her role as a pastor's wife [Foucault 1980]).

Thus it was also for Evelien - that her prescribed role when she married Johan was

something that she had to learn, had to do, had to take on. She really had no choice in the

matter. But her successful earning of the right to 'do things, lead things' in the

congregation at the same time demonstrates her agency within the structure of this

habitus. As Moore has pointed out, "gender constructs are linked to concepts of self,

personhood and autonomy. Any analysis of such concepts necessarily involves some

consideration of choice, strategy, moral worth and social value as they relate to the

actions of individual social actors" (Moore 1988:41).

Afrikaners, Apartheid, and the Power of Christianity

Apartheid policy, apartheid politics, post-apartheid politics, that legacy on one's

shoulders: those are some of the topics that the majority of Afrikaners themselves will

bring up in conversation. It does not really matter what exactly the subject of discussion

may be; in some way, South Africa's turbulent history has deeply impacted and shaped

all who once were or remain citizens of the country, including the Afrikaner segment of

the population. And so also, investigating Afrikaner migrants' religious experiences and

Christian viewpoints always inadvertently led back to the topic of South African politics,

especially the apartheid legacy and a remembrance of the roles that informants had played

during that time. In this third section of my chapter, I consider some of the ways in which

informants spoke about the interweaving of the Afrikaner religion and apartheid politics:

those close connections that existed between the National Party's apartheid policies and

the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. This subject requires careful attention,

since my informants rarely spoke about their Christian beliefs without also bringing up, whether implicitly or explicitly, the politics and social realities of apartheid.

Conversions and Awakenings

I begin this section with some narratives of conversion or Christian awakening experiences that my Afrikaner informants related to me.[6] Interestingly, I never asked them about conversion experiences directly; it was they who used the terms 'conversion' or 'spiritual awakening,' mostly in connection to my enquiries about when and how they became aware of the apartheid struggle in South Africa. In what follows, I present three such stories, told by Afrikaners Willem Visser, Albert Meyers, and Marianne Cilliers.

Willem Visser:
We were very much aware of injustices in South Africa, and a society that is suffering because of an unfair political dispensation... On the one hand I mean, the kind of policy that was implemented since '48, there are many things formally in that policy that... you couldn't agree with, although you could see the practical purpose, or the practical reason behind it; trying to protect a very small... umm, so-called Christian community; Western-European community from an overwhelming sea of indigenous, umm, pagan people. So, you could see that motivation; and for a great deal, as a child you just accepted that as the norm. Separation, segregation; that in itself didn't bother us as children, I would say we experienced that as the norm, that is how life is.

But what did bother us was the application... or the outworking of that policy in the attitudes of white people towards blacks... not all white people but a good segment of them. How they had a condescending attitude, a discriminating attitude, and really looking down on blacks, even humiliating them in many circumstances. And that was a thing which I can remember from my childhood which I, very much, you know... detested. Even though I wasn't politically informed, but... your sense for justice, and fairness, and love, would tell you that is wrong. Not so much the fact that we were segregated, but how people would speak with black people, would look at them and speak about them. Like young boys, if they are walking in the street... you should remember it's not all white people, but it was a certain percentage of them. That would, what's the word, insult a black man, or mock him, or even throw something at him from an uh, open

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[6] The narratives that follow (here, but also later in the chapter) form part of what may be called the life stories that I collected from some of my Afrikaner informants. In other words, these extensive, detailed accounts comprise a body of material that is reminiscent of the life story approach in anthropology. They thus relate to Part II of the thesis, where I analyze the life stories of two British South African migrant women.

truck you know, going by...

And when I was in the Police Force you had the same thing; some policemen would totally misuse their powers; especially on nightshift; and beat a man up for nothing; that kind of thing, you know; only one policeman or two would actually act in such a way, but it would give a bad name to the Police Force, it would give a bad name to that certain Police Station, and they would do very little to combat it, to actually... put it right. It wasn't that everybody took part in it; it was just that the prevailing consensus was that "ach, you know... It's not so bad."

I can remember, when I came to know the Lord, in my late teens, and... reading Ephesians 2... And Ephesians 3... I couldn't believe that a whole church would - a federation, for decades, with very good solid theologians, especially in the past, could actually uphold such a view, in the light of what the Bible really teaches! It just showed me how apartheid's dominated theology, in some area of the church's life.

I was only converted when I was out of school; I really came to know the Lord then, in a personal way, and I was then busy studying part-time for entering... either the diplomatic services or journalism, something in that area. My interests were in international politics and economics and so on. But after I was converted the desire to preach the Word just grew... And I started to wonder whether I'm actually in the right line [of studies]. And then I felt a strong urge to preach the Word but I was not necessarily... convinced that this was the right thing; so I spoke with a minister or two that I really esteemed highly; and I checked this... this desire, what are the motives of it, you know? Why do I wanna do it, and after some time I went to Pretoria University, I did six or seven years of study there. Unfortunately it was a fairly liberal college. The good side of that is, for the rest of my life I know the liberal arguments from the inside; I know how they think and reason; so, it's good if you know it. If you've been exposed to it.

Eighty-nine, I was twenty-seven years old. And I can't believe it because I was very green, very inexperienced... and very outspoken also. I'm still outspoken but not nearly as much as when I was young. The Dutch Reformed Church then began to slide... to liberalism and charismatic tendencies, and contemporary worship, and... similar to the CRC.[7] We were a group of students that actually challenged our professors, and it was the first time as far as I know that students of a Dutch Reformed seminary challenged their professors on confessional grounds, on Biblical grounds. And that came to be a very big thing, it was in the newspaper, we were almost not licensed for ministry, and so on. It was like that.

Albert Meyers:

My dad... he taught Hebrew, and Semitic languages at the university... he was trained as a minister as well. He was a professor at the university and supplied pulpit in the... what they called the Zendings [Afrikaans, lit. Missions] Church, which was a coloured church. So I grew up going to this church very often, and the people from this church would come over to our house and have tea and a meal which was totally out of sorts with the rest of the community. And I was aware as a child, that my parents were doing something that

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[7] 'CRC' stands for 'Christian Reformed Church,' one of the Dutch Reformed denominations in North America.

didn't fit the standards of the society around us. And then at one stage... there was a decision by the apartheid government to relocate the people, a whole bunch of people who were elders and very prominent people of the church, who had little umm... vegetable farms. And they decided to remove them from the area where there was very fertile ground. To have their farming operations, it was sandy soil, Cape flats area, where they could... really farm. So basically the apartheid relocation would remove their living. And my dad became an advocate, and fought for this... relocation, not to happen. So as I child I knew something... something was up. But we lived very much still in, you know, the middle class segment of society where... We had a servant, a live-in servant in the house. But, she was treated quite respectfully, you know by the family, that kind of thing...

And then I remember in high school, we had a history teacher. Who started... uh... subversively questioning the history book. And the way the story was told, about how the settlement of South Africa happened. He would just, drop little hints to us as high school students that this is not the whole story. Or that -- the story -- the way it's told in the history book, you know, is really really umm... idealized, what happened. For instance one example was, there was the Great Trek, that moved north. It had a Dutch Reformed minister travel with them. Erasmus was his name. And, this was like a... wonderful figure in the way the history book described this... brave pastor who moved into the wild, that kind of thing. But it turned out he was an alcoholic. And nobody wanted him back in the colony! So... he kind of had to move! (laughs) You know? And he would tell us these little... tidbits, and we would sort of... so you started to... become aware, awaken... You had the awakening that life is not as simple as it seems.

And then when I went to university, my first year as an architecture student, a friend and I decided to do a vernacular architecture project, so we went to a little mission station. It was part of the Zendings [Missions] Church, in... you know from a German, pietistic, mission organization. They settled... umpteen years before that, built this little village in the mountains. And we went there on an Easter weekend, to study the architecture of this... vernacular architecture. People built their own houses from the material around them. And we pitched a little campsite. And when we woke up the next morning we were surrounded by coloured people camping all around us! And both of us, being little white boys, not used to this mix... peered out our little tent, and one of the guys shouted, "Breakfast's on, come over!" And, we just went over and sat down and had breakfast! And this guy started telling the story of how... the hard life he'd had, how he studied at Cape Town University, wanted to study law, halfway through his third year the government removed him and said he's not allowed to study law, he has to go to a black university and study something else. So he ended up, you know he was coloured middle class, he was a factory manager and stuff but he never was able to fulfill his dream of becoming a lawyer. So I started hearing these stories, and my conscious... realization started you know, first year university. And then we were throwing rocks, and demonstrating, and... carrying on... and uh... this was at Cape Town University.

So, at the university I became very aware of what was going on. The student population was protesting and... doing subversive things. And I became aware of the

Christian Institute, which was started by Beyers Naudé,[8] he was... a famous church leader who started opposing apartheid. And at that stage it was just banned, by the government. Uh so, my connection with the Anglicans and the Presbyterians and so on... I discovered a church environment in which people were socially aware and umm... read the prophets in the Bible... Amos. And I got really angry as I saw the society reflecting itself in what Amos was speaking. So for me it was a sort of a spiritual awakening as well as a... a social awakening.

Marianne Cilliers:

I grew up in a home that was nominally Christian; and many many South Africans are nominal; meaning they might have been baptized in the church but they hardly ever went to church, and so I became a Christian through some evangelistic... veldtocht [Afrikaans, lit. fieldtrip]. In our church I was in the Sunday school, and I had a good friend at school who took me to one of these services, and there I became a Christian. So, for the longest time I was a very pietistic... methodist type of a Christian, saving souls and doing missionary work... Then I went to Potchefstroom University, which is a university very similar to the Free University of Amsterdam and to this place here. And there I got to know a Calvinistic understanding of the world, which was like a second conversion for me. That is when I understood, for the first time, what the Lordship of Jesus Christ meant. ...I think it was more miraculous than my conversion in the first place... it changed my whole life.

So in that sense, my experience is a bit different to most other South Africans... Most Afrikaans-speaking South Africans grow up in these solid Christian homes, and swallow apartheid because that was part of the life that they... I don't think that was ever the case for me; initially I didn't know any better, but later, because of my understanding of Calvinism and Reformational understanding of the world, I just knew that you had to be critical of the world in which you found yourself, and to be a prophetic witness. Now that understanding of what that entailed grew over the years, I didn't from the very beginning have the same convictions, but Potchefstroom University helped enormously in forming those ideas because uh, it was started by the Gereformeerde Kerk... I was a member of the NG Kerk, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk. But the Gereformeerde Kerk was the dominant group in Potchefstroom University, and a number of people who were critical of the government were from that church, from the Gereformeerde Kerk.[9] So you were surrounded by people critical of the political system.

Having grown up in a white household, for the longest time one did not notice

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[8] Beyers Naudé was a minister of one of the Dutch Reformed denominations in South Africa, called the Dutch Reformed Church in Afrika. As leader of the Christian Institute, he became an anti-apartheid activist in the 1960s. Writes Beinart: "The Christian Institute, formed in 1963, headed by the renegade Dutch Reformed Minister Beyers Naudé, together with the South African Council of Churches, provided a focus for Christian opposition" to apartheid (Beinart 2001:234; see also Goodwin and Schiff 1995).

[9] Marianne is speaking about two different Dutch Reformed denominations within the South African context (the Gereformeerde Kerk and the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk). As conveyed in the introduction, for the purposes of this thesis I consider these denomination under the singular heading 'Dutch Reformed.' However, Marianne's delineation here points toward the internal disagreements, conflicts and dialogues that clearly characterized the communal and political lives of these various Dutch Reformed denominations (Bax 1991).

there was anything wrong. And it's not because you didn't want to; nobody noticed there was anything wrong; that was the lifestyle, that there were whites and blacks; and blacks worked for whites; and that was just the way it was. When I went to Holland as a student, I started getting more and more a sense of... the Dutch indignation about apartheid. And I felt... called to defend and protect the country, you know? So for the longest time I tried to explain what was happening in the country, or what the country was like, from my own Afrikaans perspective.

I think it was only after I'd gone back -- I was in Holland for four years -- and when I went back and I started working at the university in '71, '72,.. I think even then, I was vaguely uncomfortable with what was happening... but not too much... You know, you would know things like... apartheid had four or five pillars, one of them is the Group Areas Act, and you would see people that needed to live in these black areas, but there was not adequate space available in the black areas. So you would have these endless stories of black people that you got to know, who would give anything just to have some sort of a place to live, but they couldn't, because there was no space. The Group Areas was proclaimed and there was the white city, and even though they became densely populated, there was no space for more housing...

You know, every now and again you'd have a coloured person or a black person in your service, either as a gardener, or in the kitchen or so, who would ask your help to try and get a house, if they could just get a house... And then if you started in any way involving yourself in that process, you... suddenly realized that there was a massive massive network of uh... laws... that made it just about impossible for a person to get a hold of a house... And I mean, that was just, if you were a Christian... that just made you seethe, with a sense of injustice, you know, towards these people... I think that was one thing, and the other was, of course you gradually realized that the salaries that these people were being paid and that you also paid yourself could never be adequate. But then it would be justified in all kinds of ways, and then you would buy the theoretical justification, you know... Like well, they have their political rights in their homeland, and once their homelands are economically developed, then - it - would... make it possible for them to be self-sufficient etcetera etcetera.

...I'm not quite sure exactly how these things started developing... I had a number of Canadian and Dutch friends who would come over from time to time, and that certainly made me more conscious and sensitive than I had been before... I was involved in a small group of people, Christian philosophy types, who really wanted to think through what the Christian philosophy that we'd learnt and had been taught would mean in a practical situation. And one of the first things that happened was, we met up with a group of English-speaking Calvinists, and amongst them were a number of black people, and I had at that point hardly ever socialized with blacks; I had... prayed for them, given money for missions work, done missions work with them and under them and over them, but they had never been socially part of my life. And then, at that specific meeting... we met at a place called Koinonia. This is a very important document [the Koinonia Declaration],[10] which was one of the earliest protest documents that was compiled. It

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[10] Goodwin and Schiff describe the Koinonia Declaration as follows: it was "a mildly dissident document issued in 1977 by an interdenominational group of young Calvinists including some Afrikaners from the

developed as such, we got together for a weekend at this place called Koinonia, and for the first time I met up with people who had been… very badly treated by the apartheid system; who'd been in jail without any process or trial; who'd been… abused by the Security Police, broken ribs, etcetera…

And, suddenly I realized that what I'd learnt from Kuyper[11] and Dooyeweerd[12] and Christian philosophy needed to find a way to the practical life, into the practical situation. And we started developing sort of a protest document, looking at the laws of the country in the light of our Christian philosophy. And then… we eventually wanted to publish this in a newspaper. And the day we intended to publish it, was going to be a Saturday, and then eventually we published it, the Sunday newspaper got a hold of it. And this was also a day that… two white South African economists were murdered… The Smith murders… And this murder's still not ever been resolved, it was a very strange sort of a happening. But this document went into the South African press, and, all hell broke loose, because we had… it was unthinkable that white Afrikaners would protest the government, and certainly not do it in conjunction with people, you know, of mixed race and of different backgrounds to ours…

Willem, Albert, and Marianne's stories have a common thread, even though their experiences in South Africa were significantly different. For each of them, the social injustices of apartheid led them to think about the Christian faith in ways that challenged the dominant Afrikaner Christianity that they had either grown up with or had adopted as their own earlier in life. Their narratives present us with a complex interweaving of a

university town of Potchefstroom. The Koinonia document stated, among other things, that banning interracial marriage under the Mixed Marriages Act was not supported by Scripture, that schooling for nonwhites was inadequate and inequitable, and that detention without trial was not being handled well.

People outside Afrikaner society looked at Koinonia as a mild statement that apartheid was basically sound but needed some adjustments because it sometimes was not correctly implemented. But in Afrikaner circles Koinonia roused such a scandal that one would have thought it was a Communist manifesto rather than the miragelike shimmerings of doubt among a few idealistic young people living in the straitlaced white university town in the western Transvaal" (Goodwin and Schiff 1995:217-218).

[11] Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) was a Dutch neo-Calvinist theologian and statesman. Following Naugle, "[a] noted journalist, politician, educator, and theologian with Mosaic vigour, he is especially remembered as the founder of the Free University of Amsterdam in 1880 and as the prime minister of the Netherlands from 1901 to 1905." Kuyper had a "powerful spiritual vision derived from the theology of the Protestant reformers (primarily Calvin) which centered upon the sovereignty of the biblical God over all aspects of reality, life, thought, and culture" (Naugle 2002:16).

[12] The Dutch Christian philosopher Herman Dooyeweerd was professor of jurisprudence at the Free University of Amsterdam from 1926 to 1965. Writes Naugle, "Dooyeweerd should probably be regarded as the most creative and influential philosopher among the neo-Calvinists in the twentieth century. Originally holding that the reformation of culture and scholarship must proceed on the basis of the Calvinist worldview, he continued and extended the Kuyperian tradition in an exhaustive way as the author of more than two hundred books and articles in the fields of law, political theory, and philosophy" (Naugle

colonially-established Christianity, a politically charged climate that increasingly

criticized this Christianity as a tool of oppression, and their personal quests to understand

the causes of apartheid's aggressions while finding fruitful ways to fight against those

aggressions. First, then, there is an Afrikaner habitus, and from a Christian perspective, a

Calvinist habitus (Bourdieu 1977) that influenced Willem and Albert from their

childhood on. At the same time, however, both Willem and Albert emphasized that their

parents, even early in life, taught them to respect black people, to treat their servants well,

to, in Willem's words, "not call them names like 'kaffir,' speaking to a black man or

speaking about him."

By the time they were in their late teens, both Albert and Willem were reading the

Bible and finding that the National Party's apartheid policies clearly contradicted what

the prophet Amos (in Albert's case), or the apostle Paul in the letter to the Ephesians (in

Willem's case) had written long ago. Following the NIV Study Bible, Amos prophesied

during the reign of King Uzziah over Judah (792-740 B.C.) and King Jeroboam II over

Israel (793-753 B.C.). The introduction to the book reads:

> Both kingdoms were enjoying great prosperity and had reached new political and
> military heights… It was also a time of idolatry, extravagant indulgence in
> luxurious living, immorality, corruption of judicial procedures and oppression of
> the poor. As a consequence, God would soon bring about the Assyrian captivity
> of the northern kingdom (722-721 B.C.). …Israel at the time was politically
> secure and spiritually smug…
>   The dominant theme [of the book of Amos] is clearly stated in 5:24, which
> calls for social justice as the indispensable expression of true piety (NIV Study
> Bible 1995:1337).

Clearly, Albert drew an analogy between the warning words of Amos the prophet to

Israel and the agenda and long-term results of the National Party's racist, oppressive

2002:25).

apartheid policies. As he explained, "I got *really* angry as I saw the society reflecting itself in what Amos was speaking."

In a similar, literal vein, Willem remembers reading the New Testament letter of the apostle Paul to the Ephesians, particularly chapters two and three. Paul's message in this letter, according to the NIV Study Bible introduction, is that 'Christians might expand their horizons,' "so that they might understand better the dimensions of God's eternal purpose and grace and come to appreciate the high goals God has for the church" (NIV Study Bible 1995:1791). These goals include: the reconciliation of individuals to God Himself, and the reconciliation of these saved individuals to each other (NIV Study Bible 1995:1791). Accordingly, Ephesians 3:6 states that the Christian "…mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are heirs together with Israel, members together of one body, and sharers together in the promise in Christ Jesus." As Willem exclaimed, "I couldn't believe that a whole church would… a federation, for decades, with very good solid theologians, especially in the past, could actually uphold such a view [of apartheid], in the light of what the Bible really teaches!"

Albert and Willem struggled with and drew on what they knew -- through their Afrikaner, Christian habitus -- to eventually conclude with a Biblically-based, Christian critique of apartheid. From their accounts, we learn that the Dutch Reformed Church, though officially linked to apartheid oppression, also produced other knowledges that at times countered apartheid ideology (Foucault 1980). Willem's conversion and Albert's spiritual awakening indicate that, through different experiences and at distinct stages in their lives, they became conscious of the multiple ways in which Calvinist Christianity had become intertwined with Afrikaner culture and nationalism. This hegemonic

combination, as a powerful influence on the lives of Afrikaner Christians, needed to be picked apart and separated out; it needed to be deconstructed; it presents an instance in the struggle against apartheid when certain Afrikaner Christians were 'detaching themselves from their traditional ideologies,' to paraphrase Gramsci (Gramsci 1971:276), by drawing a distinction between the Christian faith and Afrikanerness.

Marianne's narrative differs from Albert's and Willem's stories in several ways. Now in her sixties, Marianne has lived in different places across the world. Born in South Africa and having finished an undergraduate degree there, she lived in Holland for four years, doing graduate work in Amsterdam. Returning to South Africa to teach, she has since then spent several sabbaticals working overseas, both in Canada and in the United States. In 1994 she moved to southern Ontario, where she has lived ever since. She has been able to spend some time in South Africa almost every year since immigrating permanently to Canada.

Her story differs first of all because it does not quite fit the stereotypical image of 'the Afrikaner woman' described earlier in the chapter. Her academic, Christian Afrikaner woman's life has allowed her to develop her Christian and academic ideas and interests, especially the ways in which these two realms might positively overlap and affect one's political and social stance in everyday life. Her initiatives in different political and social situations contradict the image of Afrikaner women as "domestic" and "creatures of loyalty" to Afrikaner men (Seegers 1993:480; see also Moore 1988:79-80). The second way in which Marianne's narrative differs from Albert's and Willem's may be found in the conversion story itself. Having grown up in a household that was "nominally Christian," Marianne did not truly become conscious of her Afrikaans

identity, closely tied up as it was with her Calvinist worldview, until she first began to attend university. As she told me later in our interview:

> I did not grow up in a household where the notion of identity was important. Those were the years... 1956 to 1960 I was at university... and in 1960 the South African Republic came into existence, and we broke our ties with the British throne. So we became a Republic, and in that whole process I became enormously uh, conscious of identity... I wrote two dissertations, and the first one I wrote on the history of this movement in South Africa, which brought about the... sense of an Afrikaner identity...
> For the longest time, I identified Christian identity with Afrikaans identity. ...And it was a *major* uh... that's why it was also a conversion for me... a major breakthrough when I came to understand that there are more people in God's Kingdom than only white people with - with Afrikaans backgrounds.

Marianne's narrative illustrates her consciousness (because she draws the distinctions so strongly) of the fact that Afrikaner identity, Christian Afrikaner identity, and Christian identity are not the same things. This disjunction, her story emphasizes, cannot be discarded as unimportant or somehow neutral, especially not in light of the apartheid years and the social realities and continuing legacies that those years have generated in South Africa. As will be demonstrated below, Marianne's consciousness of the need to separate religion from culture and nationalism generated a political consciousness that ensured her continued involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle (Gramsci 1971:333).

Afrikaner Christians and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle

If, as I have demonstrated, several of my Afrikaner informants were aware of the damages inflicted by the apartheid system on the majority of the South African population, and if their Christian beliefs were an integral part of their becoming aware of this situation, then the next element to consider are some of the ways in which they personally tried to work against the dictates of the Afrikaner regime, by drawing on their

Christian beliefs. However, before I begin I want to emphasize again that the stories that follow are not meant to make light of or otherwise discredit the relationships that existed between the National Party, apartheid, and the Dutch Reformed Church. Rather, I am interested in the everyday experiences and actions of Afrikaners who grew up and were embedded in the social and religious life of the Dutch Reformed Church. Only one of my Afrikaner informant-couples chose to leave this denomination in South Africa, for anti-apartheid reasons. The majority stayed with the church even as it got increasingly enveloped in criticism. This reality could, and did, at times lead to difficult and ambiguous situations for Dutch Reformed Church members.

In what follows, I present four narrative segments in which Afrikaners spoke about some of the initiatives they undertook, and the reasons they undertook them, in order to work against the dominant hegemonic forces that promoted racist, segregationist, and oppressive ideas and practices (Gramsci 1971).

Andre Botes officiated at the wedding of the 'mixed couple' whose situation is described below. He married them in the late 1970s; as a white pastor he was legally allowed to do so under apartheid rules. However, here he described the myriad of laws that this couple -- and any 'mixed couple' -- faced during apartheid:

I was asked by somebody from my dad's church, who is an elder... he had a little mission outreach into a coloured community. And this coloured community happened to border a black community. So he asked me and I came the Sunday; I mean I came to deliver a little message at the church. And it so happened that they were getting ready for communion service the next week. When the pastor would come by. Who is a migrating... you know, a traveling guide, to cover the vast numbers, because they were the mission field. And it turned out that by default, I was to chair the elders' meeting. And then, well... I'm a student, dropping in to deliver... and then it turned out, they had to deal with this one disciplinary situation because this woman and this guy were living together, okay?

And then it turns out - according to the rules, they just don't have the way to get

196

married! What it was… one was black and one was coloured. And there were all kinds of rules and regulations. And the only way they could get married was to travel… I think it was about a hundred kilometres, to a specific… person who could actually perform the wedding! They didn't have money to travel! Okay? So they were dealing with all of those kinds of things and I'm looking at this and so now she can't have communion because you know, she's living in sin! So I said, "just explain this to me." You know, I knew about some of the petty apartheid rules. So it was something like this: If you're a white pastor… in this system, you can marry… whites; two whites. You're not allowed to marry any white, and any other colour. No way. That's illegal. That would be adultery, okay? That was the terminology. However, you can also marry two coloureds. …You can also marry two blacks. You can marry… a coloured, and a black. If you're white. Now if you happen to be a coloured pastor, you can not marry any whites. You cannot officiate at a wedding of whites. But you can marry two blacks; you can marry two coloureds, you can marry a coloured and a black. However, if you're a black pastor, you can only marry blacks. You cannot marry a black man, and a coloured woman. And there were all kind of rules, certain ones could marry a coloured man and a black woman, but not a coloured woman and a black man…

These rules are all gone now. But… I looked at this and so… the real issue was here you have two people who wanted to get married; had no means; because the laws made it impossible for them to get married and you're looking at this and now the church is saying "Well you know you're living in sin!" And we can't baptize -- part of it had to do with the baptism of the kids -- so the kid can't be baptized because this is an illegitimate child! And you look at that and I said, "This is absolutely ludicrous! This system cannot last." So those were some of the things.

Kees Louw related his efforts to work against apartheid-based practices in his church:

The first congregation where I came, we were called to in 1982. The minister before me, he was the leader of what they called the 'Afrikaans Report Rijers.' …This is a junior organization in South Africa; I think the next step from there was the Broederbond.[13] You see. So he was the president in the church there. And so when I came, they assumed that I would be following in his footsteps and I said "What about the boy scouts? …Can they also come to the church?" I mean, and have their meetings there. Because my view of the church is that we should not prefer one culture to another, in the church. The church is for everybody. The church is not there to promote a culture, you see. So they [the

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[13] The Broederbond (Afrikaans, lit. 'bond of brothers'), an Afrikaner secret organization, was very powerful during apartheid. Writes Beinart: "The Afrikaner Broederbond [was] formed in 1919 by a small group of largely urban exclusivists in the Transvaal… [It] expanded significantly, incorporating white-collar workers and professionals. More so than the Freemasons, widespread amongst English-speakers, the Broederbond was a secret organization restricted to carefully chosen white Protestant men. Its influence behind the scenes of Afrikanerdom was fully revealed only later. …[I]t became a font of Christian national, republican, and sometimes pro-Fascist tendencies. [Initially, the] Broederbond concentrated on winning influence in educational institutions, the bureaucracy, and white trade unions. It sought specifically to unite Afrikaners across class barriers and opposed political alliances with non-Afrikaner organizations" (Beinart 2001:120-121; see also Goodwin and Schiff 1995, Chapter 2, entitled 'A Conspiracy That Works').

Report Rijers] never met [in the church], because I was not one of them.

In 1991 I had a multicultural and trilingual mission week, in the church. And the whole church council agreed to it unanimously, that we should do it. So, the people that were against Christians who are from different races and different languages coming together, that was just one of the sixty-five council members. He was not happy about it. But… afterwards he came to me and personally said, he was wrong. You see, and so we had Zulu people there; we had East Indians; we had English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking… It was in Zulu, English and Afrikaans. Three languages. For a whole week, in the church. And the church was packed!

Selima Ghosheh, she was one of the speakers. That's a Muslim girl, she had become a Christian. She came to the Lord about twenty years ago now. She was one of the main speakers [at the mission week]. She came to the manse, and she lodged at the manse, where we lived. Across from the church. …Actually, as a matter of fact, I went to Durban, which is about two and a half hours' drive, to pick her up and to bring her to the mission week. And it was interesting; she had her sari, you know, their traditional… she had that on, and I picked her up. And in Pietermaritzburg, another city, we went to a restaurant. And she sat there and I, over here (motioning across the table)… as an East Indian, and a white male. And lo and behold, a policeman came in. And he was one of the young people in my catechism class, he had been one of my catechism students five years prior to that! And I introduced him to Selima; …and… nothing wrong, you know? I mean, I couldn't see anything on his face that would tell me, you know… "this is not right."

Marianne Cilliers continued to tell me about her efforts to protest apartheid oppression:

When the Koinonia document was published, from that moment on, somewhere in '76, the Security Police developed a great active interest in our activities, and in whatever I did, and I didn't do… and that lasted for a long time, about five, six years. That was hell, you know… in the beginning I didn't realize what it was, what was happening, because you were part of the establishment; and you don't think for one moment that as a Christian, what you're doing is in any way, you know… subversive!

Another incident was, I'd spoken at a meeting of women, and I'd spoken about… low wages for the people working in the kitchens, and on the farms, and that speech was picked up by the Security Police, -I didn't know this-, and a couple of weeks later when I [phoned the people] to get a hold of my speech, -it was before the days of computers, so it was a typed speech-, they said no, the… Security Police had picked up the speech. And then it wasn't long after that, that they started… just about watching every move…

You know what made it hard was, I was never in the African National Congress, I was far too scared to be involved in things like that. But I'd just done simple sorts of things that Christian people could do, and it was very hard in the beginning to realize that… they were not only picking up my mail… tapping my phone, watching my home, sometimes twenty-four hours a day; but wherever I was, there was always, sometimes even in the classroom, there would be kids with… uh, little things like this (points to the tape recorder), taping every word I said, because you know, then they'd give it to the Security Police also…

So I mean that was part of getting involved in realizing there was something wrong with the country… And there's something wrong with what I seem to be doing, but initially one didn't know what it was! And the hardest part for me was that I would speak to people… when it started happening I went to the president of the university and I said… "I'm - I think I'm going crazy, 'cause I see this guy in front of my house; I'm sure my phone is tapped; there's something going on here and I want you to, give me advice." And he said, "Go to the local police, and go and complain! That's the best thing you can do." And, that's what I did. And the policeman then said he would investigate; a week later he said to me… this was so… funny… he said, "You know, uh ma'am, my men say, uh, you know you professors, you learn - you know too much, you read too much, you must be a little strange because, they often see your lights still on at two and three in the morning…" I thought later, what the heck are they doing in front of my house at two and three in the morning, I mean, why would they know that, you know?! …So yeah, that was part of it, I'm not sure exactly how that went after that…

…I'm not sure that I… initially I was just furious, that anybody could think they had the right… you know, to watch my comings and goings; and moreover… I was never really scared… I was scared of the intimidation and what that did to my soul, you know… And for me it took the longest time, many years, before I was internally liberated; that it didn't bother me anymore. You know, that I could see this man sitting there… walk by… say hi… (waves her hand) …not worry about it. But they were months and months… That was… anguish, you know… "Why me? What am I doing," you know?! "I'm not doing anything, I'm not doing anything dangerous, I'm just teaching!"

Now later we discovered that the Security Police had people in… whoever they thought was influential in the country, and you didn't even have to be very bright to be influential, you know, they just assumed that you were a suspect; they would give the students in your courses a tape recorder, and then have them tape all your lectures. And then they would take them… and they would be analyzed. Now, when I discovered for the first time that other [professors] in the country were experiencing similar things, that comforted me, you know? I was telling one of my friends this once… and I was very upset about it and he said uh, that he came into his office one day and the secretary of the department said to him, the Security Police had been there, and she'd dropped off two of these tape recorders… in order for her to tape whatever letters she was being dictated by him; or whatever lectures would be given in his class. And he said to the secretary: "Take every word I say. And then, at the end just before they pick it up, you put your pen in it and you mess up the whole tape; and you give it to them." And then when I heard that this was happening to other people too, you know that was… a great comfort. We sort of laughed about it, "well that's funny," you know…

And then later I discovered my brother, who was at an English black university… now my brother's political convictions were totally the opposite of mine. I was critical of the government, and he was uh, typical South African, establishment person, perfectly comfortable, hated the Nationalists and their guts, but loved the world that they'd created, which was the world for white people, and privileged white people. And so, the Security Police had contacted him, and asked him to tape speeches of Indian professors with whom he was working, because they had ANC uh, sympathies. And… now when I heard these things I realized this was, you know, it was not just me individually that they

targeted; they target anybody that they think they can get a hold of, and that they could somehow damage their reputation or their credibility. …It took many many years before I was… internally liberated. But even now, you know I can feel… I can get enormously tense when I talk about it…

Johan and Evelien Boshoff related their church's efforts to worship with black people:

Johan: In 1978… even a little before the big explosion in '81, this anti-apartheid process in South Africa, the Church Board of that church, Sunnyside Dutch Reformed Church, decided that… stated publicly that it is to be an open church. Meaning that everyone is welcome to come and worship. And it was an all-white church before that. People were welcome, but they were not really welcomed… people could come and worship, but I think there was not this openness, to accept people, and to welcome them in, and to… integrate them into a community of faith. Yet we… boldly for that time, as a church board we decided that we want to be an open church; we want to be welcoming. And, unfortunately it did not work out that way though. Because our way of worship and the language barrier and the style was different; so later on we had services in English; and then… we could draw a little more people then, and it turned out to be a growing ministry. We invited them to the church. And… that did not work out.

Evelien: No, their culture is just too different.

JB: The African mind does not appreciate the church, and the pews and stuff.

EB: It's too… stiff, it's too…

JB: …it's just rigid, uh rigid.

EB: Yeah, they wanna move, and they wanna dance, they wanna clap their hands - that's how they have church and they wanna have the drums…

JB: So we moved it to the church hall. And they flocked to the church! And, why? It's not a Western kind of interior. It… the circular… the pews… I don't know what it was. But in this open space, no pews, you can move, you can move the chairs, they enjoyed it! And then we were blamed… People said, "A-ha! So they're not welcome in the church! In the sanctuary! You move them out to the Sunday school hall, because they're not welcome in the church itself." But no, it was a cultural thing! And still it was going strong, but people blamed us, for moving them out of the church! And it was purely to accommodate their needs! That's what they preferred!

EB: Oh it's so difficult!!

JB: But at least they appreciated it. And they could move about, if they sing, and that was a way of accommodating this ministry.

The memories of Andre, Kees, Marianne, and the Boshoffs indicate first of all that they were involved in a number of church and social activities that countered the apartheid ideology of the National Party and the segregationist dictates of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is significant that these were everyday activities, taken up by

Afrikaner women and men as they were ministering, teaching, or otherwise working in different settings. As referred to earlier in the chapter, it is useful to distinguish between popular religion and more official religious structures; between "religion as practiced" and "religion as prescribed" (Badone 1990a:22). However, as Badone has also argued concerning Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy in the European context:

> For nearly two thousand years [these two institutions] have served to convey, not without some reshaping, a particular cultural system and world view. Over the centuries their ability to integrate local models and symbols of "religion as practiced" into the larger structures of "religion as prescribed" has surely been a key to their coherence, durability, and power (Badone 1990a:22).

Badone's words direct us toward the dialectical interplay that exists in religious systems between prescribed and practiced religious observances, including the potential effects that tensions between the two may have on official religious decrees in the long run (and vice versa). Bax emphasized a related point, suggesting that scholars pay close attention to internal tensions and polarities within religious regimes (Bax 1991:11).

In light of these theoretical insights, it is necessary that the narratives presented above be considered not simply as practiced versus prescribed instances of religion, but as dialogues with Afrikaner Christianity, by way of which Afrikaners (en)countered both their own Afrikaner, Christian selves, and the officially sanctioned, racist dictates of the Dutch Reformed Church and the National Party. Andre and Marie Botes, Kees and Jantje Louw, and Johan and Evelien Boshoff (Andre, Kees and Johan were each ordained as ministers in the church) worked in Afrikaner Dutch Reformed settings, in places where they were familiar (in the sense of Bourdieu's habitus, both physically and psychologically [Bourdieu 1977]). However, to certain extents conscious of apartheid's oppressive policies, they also carried out what they felt was their Christian duty (Gramsci

1971). Accordingly, they welcomed nonwhite people into their churches and homes, offering opportunities to discuss the Bible and to worship together. They also actively participated in mission-oriented activities, which nevertheless took place under the wings of the Dutch Reformed Church. But, as Johan and Evelien once explained it, the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church officially opened its doors in 1986 with the *Church and Society* document (1986) was only made possible because "independently, congregations stood up to the church." Those who led and participated in the Synodical meetings of the Dutch Reformed Church "would not have accepted [the document] if there weren't things pushing towards that."

The initial contradictory consciousnesses and counter-hegemonic efforts of my Afrikaner Christian informants may be considered to have been, using Gramsci's term, 'spontaneous,' "in the sense that they [were] not the result of any systematic educational activity on the part of an already conscious leading group, but have been formed through everyday experience illuminated by 'common sense'" (Gramsci 1971:198-199). Before 1986, Dutch Reformed hegemony still officially prescribed and supported apartheid; but through the efforts of at least some of the church's conscientious local leaders and members, alternative practices (though 'spontaneous' at first) eventually led to changes in official hegemonies as well.

Clearly, Marianne's story stands out among the ones presented above, not only because of her role as a female professor at an Afrikaans university, but also because of her personal experience of persecution by the Security Police. As she reiterated several times during our conversation, "I did not know what I was doing wrong - I was just being a Christian, practicing what seemed right from a Christian perspective!" Marianne's

narrative, along with the three others considered above, reminds us that the Afrikaner National Party, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Christian faith never formed as straightforward an alliance as that which is sometimes so easily assumed. Though the hegemonies of the National Party and the Dutch Reformed Church drew on particular interpretations of the Bible and Christianity to suit their own segregationist agendas, those interpretations were never exclusive, or the only ones available. Certainly in the South African colonial setting, Calvinist Christianity joined hands with a political regime that harnessed great amounts of power that was exercised against people who were systematically excluded from full membership in the social, political, and economic institutions of the country. Yet at the same time, even when apartheid was still predominant, the religious power of Calvinist Christianity proved flexible, as Marianne's words indicate so acutely. In the South African setting (and, as will be demonstrated, in the migrant setting), the informants whose words I related above have become conscious, over time, that it is important to distinguish between their Afrikanerness and their Christian faith (Gramsci 1971:333). As Willem once put it to me, "There's nothing wrong with cultural identity, but... at what point does cultural identity become idolatry? *That's* the question, you see?"

Anger and Regret

The oppression of the apartheid regime has been the cause of no little confusion and pain, also for many Afrikaners, coupled as it was with the segregationist institutionalism of the Dutch Reformed Church and the legacy of an 'oppressive culture.' The following narrative segment by Willem Visser points toward some of the confusions,

regrets and difficulties that he has faced:

Willem: In light of what happened in the First and Second World War and Hitler... the [National Party] definitely implemented the wrong policy at the wrong time! ...And the fact that a small group of whites wanted to rule over such a vast country, with a great majority of blacks, it was a fatal error, they should have picked a smaller piece of country, with... a smaller percentage of... black people, over which to rule; and try to assimilate with those black people, because if you're so overwhelmed by a majority, in numbers... you're bound to get scared. So, the Afrikaners ought to be blamed themselves. Why did they try? To keep the whole cake for themselves! The whole cake. The big cake. They should have... they should have chosen a piece of it for themselves! And tell their black neighbours, "there is your part of the land; you can rule there and live there; we want this part of the land." And if black people are happy to live, with us and so on... but the very fact that they tried to rule and possess... that vast country... that was their downfall! If you... if you gain your life, if you win your life, you're gonna lose it, and if you lose your life you're gonna save it. The Biblical principle. And you see it wonderfully illustrated there. They wanted to gain it, everything; retain everything and they lost it...

You will probably come across the phenomenon today that all the Afrikaners are against apartheid and nobody was... guilty, or nobody was responsible for it. And that is very strange, because where are the people, where are the culprits today? ...And *we* were guilty as far as we kept silent. And that we *refused* to oppose our leaders, on every level of society; in the school, in church, in politics... The Afrikaner is a straight people, they follow their leaders. And that's how we were guilty. Also. Not in *actively* being uh, racist; we were never actively racist, although there were minor infringements... relatively speaking. In your attitudes sometimes, in fact, you would propagate wrong, yet... we just... toed the line, and went along with it...

The problem is, decisions have been made in the course of our country's history, that have been... unwise. If there had been regionally the right viewpoint, then we might have had a common manner, after two hundred, three hundred years! And the fact that we don't have a common language is an aggravating circumstance, keeping people apart. Because they don't understand each other. And the white South African government has been foolish, not to promote the learning of the black languages - the white kids learning the black languages in primary school. That is unforgivable. And, even today I don't know to what extent the white kids are learning the black languages! So now we are... adding one mistake to another one. Then at least, with the language barriers, you would expect that... people will learn each other's language in one country!

And church-wise! Since more or less the beginning of the century, and then later on it was institutionalized... blacks and whites wouldn't mingle in church; that was then later put into formal policy; first it was just a practice that developed; and later it was put into policy... around the thirties or the forties. And the Dutch Reformed policy... while the Dutch Reformed church had a wonderful mission drive, they did tremendous... a lot of good in mission work in South Africa, as far as the Sudan and Nigeria. Yet, they always conducted their mission work on the basis that, if a church starts among the brown people, the black people, these churches should be separate; so if they're converted, they

come to know the Lord, they don't come to our church; they go to their own; because…
that was understood to be the best both for them and for us. For them, it's best that they
worship separate, and for us, and of course there were the language differences, so that as
far as the black peoples are concerned you can understand that; because we worship in
different languages… but if you come closer to home, like with the coloured or the brown
people, we speak the same language. And that was probably a big mistake, because we
alienated them from us in that way.

When mission work really delivered fruit and there were people coming into the
Kingdom… it really enforced and reemphasized… almost absolute boundaries that were
put up between peoples. And behind those boundaries was of course the fear of a
minority being over-run and over-ruled, by a vast majority. Because, if you take the
Western person who comes from predominantly Calvinist, Protestant, Northern European
white person, coming to Africa and you put him next to the black man, who migrated
from Central Africa to southern Africa a few hundred years ago… you put them next to
each other, there is possibly not a greater difference in the world than between those two
people. …The differences between us and the Chinese or the Japanese or whatever, is
smaller. But there is a tremendous difference there too.

So, but the Gospel does take away a lot of those conflicting differences, and the
friction between people, because they have a common love for the Lord, and they have
the same moral basis, and so on. But that opportunity was never… used! And the
National Party's apartheid policy of '48 was actually a carbon copy of the Dutch
Reformed Church Mission Policy of 1935! Political leaders saw "Well, that's how they
do it," because they were all part of the same Afrikaner community, "Well, that is how
our brothers are doing it in the church… They can justify that people have their own
churches and that they worship separately… Well, why not do it in politics," ultimately,
you know? The thing is, it would have made sense, if people don't understand each
other's language! There should be worship services for them in their own language. But
the problem came in when they forced people to worship separately. So that a coloured
man, who is fluent in Afrikaans, couldn't worship with an Afrikaans congregation, fifty
years ago when there was no coloured congregation in that area. You see? And so, the
mistakes that were made… what is particularly inexplicable, is that they made these
mistakes after the Second World War! After the whole world opinion was so strong
against dividing on the basis of skin colour or culture or blood or whatever, that they just
persisted in these ways. That they couldn't have sat together and said "Well we must find
a different way to protect our own heritage," - and there's nothing wrong with that!
Nothing wrong with it! We're not… universalists or… egalitarians. People are different.
And there must be a way to protect it but without… making it absolute… and making
race the most important dividing factor.

Willem's words are indicative of the confusion and difficulties he has dealt with

in his mind, trying to figure out his own role and that of the church in a racist, colonial

history. To him, the fears of the white minority in the South African context explains

their historical defensiveness, and while there is "nothing wrong" with wanting to maintain one's cultural heritage, it was wrong of the church (though understandable on the basis of language) to enforce segregated worship. His words are deeply ambiguous, portraying the regrets and confusions that South Africa's conflicted history has generated, also in the lives of Afrikaners.

My conversations with Albert and Louisa Meyers revealed that such regrets and confusions could be taken to yet another level: to an angry rejection of all aspects of one's cultural/religious heritage. Consider the following three segments from our conversations about South Africa and their reasons for leaving the country:

Albert: In the eighties when we were there, Louisa worked for a government department, social research. And, at one point they called her in, and this was just the time when some of the central city areas started "going gray," so people started mixing and building… in different areas and the government would sort of turn a blind eye. Johannesburg - the central area of Johannesburg would have… sort of mixed race, sort of quality to it. And, they called her in and they said well, they have a new plan, to control this now. What they are gonna do is designate this, particular high-rise apartment building to be black; and the next one will be coloured; and the next one will be… will be white. She just looked at them and said, "…You're *crazy!*" You know? "You guys must be *crazy!*" That was… I mean this was late eighties, they were still thinking like that. …This is when Louisa and I looked at each other and said "We - we're moving," you know, "We can't stand this anymore, it's…" This was in the eighties.

When we left we were so at odds with everybody… in our families even… We would know something, would hear what happened in the black townships. So I'd know that these terrible things were happening but people just wouldn't believe it! So, you know, we got to the point of such frustration, and anger, uh, in ourselves, that uh… and also alienation, you know, feeling alienated from our own culture as it were. And we would have people over, we'd have black people over and white people over at the same time and the white people would… be downright rude to our black friends. And it got to the point, we just… "we just can't do it!"

So it was pretty uh… We often say, "It's like a bad divorce," you know, when you divorce a beautiful woman or a beautiful… handsome man, but you don't wanna go back there! (grins) You know…

[…]

Louisa: I think what shocks people when they move here [from South Africa], is that you will get a high school, and you will have outside, in the streets they will stand smoking. In South Africa, kids would hide behind the dumpster, but they would still be smoking!

But everything would be hidden;

Albert: They'd be smoking pot too!

LM: …here, they would be shocked if a high school has a daycare, there, the girl would just drop out of the school! So, umm, appearances… are extremely important and then to move to a country, where a little restaurant would not… look spectacular but would have great food. That's not a concept there, you know? Appearances. And that's why I think they find the school system so shocking because… the school system would not endorse appearances. Like there, kids go to school in uniforms… and your hair has to be such… your hair can't be loose, you have to tie it in little pigtails, and very… appearances. But behind the… oh, man! Even when I was in high school there would be all of this stuff going on, like all the kids knew where to get drugs… all of them would know - we lived in a very affluent part, so they would know if you get pregnant this is how you get abortions, all of that stuff. But it was so hidden, that the parents could… with joy, think about this wonderful, conservative… way, that they are living in! Because they just didn't… the *lying*, is *so* deep into the culture. We know a psychologist who moved here in 1976, and he did a research study on the difference between Afrikaans and English kids, where… Afrikaans kids tended to… lie… much more skillfully; because your whole life becomes a lie. You can never be honest with the future. You can never say what you feel! You… you learn how to keep up this veneer of self-containment, of… you know? So, you will see, we always say we've got psychological problems, when it comes to… Because we… we just find, even if you take the violence away. If you take the political problems away, we just find it to be a society that, we - just - do not want to live in. It's like, umm… way too competitive. Way too… without sympathy. Way too on outward appearances, way too chauvinistic. It's just… it - it - you know I think, the chickens have come to roost. And they've come to roost in a way that… no one expected. People thought the chickens would roost with like a bloodbath and this and that, but it came to roost in… in white people, being cruel, and dishonest, with their fellow white - I'm not even talking about the white being mean to black, or black to white! But *within* the [white] community you cannot trust people. You would be dying there.

[…]

Albert: Actually, segregation started with the church. In the 1850s.

Louisa: Yeah but that's not, I think, what people now… You know where the problem came, I think when they made all the changes in '94… I don't think the message really got through to people of how bad it was. We picked that up with the Truth Commission. That most people, if you were to ask them a question about the Truth Commission, they would be very… dismissive of it. But I think it's not like - I mean, we would listen… we knew some of the people on the Truth Commission personally. And we would listen to some of their reports and we would just be like, totally… mortified and shocked, and we would totally believe every word, because we knew it could be true! You know, I mean, even if someone would exaggerate, for someone else, the exact same thing would have been true. Right? You know what I'm saying, like? It could have - that's as bad, as it was!

AM: But things came out that we even thought were… I mean that were definitely true, but I mean uh… This guy came to Canada, a medical doctor, and he was on this program, and they designed special poisons to poison people so they wouldn't be…

LM: Umm, what they did was, they worked on a... thing, to calm... large... it was all about a nerve-gas, to calm large crowds.

AM: Large demonstrations.

LM: And that was being made, that was to... do something... find a way, to have birth control delivered to large groups of people without them knowing it. Like... in the water, it was something like that. You know? But your typical person, if you ask them about these things, they'll say, "No, it absolutely cannot be true." I think for a lot of people, because they were so... the media was so incredibly - there was such brainwashing going on in the school, in the churches, in everything! That, you take a population like that... how do you *turn*, you know, a population from thinking one way to thinking another way? I think, back in 93/94, it was maybe not sufficiently explained to people, or their story was not... You have to create a new mythology that is *understood* by people! And I don't think... I don't think -- at all! -- that people have been in sackcloth and ashes about it at all!

AM: In a sense you're saying you don't see much of a guilt theme...

LM: Remorse! I don't see the remorse.[14] (See Appendix 4 for some other ethnographic examples on the topic of 'rejecting Afrikaner culture,' from other conversations with Albert and Louisa.)

Each of the three narrative segments related above discusses a different issue. The first pertains to Albert and Louisa's reasons for wishing to emigrate from South Africa; in the second, Louisa provides a portrayal of the Afrikaner/white South African culture that they have consciously rejected; and the third segment considers the reception of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission findings among the white segment of South Africa's population. Both Albert and Louisa were raised in Afrikaner environments, though Albert's father was of British descent and Louisa's parents chose to leave the Dutch Reformed Church for the Presbyterian Church when she was fourteen years old. Albert himself left the Dutch Reformed Church when he was in his late teens; as he once explained, "For me the Dutch Reformed Church was a *sham!* It wasn't true spirituality," whereupon Louisa added, "You either love it or you don't! There's like no... People don't feel neutral about it easily, you know?"

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[14] The remorse about apartheid that, according to Louisa, white South Africans and especially Afrikaners

Albert and Louisa are now active members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Over time, however, they have come to reject not just the Dutch Reformed Church, which they saw as an oppressive institution even in South Africa, but the whole of white South African culture, and especially Afrikaner culture. Clearly, they do not consider the assumed boundaries between these different entities to be straightforward; rather, their narrative slips back and forth between 'white,' 'Afrikaner,' 'Afrikaner spirituality,' and 'Dutch Reformed Church.' The anger, confusion, and deeply ambivalent feelings they experienced led them to search for a positive opportunity to live, worship, and raise a family elsewhere – and for the freedom to express and analyze their disenchantment with their own Afrikaner Christian backgrounds. Albert and Louisa are Afrikaners who have rejected their Afrikaner habitus (Bourdieu 1977), and their words are powerful in this respect, as Bourdieu has also suggested. As he writes,

> [b]ecause any language that can command attention is an "authorized language," invested with the authority of a group, the things it designates are not simply expressed but also authorized and legitimated. This is true not only of establishment language but also of the heretical discourses...: they derive their power from their capacity to *objectify* unformulated experiences, to make them public - a step on the road to officialization and legitimation... Heretical power, the strength of the sorcerer who wields a liberating potency... in offering the means of expressing experiences usually repressed, the strength of the prophet or political leader who mobilizes the group by announcing to them what they want to hear, rests on the dialectical relationship between authorized, authorizing language and the group which authorizes it and acts on its authority (Bourdieu 1977:170-171).

Bourdieu's notion of the habitus is helpful in illustrating the enduring strengths of the conditioning power of different social environments in people's lives. Certainly such conditioning hegemonic powers can be all-encompassing at specific points in time;

should be dealing with.

nevertheless, as I have demonstrated, they are not necessarily constant or lasting. Indeed, any habitus has the capacity to change, if there are words and people and communities who support that certain new or outside dispositions be considered, developed, or questioned (as the above quotation from Bourdieu indicates). This leads us in turn to Foucault, who suggested that the productiveness of power and domination be investigated within the social settings in which people work, worship, and live (Foucault 1980:59, 96, 102). Rather than simply investigating "the laws," Foucault argued for an examination of "the whole complex of apparatuses, institutions and regulations responsible for their application" (Foucault 1980:95). Indeed, it is through informants' awareness of the workings of such apparatuses, institutions and regulations in apartheid South Africa that they learned to challenge apartheid.

However, Gramsci developed most clearly the notion of consciousness as an experience that leads people to "a higher level of one's own conception of reality" (Gramsci 1971:333). With respect to South Africa, the Afrikaners whose stories and memories I have considered in this section learned to distinguish, albeit often ambiguously, between Afrikanerness, Afrikaner Christianity, and practical Christian efforts to help alleviate some of the suffering that took place around them. Learning to draw this distinction consciously was and remains a unique process for each Afrikaner whom I interviewed, balancing between what may be termed defensively told efforts and a complete rejection of an 'Afrikaner culture of lies.'

Afrikaners' Religious Experiences in Canada

The majority of my Afrikaner informants knew each other, or at least they knew

of each other. And while it was difficult to gauge their current relationships with each other (they all came at different times, and had moved in different directions since immigrating), it was nevertheless the case that, after the 'first' couple had arrived, others still in South Africa drew on that initial contact and on couples who had subsequently arrived, in order to secure a place for themselves in Canada.

That 'first' couple was Andre and Marie Botes, who came to Canada in January of 1980 with three young children, including a six-week-old baby. Andre had been admitted as pastor in a Presbyterian congregation in a small town in central Ontario, having been qualified for the ministry in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Through Andre and Marie's help, Albert and Louisa Meyers came to Canada in the late 1980s, where Albert took on pastoral work in a rural Presbyterian congregation. In 1994 Kees and Jantje Louw arrived, also having come from the Dutch Reformed Church and having found a job in the Presbyterian Church. Johan and Evelien Boshoff only arrived in 2000, making the switch from pastoral work in the South African Dutch Reformed Church to similar work in the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Each of the above couples thus made a denominational switch from the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa to the Presbyterian Church in Canada, though Albert had already made this choice in South Africa. Marianne Cilliers arrived in 1994; she teaches at a university in southern Ontario, and has joined a Dutch Reformed Church in the area. Finally Willem, who is also a pastor, received a call from one of Canada's Dutch Reformed denominations (established by Dutch immigrants), whereupon he, his wife Tanya, and their three sons immigrated to Canada in 2001.

Aside from these informants, there are many more Afrikaners -- and British South

Africans -- who have made the move to southern Ontario in the course of the last two decades. Yet it also became increasingly clear during the research that Afrikaners and other white South Africans have not established ethnic communities in Canada, as some other immigrant groups have tended to do. Instead, they seem to settle in different urban settings and towns, where they attempt to integrate themselves into Canadian society by way of different venues, such as Canadian church communities, jobs, or other social activities. In this vein, though most of the Afrikaner migrants whose narratives I examine in this chapter know each other and relied on each other upon arrival in Canada (Brettell 2000:104), it would be untrue to characterize their contacts as those of 'a community.' Indeed, many informants told me that 'they are Canadian now,' and that they did not particularly desire to associate with other South Africans. Some ventured that this might be a result of South Africa's conflicted history, where clashes and disagreements between Afrikaners themselves and other South Africans are carried over into the Canadian context. This is one possible explanation of several white South African immigrants' eagerness to 'be Canadian.'

In this fourth section of the chapter, I examine some of the data that I gathered concerning Afrikaners' religious experiences and observances in southern Ontario. I begin with two excerpts from interviews that I conducted with Kees and Jantje Louw. Consider here their understanding of why they came to Canada, including Jantje's view on the issue, as well as Kees's current conception of his role in the Presbyterian Church and his wider Christian worldview:

Mieke: What were your motivations, for leaving South Africa?
Kees: I can't… say there was a very specific reason, there was just this… heart-felt conviction. You know, that perhaps one day we can go there. But Jantje initially of

course, she didn't want to hear about it.

Jantje: Well, maybe I can just add something here because you know what, like everybody knows, I said, "Why Canada, it's so cold!" You know? But then I felt, if the Lord wants him to do ministry in Canada… I'm his wife, uh to a husband that's in the ministry I wanted to support him. So I said to him, "if the Lord is calling you there, I'll be… there for you and I'll support you, to go to Canada to do ministry."

KL: Now something that I have to add is that… I heard that the Roman Catholic Church is actually the predominant church in Canada. But, I really love the Roman Catholics, in the sense that… you know, I would like to bring the Gospel to those that don't know the Lord. So… I used to contact nuns, you know? If I see them, I would go up to them… even a priest, you know? And I would start a conversation. And something that I've heard, is that… that is just something that I read, it's just interesting. That [Pierre] Trudeau was surrounded by Jesuit priests. Not in their clerical gowns, but just in ordinary business gear. And that was one of my motivations, I guess. You know, to spread the Gospel, in a country also that is very secular. A secular society. I felt, you know, that that was just my point of interest, you know. In how the Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic Church… functions in Canada. Also with the separate schools, you know? But basically, when I finally decided to come, it was to bring the Gospel, to do ministry in a secular society. And so we came to St. Peter… a very small church with at that time a hundred and fifty members. I actually expected that… 'I'm coming to a very small church.' And that's a secular uh… so that was my basic motivation.

JL: St. Peter is a Presbyterian church; we came from a Dutch Reformed church; but uh… that's the door that opened for us in Canada. It was St. Peter Presbyterian Church. And we felt, "Well, this is the Lord's calling," because everything just was really working so well. And then, you know, when we got the call we just felt everything was just really… God's call; God opening the way for us to do ministry in Canada.

KL: Yeah, and another… sub-reason is because the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, at that time and now, had an over-supply of ministers. There are so many ministers and quite a number of them, at that time even… perhaps I should not say quite a number of them but… ministers at that time had already accepted calls to other countries, like Holland and Australia. You see? And some had already come to Canada. Especially in the Dutch Reformed Church.

[…]

Kees: I am in the Presbyterian Church… I don't like the word, 'conservative,' I would rather use the word, 'Biblical.' We stick to the Bible. We're still doing what the Bible says. …I still believe the Bible, and you know, in the Presbyterian Church we have the Renewal Fellowship. And I'm part of that Renewal Fellowship. And it doesn't matter what the Presbyterian Church does, we stay in the Presbyterian Church. In the United Church, they have also a Renewal Fellowship. And the Christians there, they say, "We didn't leave the church! These liberal people, they leave, they left the church! Why should we leave the church? We stay in the United Church. If they changed what the Bible teaches, it's their problem. But we still believe what the Bible teaches." Anglican Church - the same. And we, as three Renewal Fellowship groups, [oversee the churches.] We have a conference every year. And you are free to join, or not to join. It's an official movement in the church. We want to bring the people back to the Bible.

Sin is not just something that I consciously do; sin is like a parasite, sin has infiltrated the whole human race and the whole nature. And people have become victims, we are all victims of sin. But we cannot come to the point where we say "Okay, that's okay. Let's allow this." You see? Now they are running into the problem of, if you have same-sex marriages, what about… pedophiles? Because in America, there are professors who say that it's okay to be a pedophile. But a pedophile must… have his rights; why don't you allow a marriage, uh, a grownup man, with a little boy? ¡You see, it's absurd! You cannot go that way! You know in the time of the Roman Empire, when the New Testament Church started out. You know, they couldn't change how… the people in the Roman Empire did things in those days! You know, I cannot… if they want to live together, as long as they don't call it a marriage! Because then… that's not what the Bible teaches.

I… I'm not a prophet but I think each one of us, as a Christian, we have the Spirit of Prophecy in us, you know? Something that you say may… or may not come true, but we have the insight of the Bible. But as far as… North America is concerned, especially Canada. We are living in the Great Apostasy. Where Christianity is becoming the black sheep, you know? And it's very unpopular, to talk about Christ, you see? And all these other things are… becoming legitimate. What the Bible prohibits. And the whole thing of tolerance and all that. And we don't know, down the road maybe ten, twenty years, we may experience persecution yet.

Kees provides two main reasons for coming to Canada: first, because he felt called to minister to Roman Catholics; and second, because he felt that Canada was a secular society, in need of Christian ministering.[15] Like most of my other Afrikaner informants, as well as the British South Africans with whom I spoke, Kees and Jantje emphasized that they 'did not leave South Africa because of the political situation.' Instead they felt called; they got the opportunity to serve in the Presbyterian Church; and there indeed seems to have been (and still is) an oversupply of *dominees* (pastors) in the South African Dutch Reformed Church.

Jantje's defense of her initial hesitations at the idea of immigrating to Canada is

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[15] Kees's explanation is reminiscent of Wayne Fife's argument that "a spiritual journey can be created through… a geographical journey" (Fife 2004:253). Fife's point may be fruitfully linked to some Afrikaner informants' explanations that they left South Africa in recent years because they 'felt called to minister in the secular (or Roman Catholic) world.' Clearly, the geographical journey of international migration -- the result of a host of factors, including social, political and economic changes in South Africa -- is imagined, understood and justified as a spiritual journey, thereby providing a 'sensible' link between the reasons for

significant from a gendered perspective, because it both supports and contradicts Seegers' assertion that Afrikaner women "are creatures of loyalty, who will not confront husbands publicly" (Seegers 1993:480). Certainly (and this counts for most of my conversations with Afrikaner informants who were married couples) Kees spoke the most during our interviews, while Jantje listened, providing drinks and cookies at the same time. Nevertheless, Jantje listened closely, and if she had something to add she would interrupt her husband's deliberations to make a point of her own. And yet the point she made in the above narrative underscored her role as 'supporter of her husband' and 'minister's wife.' This ethnographic example illustrates that gendered relations among Afrikaner women and men need to be examined in detail, in order that the complexity of these gendered relations may be understood and acknowledged.

The second part of the above text was narrated exclusively by Kees. Now an active minister in one of southern Ontario's Presbyterian churches, Kees explains how he deals with the 'liberal theological views' that have impacted his adopted denomination in recent years. Rather than splitting in two (one a conservative, the other a liberal faction), Kees relates how he is a member of the Renewal Fellowship within his church, which consists of a group of pastors who wish to 'bring the people back to the Bible.' Kees's view on this situation becomes more apparent when we consider it in light of his words about the all-encompassing power of sin, the 'threat' of same-sex marriage in Canada's secular society, and the 'Spirit of Prophecy' that Christians have received. Clearly, the Calvinist Christian habitus that Kees grew up with and practiced in South Africa continues to affect and influence his current ministry and wider worldview in the

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international migration and the migration experience itself.

Canadian migrant context (Bourdieu 1977).

A second consideration of religious experience in the migrant context comes from Johan and Evelien Boshoff, who arrived in Canada in 2000. Initially, Johan ministered in a small, rural Presbyterian congregation, away from the region known as the Golden Horseshoe. Three years later, the Boshoffs moved closer to Hamilton, where Johan is now serving in another Presbyterian community. The Boshoffs' experiences have been positive, both from the perspective of Johan's work and from the wider perspective of their migration to Canada. Below follow their explanations with regard to leaving South Africa, how they ended up in the Presbyterian Church, and some of their experiences in this denomination:

Johan: Why we did come, it's a lot of things... I was serving in the same vocation for sixteen, seventeen years as a pastor. I was like the chairperson of everything; initiated a lot of stuff on the grassroots level and build it up; so it was a time to move on; and yet considering being in a downtown area, and security, personal security... incidences that would happen, had happened, umm... creating a future for my children, and I was really also very mindful of my children's education. I mean Marieke, she's twenty already! So even the next generation! And, so these things were mainly... and above all the call of God. I think that was really... in the end, I could just walk away from it, with peace in my heart... mostly because of how we tried to be part of the answer in that situation. So we worked so hard, and we were just part of the answer. So it was not a going away from South Africa, instead of moving on, to another situation.
Evelien: But I think we also were emotionally... and physically, we worked so...
JB: We were just exhausted.
EB: Yeah. We just needed to, like... In the church we were, we just couldn't go on like that... (to Johan) You were pretty drained...
JB: I think we experienced the future; being like, heavy downtown; so... what was to take place two years down the line in the outer circles with...
EB: It had even started there.
JB: ...we were like in the laboratory; and that was good and I loved it; but we were just exhausted, and I was in senior positions... What also influenced us, I was involved with missions on the Indian Ocean islands. So I would mobilize people for missions. And then, the opportunity came for us, and being a mobilizer of people, I realized that maybe, I'm part of that process! Now it's my turn to move on! So I was exposed to people moving out for missions. And in effect I was encouraging that. So it was part of my... our mindset, really.

I'm a happy Presbyterian now! My family way back were more Lutheran; and German; but the Dutch Reformed was like the Afrikaans-speaking church that people would go to. And I grew up Afrikaans. And I was ordained in the church, and I got the call to this inner-city, downtown church. And I served there for seventeen years.

And because of the story of the Dutch Reformed Church, that was one of the problems why I couldn't get into any Dutch church [in Holland] really. They were kind of… [and] also in Canada, the CRC [Christian Reformed Church] was kind of more willing to talk to me, but at that stage, when I started, they would… [but] the Gereformeerde Kerk, "Oh, no way." And they said that they will ask the black churches, so-called, about me; and then consider if they will accept me. And I said "No. Talk to me! I have a good standing! Because of my involvement." So I knew that they would definitely give a positive report. But I didn't feel that that was an ethical way of dealing with it. So, the Presbyterian church - in South Africa they call the Presbyterian Church the 'English-Speaking Dutch Reformed Church.' Because confessionally they are similar… the Heidelberg Catechism, the Westminster Confession, and also the Belgic Confession, and stuff like that. So those huge confessionals we at least share and identify with; and then I was accepted in the Presbyterian church. And, also because of my life story, and I find that it's a different work ethic; it's not the Dutch ethic; it is more like a British ethic; and I think the persona of the minister… it's not, "Here we have a job description and you have to do these things, it's this and blablablablabla." Instead they said, "You come and you be who you are, for us. We accept you as God's gift to us. With your gifts as a person." And I felt that again, being that exhausted, this was really a very liberating move to make. And theologically I didn't… in my own church I haven't really shifted theologically, anything. They were accommodating to me.

[…]

Johan: Coming from South Africa, it amazes us; there is a shared culture, like a… Canadian thing. Nobody knows what it is, to be Canadian really; but in South Africa, in certain areas… colour of skin, and culture… the one is an indication of the other, you know? So if you are a black man in that kind of a certain area, one could expect of you to act that way and to speak that way and to behave in such and such a way, or… deal with issues in a certain way. But here, it is a shared culture. Irrespective of your nationality, basically! People behave in a certain way when you go to the movies. Or, to a wedding. So colour of skin is not necessarily an indication of your background or your culture. It's one of the skills of blending into this beautiful Canadian story.

Maybe I told you about it? About the Guyanese funeral that I officiated at? And it was wonderful! A member from our church! At Grace Church, and he died, and then, my goodness! The funeral home was packed! And outside of the funeral home, and then the hallways… we had these Guyanese people and it was wonderful! And they sang the way they do, and the women kind of… you know, were swinging… And what happened through my sermon, I was like this African minister! Because… and it was deep down there! And it just… it popped out, and my sentences were shorter, and I was using more like, images, like… the wind, and… like that… Oh, wow! And I was kind of surprised… you know the experience kind of surprised me! That one could do that; knowing, slip into that mode! And our church choir from Grace, they were out at the funeral as well. So afterwards they said, "Well! That was interesting!" (starts to laugh)

They love to respond, for instance. You know? You end your sentence with a… "hm-m, hey-heyyy!" You know? They like that! …Involved! Just - "He-e, hmm…" Humming, and uh… So that's… that was beautiful!

Johan and Evelien, in explaining their reasons for coming to Canada, provide a number of reflexive insights. In the first instance, they emphasize that they felt tired, exhausted; and moreover, they "tried to be part of the answer in that situation" (in the dismantling of apartheid and the post-apartheid efforts to 'build a democratic society' in South Africa). But their reasons for coming to Canada were also the result of the Presbyterian Church's openness to accept them into their denomination (as some other Afrikaner informants also explained). Johan's words demonstrate that the negative legacy of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa does impact certain Afrikaner Christians' ability to emigrate from South Africa, should they wish to do so. Since Evelien was born in Holland, and having lived there until adolescence, the possibility of emigrating to Holland may have been the Boshoffs' first intention. But because Johan "couldn't get into any Dutch church really," the Boshoffs ended up in Canada eventually.

Johan, Evelien and their three children all say that they are happy to be in Canada. Johan loves his work in the Presbyterian Church; he loves the fact that his congregation includes people from different backgrounds, including black people, Chinese people, Koreans, an Indian couple, and an Indian woman who plays the organ. There is much less tension about 'race issues' in the Canadian setting, he asserts; indeed, there is something about the Canadian culture that is shared, and this shared-ness, he feels, is an integral part of the Christian setting in which he now labours. It is in this light that his memory of officiating at the Guyanese funeral should be read: in opposition to the tense atmosphere that surrounded much of his work in the South African Dutch Reformed

setting, where he could never have 'become an African minister.'

My final ethnographic excerpt in this chapter comes from one of the conversations I had with Willem and Tanya Visser. As mentioned earlier, their door to Canada opened by way of a call from one of Canada's Dutch Reformed denominations. As recent arrivals who, at the time of fieldwork, had not yet made a return trip to South Africa, they spoke about their migrant experience as follows:

Mieke: How has your experience been in Canada, so far?

Tanya: …We were in the church, and we were welcomed really warmly, and we've always felt very welcome in our congregation. I think that's made a big difference. I think it will be very hard for someone to come here, to know no one, and then to have to try and find out where… they belong. We immediately felt that we were taken up into the church community. But there are things here that I think there are not in South Africa, I mean, things are very organized and we find our lives very busy… which is good, because then it keeps you from, I suppose, feeling homesick! But it is sometimes quite overwhelming you know, rushing from the one thing to the next, and just…

Willem: If you move from a smaller city to a bigger city you're gonna be more busy. That is a fact of life, because there are just more contacts to keep; errands to run; everything. And because you move into a country, a society which is so much larger, it's so much more ministers, so much more churches [in the denomination]. On top of that you have to come to know your own congregation, and all these things amount to a very high tempo, you know, life's got a… high tempo here.

TV: To me this is my home now… although I still feel, my family's in South Africa. I know that through the church and through our bond in Christ we have family here that's not blood family, that I'm very much aware of too. But my family, my blood family and also my… family in Christ… that's because our parents, they're Christian, they believe in Christ and our friends there who believe the same, to me that's still my family. And that makes the separation hard, in that way I find it hard to… you know, my in-laws are here now but once they're gone, you feel that it's just… You just put it out of your mind, because you know it's not easy just to go there, it's not just, going over for a visit and having tea. So you sort of push it out of your mind; the thought of it; I realized that when they came here, and now you just put aside the thought of people, and of South Africa, because it's easier then to go on… But if you dwell too much on it, it's painful, I think… to me it is… And just… missing them, and certain things that you just remember - the country itself, being together… So you tend to push that aside.

WV: We sense even more so since we've come here that our real home is in Heaven, in the sense that… there is no-where place on earth where you can really find rest for your soul; there's always things that are not right, that bother you… that's why we are umm, pilgrims… en route to a Heavenly City. But… I think we have really become Canadians in the sense that we love the soil, love the people, and it would be difficult for us just to

219

go back and to become South Africans again. Although if the Lord would call me back for work in the ministry, I would definitely consider it, but just for living? No, this is our country now. We want to serve this country the best way we can.

TV: The fact that we know that this is God's earth, and, wherever you are, it's His! And you meet His people, and that makes the world small… to me it does. The world is not just South Africa or just Canada but wherever you are, if you surely love and know Him then that's… you know, you just think differently about it.

WV: We celebrate holidays with our family, eh? Our *Christian* family. I think that's a difference that your faith makes, especially specifically also the Reformed faith, that your strongest ties are with your brothers and sisters. It's not a cultural or a racial or a… historical tie, it's really in the Lord. And we don't have any great drive or need to go up in a South African sub-culture here…

In this narrative, Willem and Tanya's words are indicative of one likely way in which the migration experience may be gendered as well as religiously defined. While Willem is a full-time pastor, Tanya is a stay-at-home mom with three young sons. Tanya has thus spent most of her time at home since moving to Canada, looking after the house and her children, without a domestic worker to help her (see Chapter 3). Moreover, in the above text, she is the one who refers, however implicitly, to the feeling of homesickness and the experience of missing her blood family. However, at the same time the influence of the Christian habitus on her own interpretation is also evident (Bourdieu 1977): she actually knows that it doesn't (or shouldn't) *matter* that her blood family isn't in Canada; she has been duly blessed with the experience of 'family in Christ' in her new congregation (see also Moore 1988:38-41).

Finally, the Vissers' migration experience, as they described it to me, must be seen as a "spiritual journey" (following Fife 2004), part of their pilgrimage "en route to a Heavenly City." In his paper, Fife argues that the geographical journeys of British missionaries into New Guinea may be interpreted as a form of pilgrimage:

> …English missionaries could certainly have been said to be going forth in order to encounter the Other (something that can also be said of many people engaging in

journeys that are labeled as tourism). That statement, however, would not by itself completely describe what the missionaries were doing in New Guinea. The missionaries were there to convert a pagan Other into a new sort of Christian self. Along the way, missionaries hoped to transform their own former selves into new ones - evangelists who were closer to an imitation of the sacred acts of Jesus himself. Turning an old self into a new self and setting out to transform the Other is… [an] intricate form of pilgrimage… (Fife 2004:253).

Following Fife, missionaries are actively engaged in moving about in a geographical sense, not just to "encounter the Other" but also as pilgrims. From my conversation with the Vissers (and other Afrikaner migrants to Canada; see n.15), it is clear that some migrants interpret their journey(s) in a similar way as do missionaries: as, ultimately, pilgrimages in the service of God.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have engaged with the predominant ways in which Afrikaner religiosity has been depicted in academic literature. Characterizations of Afrikanerness like those presented by Patterson (1981[1957]), Crapanzano (1985) and Seegers (1993), while indicative of the Afrikaner Christian habitus or the female Afrikaner habitus (Bourdieu 1977), benefit from a reconsideration that allows for an appreciation of the complexities of informants' lives, including the distinctions they themselves delineated between their Afrikanerness and the Christian faith, already in South Africa.

My examination also draws on recent anthropological approaches to the study of religion that emphasize the dialectical relationships between religious and state formations and within religious belief systems themselves (Badone 1990a, Bax 1991). In this vein, I have demonstrated that the connections that existed between the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church and the apartheid system had become deeply ambiguous and

tense for some Afrikaners, years before this alliance officially collapsed. The stories presented above show, moreover, that informants were not always 'banally waiting' (Crapanzano 1985:43). Though the terror of the apartheid regime clearly did not escape Afrikaners (see Chapter 4), to depict them as being filled with "*dread, angst, guilt,* or *being overwhelmed,* all of which are components of the experience of waiting" (Crapanzano 1985:43), tends to dismiss their agency, including their active efforts to work against the apartheid grain in the familiar settings of their everyday lives. According to informants' memories, despite their subjectivities it was precisely their consciousness of agency, and their ability to distinguish between their Afrikanerness (including Afrikaner national history) and their Christian beliefs, that has allowed them to face and to counter their dominant positions in the apartheid regime. The Afrikaner immigrants whose stories I examined in this chapter laboured in a South Africa where, as Gramsci might have put it, "the old [was] dying and the new [could not yet] be born" (Gramsci 1971:276), with all the limits and obstructions that such times of transformation will always entail.

Finally, for the Afrikaner informants whose memories I examined in this chapter, it was their Christian habitus or the Christian hegemony to which they continued to adhere in South Africa and overseas, that has allowed them to settle in Canada and to labour in a variety of Christian settings. Their stories are thus also illustrative of the workings of transnational networks, in this case both migrant and Christian networks, that may combine to bring people from one end of the globe to the other (see Appadurai 1991, Brettell 2000, Ong 1999).

Part II: The Stories of Two British South African Migrant Women

Chapter Six: Introducing Life Story Analysis

In the second part of this thesis, I present and analyze segments of the life stories of two British South African women, both of whom are around forty years of age, and who have permanently settled in Canada with their husbands and children. Life story (alternatively known as life history)[1] analysis consists of one possible approach to the presentation of ethnographic fieldwork data. As a method of relating anthropological research findings, life story analysis is not new (see for example Lewis 1961, Mintz 1960). Though its merits have been debated over time (Mintz 1989), it provides anthropologists and others with an opportunity to supplement and illustrate their wider fieldwork findings by way of the memories and other personal accounts of some of their closest informants. In this vein, though the stories that follow are unique in their own way, they are also meant to reinforce the arguments made in earlier chapters.

In this brief chapter, I begin with a consideration of some of the debates that have emerged in anthropological and social science literature concerning representation in academic writing and in life story methodology. In addition, by drawing on specific approaches before I present the stories of Sandy Richardson and Jane Cameron, I aim to provide a guiding framework that serves to highlight several important aspects of their accounts. Thereafter, I relate and examine the life stories of Sandy (in Chapter Seven) and Jane (in Chapter Eight).

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[1] Following, among others, Cole (1991), I prefer to use the term life *stories* rather than life *histories*. As Cole has argued, "[t]he term *life stories* allows for and acknowledges the dimension of storytelling in the process, the playfulness of memory, and the brevity and selectivity of some subjects' accounts of their lives" (Cole 1991:154, n.2). Moreover, the notion of a life story rather than a life history serves to evoke the 'unfinished element' of life stories to a greater extent.

The Power of Representation

Life story analysis consists of methods of presenting research findings that focus on specific individuals' memories and experiences, especially those that occurred over long periods of time. In the first instance, it thus requires a well-established relationship between a researcher and an informant (Cole 1991:154, n.3). Any lived life is infinitely complex, and in order to come to even a partial understanding of it, one needs to spend a considerable amount of time with the person whose words are being recorded. To tell and to listen to a person's life story requires many hours of conversation, exchanging, discussing, and socializing, and even then it is inescapable that certain elements and experiences remain largely untouched.

In addition to time constraints and the general complexity involved in telling and coming to an (anthropological) understanding of another's life, it is also important to consider the nature of the relationship between researcher and informant. However comfortable that relationship may seem (or be) at the time of fieldwork, the fact remains that researcher and informant are differently positioned. There is, as has been considered in depth especially in the last twenty years, a power relationship at the heart of anthropological field research that (some argue) culminates in the 'finality' of the written accounts that anthropologists produce (see Marcus and Fischer 1986, and the edited volumes by Behar and Gordon 1995, Clifford and Marcus 1986). As Clifford has argued regarding the representational nature of anthropological writing,

> [t]he critique of colonialism in the postwar period -- an undermining of "The
> West's" ability to represent other societies -- has been reinforced by an important
> process of theorizing about the limits of representation itself... What is at stake,
> but not always recognized, is an ongoing critique of the West's most confident,
> characteristic discourses... New historical studies of hegemonic patterns of

thought (Marxist, Annaliste, Foucaultian) have in common with recent styles of textual criticism (semiotic, reader-response, post-structural) the conviction that what appears as "real" in history, the social sciences, the arts, even in common sense, is always analyzable as a restrictive and expressive set of social codes and conventions (Clifford 1986:10).

Clifford's critique focuses largely on the writing of ethnographic accounts, though power relations also play a defining role in the social work of fieldwork itself (see Ginsburg 1993, Stacey 1991). Interpretation of data begins in the field and continues throughout the research period. In the post-fieldwork period, the researcher withdraws to an academic setting with his or her gathered material, where the results of the fieldwork experience are shuffled, translated, reconfigured and constructed into 'academically presentable accounts.' This, then, is the ethical responsibility of the researcher: to *represent* those with whom he or she conducted fieldwork. As Clifford has pointed out, the ability to represent is as powerful as it is slippery and ambiguous (Clifford 1986:2, 11).

In her life history account of a Mexican peddler woman, Esperanza, Ruth Behar writes about the difficulties involved in representation as follows:

> Unlike all the other listeners of Esperanza's story, it was up to me, as the researcher with access to the resources of bookmaking, to transform her "spoken words into a commodity." In my multiple roles as priest, interviewer, collector, transcriber, translator, analyst, academic connoisseur, editor, and peddler of Esperanza's words on this side of the border, I have had to cut, cut, and cut away at our talk to make it fit between the covers of a book, and even more important, to make it recognizable *as a story*, a certain kind of story, a life history. Although Esperanza in her own life is an immensely talented storyteller, the text of her life certainly did not come readymade.
> Calling a life history a text is, in one sense, already a colonization of the act of storytelling (Behar 1993:12, quoting from Patai 1988:7).

The difficulties involved in representation are embedded within multiple layers of the researcher-informant relationship. In the above quotation, Behar refers to the powerful

process of 'cutting away' at transcripts and fieldnotes - a responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the anthropologist (also see Roseman 1991). But the act of representation is involved in yet more intricate complexities: the eventual dissemination of the account, including the possibility of writings becoming a "disposable commodity of information" in a world defined by unequal capital relations, and the question of publicity and reader response (see Behar 1993:13 and the volume edited by Brettell [1993]). Clearly, the anthropological process of collecting data, writing and publicizing accounts is characterized by potential pitfalls, some of which may be preventable, at least in part, and others that are beyond the control of the ethnographer.

One may wonder why I bring up the problem of anthropological representation at this point in my thesis, inserting it in my consideration of life story methodology, while I have been representing informants and their memories and experiences throughout the previous chapters. It seems to me that anthropological work on life stories brings the various problems and complexities around writing and representing to a culmination. Of course, representational matters and the pitfalls associated with writing ethnography are not limited to life story accounts; indeed, they are implied in all anthropological and social scientific analyses, as well as in genres such as literature and filmmaking (Roseman 1991). However, one of the main criticisms leveled against anthropological work on life stories consists of, in Mintz's words, "its alleged lack of objectivity, the result of working with an informant who [is] a friend" (Mintz 1989:788). As Mintz has pointed out, the idea of a 'lack of objectivity' (a criticism of Mintz's *Worker in the Cane* [1960] by Joseph Casagrande [1961]) "embodies a canon of effective fieldwork of that era" when 'objective research and conclusions' were deemed achievable through methodologies that

encouraged maintaining a certain distance between researcher and researched (Mintz 1989:786).

The possibility of achieving objectivity in ethnographic work has been challenged for several decades now - a process that has resulted in a search for alternative forms of representation. In the 1980s, these developments came to be seen as a crisis in anthropology, for they pointed towards the destabilization of "the institutionalized ways one large group of humanity has for millennia construed its world" (Clifford 1986:10). Consequently, several possibilities emerged by way of which anthropologists, whether writing from feminist, 'halfie' (Abu-Lughod 1991), or other critical perspectives, tried to invent alternative forms of writing and representation. Marcus and Fischer termed these approaches 'experimental ethnographies,' listing life history as one "improvable" method to the problem of writing and representation (Marcus and Fischer 1986:57-59).

However, alternative (or perhaps liberating) forms of representation do not just present themselves to scholars the moment that old forms are criticized or abandoned; indeed, it must be remembered that attempts remain grounded (physically, discursively and economically) in the academics of wealthy industrialized countries (see the above quotations by Behar 1993 and Clifford 1986). Moreover, as Cole has pointed out, twenty years after Casagrande's initial (1961) criticism of Mintz's *Worker in the Cane* (in 1981), Langness and Frank still lamented that life story methodology had been relatively "poorly developed and utilized" (see Cole 1991:155, n.4; Langness and Frank 1981:29). Despite these difficulties, which are deeply embedded in anthropology's history and in the crisis that the discipline has faced since the 1980s (especially in North America), scholars have increasingly begun to explore the possibilities of presenting research findings by way of

life story accounts.

Along with other scholars who have worked on the life stories of their informants, I suggest that the life story approach may be most fruitfully engaged when it is strongly embedded in a wider ethnographic setting. Certainly the process of deconstructing early anthropological methods through the crisis of representation, and the awareness on the part of anthropologists of the power inherent in their cutting, pasting and selling, have led to a tension between the anthropologist's power to portray and the need to continue the ('classic,' 'holistic') project of examining a host of social, cultural and economic processes in communal settings. An understanding of anthropology's groundedness in Western discourse should lead to an active engagement *with* this tension, by drawing on a variety of inventive representational tactics, including the life story approach. In the next subsection, I consider the ways in which life story methodology may be used as a revelatory tool in the process of describing and analyzing a wider ethnographic setting.

The Power of the Life Story Approach

The power of the life story approach lies in its ability to illustrate and highlight several themes and concepts that have emerged out of one's fieldwork situation. In this vein, focusing on one individual's embeddedness in a wider social and economic context over time has allowed anthropologists and other scholars to examine individual experiences of labour and capitalism, political transitions, gender, racism, religion, and the operation of memory (e.g. see Baker 1998, Behar 1993, Brettell 1982, Brown 1991, Cole 1991, Gluck and Patai 1991, Crapanzano 1980, Cruikshank 1998, Geiger 1986, Langness and Frank 1981, Maloof 1999, Mangini 1995, Mintz 1960, Narayan 1989,

Passerini 1987 and 1996, Patai 1988, Roseman 2003b, Shostak 1981 and Watson and Watson-Franke 1985 for examples).[2] Such themes and concepts overlap in significant ways in the lives of all informants, but it is clear that this process of overlapping, of joining and diverging, varies greatly from one person to another. Since the nature of this process differs from fieldsite to fieldsite, it needs to be investigated and analyzed by researchers within their own fieldwork settings.

The life stories related in chapters seven and eight point towards certain themes and experiences that have played significant roles in Sandy and Jane's lives as British South African women who have immigrated to southern Ontario. In the first instance, their accounts bring to the fore the importance of gender in anthropological research and life story approaches. As Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson have pointed out, "every account from a female voice is potentially dissonant to existing histories" (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:12-13). From a feminist oral history perspective that focuses on memory and gender, they argue that

> ...memories *are* gendered, and that the gendering of memory makes a strong impact on the shaping of social spaces and expressive forms. It also appears that the horizons of memory move from one generation to the next, at least in periods of rapid cultural transformation, so that the expressions suggested and forged by gender in one period can become less differentiated or cease to be distinctive in gender terms in a later era. Above all, we would argue that in order to understand how memory becomes gendered we need to take detours through the realms of

[2] In addition to the life story approach in anthropology, the concept of *autoethnography* has also received increased attention in the field. Autoethnography differs from the life story approach (though the two do overlap) in that in autoethnography, the person whose story is related usually has greater input in the production of the text itself. Following Reed-Danahay, the concept of autoethnography "synthesizes both a postmodern ethnography, in which the realist conventions and objective observer position of standard ethnography have been called into question, and a postmodern autobiography, in which the notion of the coherent, individual self has been similarly called into question. The term has a double sense - referring either to the ethnography of one's own group or to autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest" (Reed-Danahay 1997:2). For an example of an autoethnography, see Herzfeld's *Portrait of a Greek Imagination: An Ethnographic Biography of Andreas Nenedakis* (1997b). See also the volume edited by Reed-Danahay, entitled *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* (1997).

gendered experience and gendered language (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:14).

In this passage, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson make several significant points about gender and gendered experiences. They assert that the working of memory, of remembering, of recalling the past constitutes a gendered process; an understanding that derives from the contributions of both feminism and oral history (see also Mangini 1995:58). Both realms "came very quickly to recognize personal feeling as an important focus of investigation, and to emphasize the significance of everyday patterns of behaviour and experience" (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:5). Moreover, both challenged "the traditional 'objectivity' of social science" (which had been largely male-centered), focusing instead on the usefulness and "ethical imperatives of empathy" (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:5). Feminism and oral history have also highlighted the power imbalance that characterizes all interview situations (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:5). Remembering one's life, or telling the story of one's life, is clearly a gendered activity, as will become apparent in Jane and Sandy's narratives.

A second important point in the above passage concerns the observation that the operation of memory is a fluctuating activity; it may not be similarly significant from one generation to the next, "at least" or perhaps especially "in periods of rapid cultural transformation," which is what South Africa has undergone in the last decades. This issue is illustrated in the stories of Sandy and Jane, in their awareness of the injustices of apartheid as young adults, and in their migration stories, which cannot be comprehended without an analysis of their experiences in South Africa. Passerini, in her *Autobiography*

of a Generation, has collected and woven together people's narratives of post-World War

II Italy, "a country divided by twenty years of Fascism and by a civil war that cut across

families, leaving deep furrows. The civil war continued in a cold war pitting Socialists

against Communists against Catholics, right against left…" (Passerini 1996:22).

Passerini's social history work is significant, because it points towards the generational

nature of memory, which is something that my informants must also come to terms with

in light of their experiences in South Africa. Following Passerini:

> Memory has recorded the repercussions: the suffering due to inequalities,
> frustrations endured or witnessed. But not only that. For memory speaks from
> today. It speaks from the point of view of a constructed identity, a political
> identity in the old sense of the term: a citizenship conferred and not easily
> canceled; a shared identity, participation in the creation of one's own life and in
> the invention of a culture.
>   It is this identity that tries to create for itself a memory and that must
> reinterpret the past (Passerini 1996:23).

It will become clear that Passerini's lucid description pertains to Sandy and Jane's

accounts as well. Their narratives must be understood as a recreation or a reinvention of

the past. The inequalities that they observed as white South African women, and their

varying efforts to work against the apartheid grain (which constitute a political effort),

were also the experiences of members of a generation: that generation of white South

Africans who grew up when the power of apartheid began to crumble at its edges (see

also Passerini 1987).

Thus far, I have pointed towards two main elements that pervade Jane and

Sandy's stories: the gendered nature of their memories and experiences, and the

generation-specific aspects of their accounts as a result of South Africa's 'racial' and

political upheavals of the late 20th century. However, there is a third element that pertains

especially to Sandy's story. This element concerns the significance that Sandy attaches to her Christian faith. Accordingly, her emphasis on Christianity serves to reinforce the connections between life story analysis, gendered accounts, and religion. For Sandy, Christianity became a resistance strategy that allowed her to critique apartheid, and that later brought her to the conviction that she and her family were to permanently settle in Canada (see also Chapter Five). In this vein, Sandy's narrative may be considered as one of protest and moral testimony.[3] Along with Patai, I argue that "[t]he act of telling one's life story involves a rationalization of the past as it is projected and leads into an inevitable present. And, indeed, a particular version of one's life story may become an essential component in one's sense of identity at a given time" (Patai 1988:8-9). In this vein, it is Sandy's Christian version of her life story that was and remains the most important to herself. It both defines the different fragments of her remembered life, while it unites these fragments together into one story.

Conclusion

The themes and concepts that I have examined throughout my earlier chapters -- apartheid oppression, whiteness, Afrikaner, British, racism, violence, Christianity -- have

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[3] The notion of a 'testimony' has been developed quite extensively in the literature on Central and South America, particularly in relation to the 'voices of the oppressed' and the 'voices of the disappeared' during 20th century dictatorships in various Central and South American countries (see for example *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, edited by Burgos-Debray [1983] and Randall's *Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle* [1981]). Writes Behar: "The *testimonio*, or documentary novel, has been recognized as a literary genre in Latin America since the Cuban writers' organization, Casa de Las Americas, began offering a prize category for works in that genre in 1971" (Behar 1993:346, n.15; see also Beverley 1992, Yúdice 1991). The 'testimony' genre in literature is a specifically *moral* one in that it attempts to relate the various political, social, and economic inequalities and oppressions that a certain group of people (or a person) in a specific setting faced at a particular point in time. With respect to Sandy's story, I propose that her 'testimony' may be read as such a *moral* account, though for her, the 'moral point' of her story is at the same time deeply rooted in her religious, Christian faith.

been mostly concerned with white South African immigrants' memories of South Africa and the discourses they now produce about their experiences. All of these themes and concepts figure prominently in both Sandy's and Jane's narratives, and it is in this manner that I aim to connect their stories with my earlier arguments. I hope that their words will serve to illuminate and reinforce the earlier discussions. One area that also plays an important role in the life stories that follow is the migration experience itself. My goal in presenting these women's narratives is thus also to broaden the reader's current understanding of the conceptual framework that shapes the lives of many white South African migrants who now live in Canada, by way of evoking the experience of international migration.

Introduction

The following life story was collected in the summer of 2003, as part of my four-month field research with South African immigrants who have settled in southern Ontario. In the chapter that follows, I first elaborate on the fieldwork context, situating it within the nexus of my own position as a student researcher, and in ('British' South African migrant) Sandy's social world as I observed it and as she told me about it. I then move on to let Sandy speak for herself, by way of presenting several extended segments from our conversations.[1] For the analysis of her story, see Chapter Nine.

The Fieldwork Context

I first met Sandy through a fieldwork contact of mine, who had provided me with her telephone number. My fieldwork had brought me to a town not far from Toronto, in the Holland Marsh region just north of the city, where Sandy lived with her family. I called Sandy, explained who I was, how I had gotten her name and why I was contacting her, whereupon she laughed and confirmed that she was indeed from South Africa. She said she would be happy to meet with me, and we made a morning appointment for the following week.

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[1] As I considered in the previous chapter, the acts of representation involved in writing about and publishing ethnographic fieldwork findings can be highly ambiguous. At the same time, it is also an ethical endeavour. It is therefore important to recognize the relationship between researcher and researched as one wherein, ultimately, the researcher has the final say (that is, the power) to represent the people with whom he or she has worked. In the case of the life stories that follow, I wish to point out that I have edited them, though the words that follow are Sandy's and Jane's (the latter in Chapter Eight). But I have rendered sections of various tapes thematically and chronologically, in order to present the stories in a clear manner. Furthermore, due to space limitations, I am unable to include the 'complete' life stories as I collected them. I have therefore chosen certain *segments* of Sandy and Jane's stories that relate those events and experiences that seemed of particular importance in their lives, and that at the same time complement the themes discussed earlier in the thesis. Finally, note that some of the material presented here also appears as

I was eager to meet Sandy, since she had sounded so friendly and interested on the phone. As I describe in the Introduction, I arrived early for our first visit and drove around her neighbourhood until it was time to go and meet her. The day was beautiful: a blue sky, tulips blooming, a comfortable breeze, the promise of spring… Sandy's house is located in suburbia; street after street of similar-looking houses built close together, a sense of quiet emptiness and abandonment pervading the streets in the midst of the weekday morning. But Sandy's doors and windows were open; light curtains were moving with the wind, and praise songs to Jesus wafted towards me on the driveway.

Sandy opened her screen door and invited me in, exclaiming about the loveliness of the day and the weather. She is a fairly tall woman with short reddish hair that is going gray at the temples and vivacity in her eyes. Her house, I noted, had been painted and decorated in bright and light colours; it was clean, green, yellow, blue, white, combined in different ways in the different rooms and in the kitchen. Sandy was born in the mid-1960s in Johannesburg, South Africa, where she spent her childhood and early adulthood. She has been married to her husband Rick, a Canadian, for almost 19 years. They have three children: fifteen-year-old Reuben and fourteen-year-old Daniel, both in high school, and their ten-year-old daughter Jenny who attends elementary school. "They're giving me gray hairs!" she joked, pulling at the short hair at her temples.

Sandy spends her days as a full-time homemaker, and when I first met her, her kids were still in school (they began their summer holidays in June). We sat in her living room, drinking coffee and eating cookies and chatting about my project, about migration, about South Africa and Holland, from where my family had emigrated in 1992. On that

shorter excerpts in other parts of the thesis.

day we taped our first session, discussing her responses to some preliminary questions that I had brought with me. It was clear that Sandy was an expert storyteller; not only did she recount her memories and experiences, but she also questioned them or made it clear that she had questioned them in the past. I decided to call her again after our initial meeting, and asked her whether she would be willing to participate in an extended interview project, which she said she was glad to do. Our little talks, as she dubbed them, lasted throughout the period of fieldwork, until the end of the summer holidays. The meetings always took place during the day, in her house, often with Reuben, Daniel, Jenny and a friend or two hanging about the house, coming into the living room, into the kitchen, onto the deck, listening in, whispering or calling out their questions, depending on whether they remembered the tape recorder. Their presence -- slow, hurried, angry, happy, thoughtful -- enriched my understanding of Sandy's role as a mother of a ten year old and two teenagers, aside from the fact that their being around was often humorous and fun, brightening the day. We tended to tape in the mornings; then, we would prepare a lunch to eat for ourselves and anyone else in the house. I did not meet Rick until my last visit, when he came home from work in the late afternoon.

Rick and Sandy met in England while on a short-term mission trip. Rick moved to South Africa to be with Sandy, where they married in 1984. In 1988, they moved to Canada with their eight-month-old son Reuben. Daniel was born in Canada in 1989, and in 1990 the family migrated back to South Africa. Their daughter Jenny was born in Johannesburg in 1993. In 1997, they migrated for the third time back to Canada, where they are now permanently settled. "And we're *not* moving again," Sandy assured me, her eyes sparkling. "This is *it*." Below follow parts of Sandy's life story, beginning with

some of her memories of her childhood servant Doris.

Childhood Days

Remembering Doris

"Doris came to work for our family when I was six years old. My earliest memory of her is, of her working in our house, and often maybe babysitting us, especially at night when my parents had gone out. She lived on our property. Most domestics -- they were called 'domestic workers'-- most domestic workers lived on the property of the employers. She had a room at the back of the house, and there would have been a bathroom next to that, in fact most South African homes had two servant rooms on every house. Even today it's built with servant rooms attached to them. Rooms where the workers would live. So I remember her room where she stayed.

"It's funny... I've thought a lot about her, and in a way... a relationship with a South African maid is an interesting relationship. Because on the one hand, they live with you, and they're in your house, and they probably get to know you more than any other person. Because they see the family arguments, they hear the family discussions, they see what's going on. And yet they're like the silent observers... They're never involved... never commented... never said anything - were not encouraged to say anything! And her English was good. It wasn't fantastic, but I think to myself... it's probably better than what we thought it was! Because if you're working around people who are speaking English all the time, and you do that for thirty years, your English is gonna be good! I think that we sometimes assumed that maybe she didn't understand anything that was going on... but I'm pretty certain - now that I look back I think we

were naïve. Because she must have understood! The conversations, and everything that was going on. She wasn't terribly educated; I think she got up to, maybe grade eight? So she had written... and spoken English. She was able to read a newspaper and that kind of thing. There were many domestic workers that were unable to do that.

"When I was growing up, my mom would buy all of Doris's food. So she'd buy all her sugar, and her tea, and her meat, and her... cornmeal, which was called mealie pap, okay? All that kind of stuff and then she'd eat it in a very stiff kind of porridge that you eat with your hands. Very stiff, almost like a... dough. So they eat this... stiff maize porridge with their hands, and the meat with their hands - they eat it together. It soaks up the gravy. So she had to buy all this stuff for Doris, but Doris would never eat with us as a family. I don't have any recollections. At all. At - all. Of her eating at our table, or eating our food. Even though she was in my house for all those years! So she would have cooked our meal, and we would have eaten; and then she would have cooked her food and she would have eaten alone or with her friend, but in her room. In her own space. She would never eat in our kitchen. And it's so much culturally acceptable that she accepts it, and we accepted it. It's not even questioned. It's just, the way it is! And even when I was growing up... she had her own dishes, and her own cups. And her own spoons; and she would never have used our cutlery, and our plates. It was only when I became a Christian, and the Lord started to work in my life, and in my heart, and showed me that that actually was wrong. And that that was not acceptable. And I can remember, as clear as anything... making a decision that that was no longer gonna be an issue for me. Because now by this stage I was a teenager, and I would offer to make her a cup of tea or something and consciously, put it into our cups. And she would drink it! But it

would have been a change for her, as much as a change for me. Then I realized, it was wrong. It's racism. Really.

"And you often hear… there's lots of racism, subtle. The sort of conversation that you hear when whites are together, having cups of coffee… they will often talk about the problems that they're having with their workers, you see? (starts to laugh) Now I laugh at it - I think it's so funny! But the conversations would be like this. '…And Sophie is using so much dishwashing liquid!' And they keep an eye on those things! 'And I don't know what she's doing with it all - she must be taking it and using it for other people! And teabags! I've got to buy her two hundred teabags! And she's using so much sugar…' So they keep track of what they buy at the beginning of the month and what she's using and that somehow, she must be taking it and giving it away or selling it to a friend, or using too much of it… So, not fully trusting their worker. And I think it worked both ways…

"The flip side of it is, I think there was a lot of suspicion. Employers didn't always fully trust their workers. …You never left money, or other stuff lying around, you were always concerned it was gonna be taken… Just subtly. You had this person in your house who was very disadvantaged, and she could subtly -- because she knows your ways so well, and how you live -- she could actually be taking stuff all the time! The whole time, for about thirty years that she works with you and you never know. The flip side of it is, I do think that in black culture there is a culture of theft. So it works both ways. There is a culture of… 'You've got so much; I've got so little; you probably won't miss any if I take a little bit.' So there was a constant suspicion, not really fully trusting. And yet, trusting this person with your children, with your house… it was a funny relationship.

It's a very funny relationship. …She didn't really have the experience of mothering her own children. And in a way a lot of domestic workers mothered their employer's children, to some degree. We were nurtured by her! Instead of her nurturing her own children, and that's where it's not right… That's like a whole society is just a bit - (clicks her tongue). It's not… it's not a hundred percent right."

Dad and Mom and Doris

"My mom and dad had a very difficult relationship. I had a very difficult father. …I don't know how often my mom spoke of her relationship with my father to Doris. But I think that they had an unspoken understanding of each other. Because Doris must have seen! She must have seen the arguments! She must have known what was going on. I don't ever remember her saying anything about it. When I came to Canada the first time in 1988, when I was in my twenties… I remember putting my arms around Doris at the airport and saying to Doris, 'Look after my mom.' And I think that she and I both knew what I was talking about. That I was asking her to basically support my mom. My dad is difficult - to be there for my mom. And just look after her. So I think that it might not have been spoken, but I think that there was a degree of understanding there that - there's probably no other person who would have seen the reality and the real goings-on in our family. I mean, she was the one!

"My dad was a very difficult person, and she never ever spoke against my dad; never. I don't ever remember her saying… something bad against my dad… because at the end of the day my dad was her employer. And she would never have. But there were times when I think he was very angry with her… And sometimes, my dad viewed my

mother and her, I don't know... together. As like, partners. (giggles) I don't know -
'You and Doris-' ...I can't remember what the accusation would have been. But, 'You
need to make sure that you get your servants sorted out, so that she does the right thing.'
And 'You need to show her how to do the ironing!' It was my mother's job to straighten
Doris out - Doris was in trouble and my mother was in trouble! And my dad was cross
with both of them.

"But then, I came from a very chauvinistic house. Where my dad was defffinitely
the boss. Definitely the boss. And women were... really not, at equals. You know...
My mom didn't work... at least not when we were growing up. There was the money
there, she didn't need to. It was a real comfortable life! My dad had his own business, so
she didn't work... My dad was gone very early in the morning, and he probably came
home quite late at night; and I can remember him working on Saturdays, and then he had
his hobbies and his things over the weekend. He basically lived his own little life. My
mother's role, in my dad's mind, was to raise us children and to look after the house. If it
meant having servants, then you had servants. But her job was to make sure that life was
running just beautifully for him; and I'd say my mom basically took care of everything
that needed to be done that wasn't related to my dad's work directly. My dad never lifted
a finger at home. It was not his job. Never. I have no recollection - none. No
recollection of him picking up laundry, washing anything... making tea or coffee... No.
That was my mom's job and the servant's job. Never, I have no recollection.

"Now the question is, was my dad typically South African? ...I think he had his
own issues... that were uniquely his. But I think in some respects, he maybe was
typically South African! But, the extreme of it. I think South African men have been

incredibly spoiled! ...Now you see I'm very lucky! I've got a Canadian husband. And he is used to ironing. And cooking. And sweeping. And cleaning. And he helps me. But my friends who have South African husbands who have come to Canada have really... struggled with their husbands. Because their husbands are literally - it's not in their mindset! To know what goes on in a house! They've never had to do it! Never! ...Never-never-never! My brother, if he came to live here Mieke? He would not know what hit him! Is he being selfish and horrible and mean? No; he just has no experience of it! They are used to either having maids, or their mothers or their wives running around them their whole lives! And they've never ever had to think about it! Even now, my brother! And I love him dearly -- he is so sweet and generous, he's not like my dad -- ...he would die if he came here! And live here. He's got his wife running around him and he's got at least two servants in his house! He doesn't have to do any of that stuff! It is very much a kind of a... role thing. Roles are much more old-fashioned there. I think that... South Africa's about thirty years behind. The way Canada was in the seventies. There's a role - women have a role, and men have a role. And it actually works very well. So long as you don't argue about it."

Growing Into Adolescence

Becoming Christian

"I grew up in a family which was Anglican. At least if they filled in forms, they would have filled in 'Anglican.' My father had grown up going to a boarding school in South Africa, and many kids of his generation had gone to boarding schools, especially if they had been born in the country. And he had been born on a farm. So he went to

boarding school. Now many South African boarding schools are built around the old British style, where children were expected to go to church twice… on a Sunday. And maybe even during the week, and very strict… And my father walked away from that as an adult. He always said that he went to church enough as a kid, to last a whole lifetime (grins); and that he didn't see any need to go to church at all. My father was a very successful business man; and said that religion, and Christianity in particular was for, what he called lame ducks. People that… needed a crutch in life. And he didn't see any need for a strong educated person, to have any need for religion. He didn't ever profess any kind of faith. In fact, I would say in my growing-up years my father was antagonistic towards my… faith. In fact sometimes very vocal, and antagonistic towards me.

"So he never went [to church]. My mom, I would say, was a good, religious Anglican lady. She wouldn't go regularly, but I can remember her putting some value on it in our young lives, as young children. Because I can remember her occasionally trying to get us to say prayers at night, before we went to sleep. I can remember lying in bed as a very young child, and my mom teaching to pray… something like 'Gentle Jesus, meek and mild, look upon a little child, suffer me to come to Thee, gentle Jesus, meek and mild.' Or some other kind of childish prayer. And I remember some fleeting… memories of going to Sunday school. So singing children's songs in Sunday school, like 'This little light of mine.' You know that song? That kind of song, in my memory. So she would take us to church, but I would say… in her heart she was not a believer. I think she did it because she believed it was a good thing to do; and that was what good people did; and probably said to herself, that she wanted her children to have good morals or a good upbringing… but, her life in the week did not really demonstrate her faith a lot. But

I would say my mom has subsequently become a Christian, since then.

"I had quite a tumultuous childhood. My parents had a very volatile relationship with one another... And I don't remember my mom really speaking about God in those circumstances at all. So what I do remember her doing is... taking us to Sunday school. I can remember my mom, and there I would say a lot of British-descendant South Africans would have come from an Anglican background or a Protestant background. As opposed to Dutch Reformed background. Afrikaans speakers went to the Dutch Reformed church. English speakers were spread out amongst all the other denominations, generally speaking. And I can remember... it's very clear. I went to Sunday school; the church building was a very old stone, typical Anglican church, a lot of atmosphere... I remember being, I'd say probably ten, and there was a crucifix hanging at the back of this church. And on this crucifix there was a Jesus hanging. Almost like Catholic! I can remember looking at Him and thinking... 'Maybe He could look at me... maybe I can find Him...' hoping that God would see me! But thinking God to be so far removed from my little experience, and my world... And also in the Anglican Church you use the liturgy. And the liturgy is very formal English, you follow the order of service. The priest at the front says something and then you reply. And you do certain things from the prayer book and you sing certain hymns, very formal and my view of God was very holy. Very righteous... very formal, but actually quite far-removed. Distant. Very distant from my personal life. As a young child, you know, I thought He was very righteous and holy, but not really in my life. It was too far and too big, too holy and distant from me.

"Anyway, in the Sunday school class there was a lady called Gloria Andrews; she was the Sunday school teacher and she was a born-again Christian. She started to

basically talk about her personal relationship with God. I would have been... maybe in grade six at the time, maybe eleven, when I started to hear this. And she spoke about... God being accessible, and that we could come to Him, and we could invite Him to come into our lives, and into our hearts. And that we could know Him for ourselves. I can't remember how many kids would have been in the class, there wouldn't have been many more than ten, fifteen, I think? It went into about grade seven; and we started to have a coffee hour. On a Sunday morning. Where we would talk about these things and we'd have coffee. It would be... big and important, and she would talk. And she spoke about the need for us to give our lives to Jesus and invite Him, to come into our lives, and for Him to be part of our lives, that we could know Him. That we could receive forgiveness of sins. And, being a young child, who... was really curious; and very trusting, of God; ...I did exactly what she said! I don't remember fighting it, or questioning... I remember getting on my knees, and thinking, 'This is what she said we must do, so this is what I'm gonna do!' So that's what I did! I said to Jesus, 'If You're there; and if Gloria is right in what she is saying, then I'm asking You to come into my life! Come into my heart, and make a difference, with where I am.' And I did that; and I don't know where I would have got a Bible from because it was not something that I grew up with... I don't remember there being a Bible in our house. So I just remember that I got myself a Bible, and I remember reading it every night in bed.

"And then I started to pray very regularly that my family would come to know Him -- Jesus -- too. During my teens I would say... I was sincere in my faith. And then, I was baptized in the Holy Spirit, on the deck. That is how I started praying in tongues. Very soon after I had my conversion experience, I would say probably... maybe a year

went by... and I went to my Sunday school teacher, this lady Gloria Andrews. And I told her that I had a yearning for more... That when I talked to God I wanted to express myself, and there was more that I wanted to tell Him! And she prayed for me; and I received the gift of tongues. And she was there."

University Years

"The crisis in my life came when I went to university. I went to university when I was eighteen, and I took geography. And human geography talks a lot about cities, and how they're structured, and societies. And I want to tell you something... I made my first trip when I was in my second year geography... I made my first trip to Soweto. Now you've gotta understand, that black people and white people did not interact at all. White people did not go to where black people lived. They never saw where black people lived. ...Never! Black people lived in one part of the city; white people lived in another part of the city. Black people would come into the white areas to work; but they would go home to the black areas at night if they didn't live on the property. But white people did not go into the areas where black people lived. So, there was a strict... restriction of movement.

"I made my first trip as a geography student to Soweto, when I was eighteen. And I came back... Mieke... absolutely... ab-so-lutely traumatized... I was ...ex-tremely angry towards my parents. I thought to myself, how could you have hidden this from me? How could you have not - allowed me to see this? ...But they didn't know! Now, looking back... thinking about our lives, they hadn't gone either! So they wouldn't have known any different themselves! I just somehow felt as a teenager somehow that they had consciously kept me from it. Whereas I don't think that it had been conscious on

247

their part. They were just living their lives! It was a very comfortable life; I don't think they consciously thought 'Well we're gonna hide this from our children so that they will believe a lie'; I think that they just -- I felt angry towards them -- I felt like I had only seen half the truth! I had only seen -- so that was a very, very traumatic -- and my dad and I had unbelievable conflict in those years, my university years. Because I would challenge him at every turn and he would say to me 'But Sandy you've never worked; you've never earned a living;' …somehow that would… invalidate my opinion, but… how could you… - and I would say but, you know I was trying… I became more politically engaged, in my university years.

"I found that very difficult to come to terms with. In those teenage years I became a Christian. And my family was not Christian. …I bring it up because it's significant to me, because when I was about seventeen… I can remember starting to say to the Lord: 'I need You to change my way that I think, about the black people in my life. I've grown up with a - and even today, I've grown up with a mindset that is so deep in my life, from so young, that I need You to change this so that I won't think this way any longer. That my opinions and my feeling about these people change, to be what is right.' 'Cause I now realized that what I thought was wrong! It was actually wrong. And obviously this is a process, I mean… how South Africans view politics is a process of change - it's changed over the years.

"Anyway, we had an opportunity to go to Soweto as a class. And this is where my mind was really opened to what was going on in the country. We took a bus trip; and even… you know you don't want to umm… I'm not saying Soweto is a dangerous place, but even today it's not a place that white South Africans would go in very often. They

would be careful about where they're going, and who they go with. How they look. They wouldn't go in a fancy car… it's too dangerous. But I remember going in this bus, and just driving in the bus, like on a tour. And there were a couple of things that really struck me about that experience that I found… very difficult. The first thing that is very striking about Soweto is that it is huge! …It is… vast! And I never expected to see such a thing! I think that was shocking to me. I thought to myself, 'How could I live so close to essentially what is a city!' And not really have ever visited it! So that is very shocking, to go to a place - it's like living near Toronto your whole life, but not ever really knowing that it's there or going to see it! I mean, you might know it's there on the map, but you wouldn't ever make a trip to go there. You would never see it, go and see it. So that was shocking, the size of it was shocking to me.

"And the other thing that was very… striking for me, was the size of the houses. One of the things that we'd done in our geography course, was the nature of the housing. And they were little! I mean the whole house, it's just about the size of this room! It's a tiny little - they are little houses. Little little little houses. And the one after the next after the next after the next row upon row upon row of… whole suburbs, of these tiny little houses. And I found that just, coming from where I had lived, which was very much… like middle class South Africa… where we had everything… the kitchens, and electricity and… Here I was suddenly, slap-bang in the middle of essentially what was… parts of it were slums! Not all of it. But parts of it were very poor, basically shacks. In some cases, people had tacked little shacks onto the sides of these little houses… I think for me the experience was that I for the first time saw a human side. I never saw a human side to where black people lived! I'd never been there! So… that was very striking for me. And

also just the dirt roads… no trees, no beautiful gardens, although some people seemed to really care for their little properties. And they were very neat, and ordered, and clean, and clean-swept yards, and had flowers in their little gardens… I found it very - just the whole experience! It was like going to the moon! It was so different from anything that I had ever seen. I found it very… emotionally draining. And I remember going home, and just crying. Crying and crying! Because I found it very emotionally… very emotionally uh… what's the word… draining…

"Growing up in it… there were many times when young people, in my university years, with intense frustration of powerlessness… not being able to really change the system. Feeling like you're not really making a difference, you don't have a significant say. That feeling of powerlessness was very strong. Because you knew you could vote in elections, but at the end of the day you knew that the outcome was decided already… and that you could vote whatever you like and it wasn't really gonna make a difference. So the discussion at university always was 'So then, do we make more of a statement by refusing to vote at all? And make a statement that way? Or, how do…-' In fact, politics in my university years had a very overriding influence.

"In fact there's an Afrikaans term, 'die rooigevaar.' The red threat. There was this red threat. And we needed to protect our country from this red threat. And now, I think that it probably was to some degree overstated. But there was communism in some of the countries north of us; and South Africa, with the sort of Dutch Reformed roots, felt that their faith and Christianity was very threatened; and so we needed to fight against this red threat. And that's why these boys were all drafted into the army, off they went to

the army.[2] Now my Christian friends - the debate of the day that took up a lot of energy and a lot of time was, did you consciously object? Could you turn around and say, 'I have a moral problem, with fighting in the army.' And 'I'm not going to bear arms, and I'm not going to fight. I'm not gonna wear a uniform.' So then there was the threat of - if you do that, then you go to jail. So many of my friends in my generation... my Christian friends really - I remember being in home Bible study groups, praying about this, really struggling with how do you respond in a situation where you're being asked to do something which you morally don't agree with! You... have a problem with it."

Christianity as a Route to Protest

"Have you ever heard of Beyers Naudé?[3] Now as I started going to university, I started to become aware of... Christianity being more than just a faith, to me; but aware that it actually was... a vehicle for protest. That it was in the churches, and all different kinds of churches, that there was a grounds for a protest against apartheid. Now initially I was surprised, and shocked by it, because it runs counter to the way you initially see Christianity to be. You don't see Christianity -- initially for me -- as something that would be involved with politics! But as I grew into my university years I suddenly became aware that there were a whole bunch of Christians out there, who were very unhappy with what they were seeing politically. And were involved in protesting.

"And I'm trying to think... I think there was this thing called Liberation Theology.[4] There was a whole group of people in South Africa who embraced Liberation

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[2] See also Chapter Four, the section entitled "'Apartheid Propaganda' as a Discourse of Subjectivity."
[3] See Chapter Five, n.7, for a brief description of the activities of Beyers Naudé in South Africa.
[4] 'Liberation Theology' first arose in Central and South America in the 1960s (see Scheper-Hughes

Theology. That believed that you couldn't be a Christian... unless you were protesting. They would even take it to the extreme that you couldn't be a Christian unless you were a pacifist, and unless you were a conscientious objector and refused to go the army! There were people in my circle at university that were quite into Liberation Theology. So... it came into the South African context. And then you started getting into people like Beyers Naudé. Then I started to go to churches, or to places where he might have spoken... or been in contact with Christians who were open to that kind of thing... And, I must say I started to get a bit nervous as a student, because... if you started to go too deep into... or were seen in too many of the wrong places, the government at that time could... I don't know... start to spy on you. Keep an eye on you... I would protest certain things on the university campus and I would sign certain petitions, and that kind of thing. But I started to get nervous about being seen in the wrong places at the wrong times... So I didn't get fully involved into the whole Liberation Theology.

"And then I started to become aware of people like [the Anglican] Bishop Tutu, Desmond Tutu. And other people who within the church structure were speaking out against apartheid. So now this is what my university years... I started to become more aware. Just, the whole relationship between Christianity and protest. Other than that, what also started to happen more and more... I started to be part of many prayer groups, and started to really pray that God would bring a change... And, to earnestly start to pray, every week, 'Lord, we wanna see change here. This is not righteous, and this is not

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1992:215, 516-29). Beinart writes that in the South African context, "specifically South African anger was given further focus by international liberation theology. In the 1960s major Christian denominations were coming to terms with decolonization and debates about Third World poverty. The language of Christianity and its political messages were changing. Anglicans, Catholics, and Methodists all threw up individual leaders, both black and white, who maintained a specifically Christian critique of apartheid policy and

good.' We didn't know up until the end, didn't know what the future looked like. And

how it would actually work on the ground, but all we knew was that what was there was

not right! So then we started to really pray. Started to really pray that God would change

things in South Africa. And I believe, now, that South Africa did not fall into a full

blooded civil war, because of the church. Because the church prayed so much...

Because I think that South Africa could have really blown up. I think it could have really

become incredibly... it could have been war. Full-scale war. But it didn't - somehow it

was contained, and somehow we managed to get through the elections and everything

without it really becoming completely out of control. Black and white Christians started

to really pray. And ask God to change things. Oh, for years we prayed... for years."

Marriage, Parenting, and Migration

Sandy and Rick

"I met my husband in England, when we were on a mission trip. He's Canadian,

and he came back to Canada, and I went back to South Africa and in order for us to

continue our relationship, one of us had to move. And what we decided to do was, he had

already finished his studies; at least his undergrad years; and I hadn't started university

yet. So, just because of circumstances, we decided that I would go to university in South

Africa and then he would come and live in South Africa. So, Rick came to live in South

Africa."

Marriage: The Early Years

"When Rick and I were married [in 1984]... well this would have been in 1986,

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practice" (Beinart 2001:234).

right in the middle of the State of Emergency. So you would have seen... the necklacing. Where they would burn the tires around people and there were lots of riots going on and there was a lot of unrest, political unrest, Mandela was not free yet, it was a lot of problems. Anyway the young people in Soweto, in the townships made the youth leagues, made a policy that they would make the townships ungovernable. So what they would do is, they would cause so many problems for the government that they would not be able to cope with them; they would force them into a situation of negotiating. And the attitude was... I would say these teenagers had the attitude of, 'we will not go to school; we don't want an education; because right now freedom is more important.' So... basically there were years at the time when these kids were not going to schools, but just causing trouble in the streets. Because the aim was, 'we're gonna cause trouble, and cause riots, and necklace people, and cause trouble, until we get attention. We'll think about education later.'

"Anyway, at that time there was a group of kids in Soweto, a group of... ordinary black teenagers who did want to go to school, and whose families wanted them to have an education. And so what happened was... one of the computer companies sponsored for these kids to be taken out of Soweto and to come and do their studies in Johannesburg proper. In the city, away from Soweto. So they would basically hire a teacher; and they hired a friend of mine who was a school teacher. They set up an informal classroom in some business offices, and they needed to find host homes for these teenagers to live in. I think there were twenty of them. What happened was, Rick and I... offered; and we had one of those teenagers come and live with us. For a couple of months. And then what she would do is, she would take the bus, and then she would go and learn... So basically

what happened was… which, I look back now…! Her family trusted us, and she came to live with us, and she would sometimes go home to Soweto on the weekends. But in order for her to be in a safe place where her life wasn't in danger, she came to live with us to do her schooling! And that was for a good few months. I would say… four to six months? And that was quite interesting! It was interesting for Rick and I, to first of all have a teenager in our house when we didn't have any children, and second of all to have a teenager from a completely different culture! Who was not really… great at English, and it was very different for her, to be a black person in essentially a white person's home; 'cause in those days it was still very much separate societies. So it was interesting having her come into my home, and she was not a servant. So for me as a white South African, it was a challenge! But I wanted to do this! A completely different scenario to deal with!

"The other thing about it is that, because she was living in a white area, she needed to travel on essentially what were white buses to go to school. And I got permission for her to ride on the buses. And then one day she came home from school and was crying, and said the bus driver wouldn't let her onto the bus. And the next day (grins), I… I went up to the bus stop and I shouted at the bus driver! And I told him, that's nonsense; and this girl is staying at my house; and he will let her onto the bus! So, it was in those situations that I felt like I'm touching some person's life. In a small way…

"And then, this other friend who was the school teacher also had a student living with her. And there were times when the two girls would be living at our house together. And it was very interesting observing cultural things… between us. For example, they would lie together on the bed; on a single bed; and they would talk with one another, but

close, Mieke! (Demonstrates with her hands, a space of about 5 centimeters apart.) Like their faces would be close together! Instead of you know like, we would... one would lie on the one bed and the other [on the other bed], and then we would chat, you know? But they would lie together close on the one bed! So their sense of personal space was very small. And I think it's from living in those tiny houses! When you've got four children in a minute house! But I mean, these are tiny tiny houses. So people sleep next to each other. Right close to each other! And their sense of space! Like the first night she came, and she slept and then the next morning I said to her, 'So how did you sleep?' She said to me... (whispering) ...she said, 'It was so quiet...' She's used to dogs barking, kids and cars and people... 'cause of being in a close environment! I think she found it just so different. She just never had that!"

In Canada (1988-1990)

"When I first came here, I was only twenty-four. And I came with a young baby; with Reuben; and he was eight months old. And Rick was working and we were living in [a place west of Toronto]. We moved close to his family and he found a job in Toronto and every day he used to take the train to Toronto. And he used to be dependent on the train. Rick is in the pharmaceutical industry, back then he was and now he is too. And I don't know if you've ever heard of an NSERC... it's funding. Rick was awarded NSERC funding twice, to do his Ph.D. Neither time he used it! But the second time he applied, he was awarded it again and we were living in South Africa. And he said, 'You know what Sandy, I think I need to make the move back to Canada in order to take advantage of this.' Anyway, we came to Canada... and he never ever took advantage of it. I actually

look back now, and I'm not entirely sure why. But this is why we moved in '88. This was one of the reasons…

"I think it was also that he just felt that he didn't want to live in South Africa. Many times he would say to me, 'Sandy, I came to marry you. I did not come to live in South Africa for the rest of my life. South Africa is not where I intend to live the rest of my life!' …I don't know why we never worked that out before we got married… I mean, we spoke about it, but you know when you're young and in love and idealistic, you think you'll work those issues out. But he was very plain; and he said, 'Sandy' - and then it was the height of the conflict! And he said to me many times, 'Sandy, I have come from a quiet, stable, prosperous country, to a country that is full of difficulties, and… is the exact opposite of Canada!' He said 'Why would I come and spend the rest of my life in South Africa!' And I was a young South African; it never occurred to me to leave South Africa! But… because I was married to Rick and… and I loved him, I thought, I will move to Canada, and I will make it work! That's my personality! It doesn't work out all the issues in my mind, first.

"Anyway… so I came, with my young baby - now within weeks of getting here I found I was pregnant with Daniel. So I had… two babies; and I think that that was for me very hard. I think that living in a new place, with two really young children, in an environment which was so totally, totally different from what I'd grown up with… I mean I just… it was so unbelievably opposite to what I had known! And that was quite hard. I don't think that I ever got depressed. I just think I found it quite hard. And I committed myself to working it out, to working it through; but it was hard work. I mean I was far away from my mom, I was far away from the people in my life who'd supported

me in the past… And I felt very tied down, to home, and to babies. I think to have a baby, and to have young children is a huge adjustment! And to do that in a foreign country, with a climate like Canada, where you really are tied down inside for so many months of the year… I was adjusting not only to motherhood, but to immigration, a new climate, a new city, a new family, to everything at once.

"So anyway, in 1988, 1989… Rick was commuting, and then Via Rail made a decision to take his particular stop that he got off at, off the train's route. So the train no longer stopped at his stop. So he had to start commuting by car, and it was very hard for him… that's a long drive. And the other thing at that time, the house prices in the late eighties were very high… we could not afford to move closer to Toronto than where we were. So there was a whole lot of issues together. …But I think running concurrently from that was, issues in my relationship with Rick. Because… I don't think that we had fully resolved, where we were to be. For both of us. And I think that both of us felt that there was… there was stuff that God was doing in our lives in South Africa that we had walked away from, when we came to Canada. And that we felt that… God wanted us to go back to South Africa… there were a whole lot of circumstances. Anyway so we went back…

"I do remember when I first lived here in the eighties, in that period. Thinking to myself, 'I can't imagine being old in Canada! I can't imagine being old and dying here!' And then I can remember thinking to myself… 'And if I die, where will I be buried? I'm not a Canadian! I can't be buried here!' Sometimes I'd be overcome with this; meanwhile you're dead, it doesn't make any difference! But I remember… I don't know how odd this is. We lived quite close to a cemetery, and I remember walking around the

cemetery and thinking, 'My grave's gonna be here! What's this African girl… doing here! With this Canadian crest on the grave…!' Whereas now I think, oh! I said to Rick, 'Just find a spot for me.' (laughing) But then it was such a big deal! I thought, I can't! I don't belong here! And I remember saying to Rick, 'Maybe if I die here… would you please ship my body back to South Africa?' (laughing) He said to me, 'What!' I mean that's a big deal, that's what you do with… Princess Diana, you don't do that with Sandy Richardson! Ordinary people generally are buried where they die."

Back in South Africa (1990-1997): Beggars at the Door

"In South Africa, if you live in a very nice neighbourhood, you constantly have people coming to knock at your door, asking for food, asking for clothes, asking for money. And most people would just turn them away. Because, beggars can become a real problem. They come to your door. So now I… Rick and I spoke about it. And I made a decision that I would never give money; but that I would give clothes; and I would give food. Because I don't want to become known in my neighbourhood as somebody who gives out money. Because, oh! Then I'll… never be able to help them out. It would just be known that the lady in twenty-six whatever street will give money. So I just never gave money; what I did in my church was, I started to make it known that I gave out clothes and people just passed me clothes. So I always had a box of clothes near my front door and every time somebody came to the door, 'Here is a shirt. Here are some socks, here is a - something' and I'd give clothes, and a peanut butter sandwich. And then I'd have people who came regularly, once every two weeks.

"Now the one lady… I have one… very painful memory, in my life. And I don't

know what has become of this lady or anything… But, there was a lady living… she was actually a coloured lady, she spoke Afrikaans. You know the coloured people spoke Afrikaans. She was a street person, like, lived on the street. She was a real… colourful character. …I think she drank a lot… her name was Jeannie. And Jeannie, I got to know her at the traffic lights. And then she started to come to my door, and I would give her food, and clothes, anyway, I got to know Jeannie and… one thing led to another. And Jeannie was living, she was sleeping on the church property, or on the steps of the church… she slept somewhere there. And then she got pregnant. And had a baby. And there were times when Jeannie would come to me, and she was always having one crisis or the next crisis… I could talk to her because she could communicate with me, at least in reasonable English. Whereas often you couldn't talk because of the language barrier. Anyway, very sad, she grew up in Cape Town, and just, alcoholism, and… one problem after the next problem. And a really bad family. And ended up on the streets in Johannesburg with this baby.

"Anyway, so one day, she asked me if I would do laundry for her. So I said to her, 'If you come and bring me, all your clothes.' And I might tell you, about forty dirty baby diapers. As well. In big garbage bags. …I had to use, rubber gloves; …'cause you can imagine, these clothes have not been washed for weeks, and I don't know how… I don't know where she washed the baby's diapers! I think in a public toilet, I don't know where! …I boiled all the clothes, in the - [shussh]! I took these clothes and my husband says 'Sandy what are you doing taking clothes from a street person?! And washing their clothes!' I said 'Well I have a washing machine. And she's got dirty clothes, so I'm washing her dirty clothes for her.' …I boiled the whole lot! Those diapers - the clothes -

the works and I washed it through twice, in my machine. One load, one wash was not enough. (whispering) Those clothes were so dirty... They were so - so - so dirty... I washed all the clothes two times in my machine; just start the cycle again, soak again, wash the clothes again, wash the diapers again. And finally got all her clothes washed; I hung them on my line to dry; folded them; put them into two clean garbage bags and after that I gave them back to her.

"One night... she had a big argument with some lover on the street, and - he - was beating her up in the middle of the - she's got a baby! Anyway. She started to have some contact with a social worker. ...I spoke to a social worker on the phone, about Jeannie. And I just remember saying to the social worker, 'This baby, should not be in these circumstances! This is not the circumstances for a baby to be brought up in! This mother for one thing, I don't think a reliable mother at all; I think she's drinking as well as... she's... it's not an environment for a baby!' Well the next thing I know, social services removed her baby... She comes crying to me, and I didn't have the heart to tell her that I was the one that actually spoke... But she came to me, said 'They've taken Adam away from me, and why - Sandy, don't they understand, this is all I have? He was all I had...'

"And even today, I really... I've really thought about that. I thought... he was really all she had! She didn't have anybody else! Except for the baby... So I do feel, still to this day... responsible for the fact that he was taken away... And I've thought about it, and I thought, how... there's nothing I could have... I'm not sure I could have done it any other way, I'm not sure... You make a decision in a situation, and you hope that it was a right decision... and yet, I look back now and I think, could it not have been different? Could something different have been? I don't ever know what happened to

those people. I was trying to calculate it out the other day, and I would say that that boy today probably is about ten. And so, on the odd occasion, a couple of times a year, he comes to my mind and I pray for him… I say 'Lord, wherever that little boy is' -- I think his name was Adam -- 'wherever that little boy is, if you could just… put his feet on a good path… a different path than the one his mother… So that he ends up not in a sad situation, like she did…' 'Cause who knows what kind of foster home he's been in… where he's ended up… so… She's still… I think she's still on the streets."

Between South Africa and Canada (1990-1997)

"There were more spiritual… things. I think that in those years, between 1990 and 1997, the issue that the Lord was really beginning to teach both of us, was that… we both needed to completely yield our lives to God's will. And Him leading us. And, if that meant that I was to live the rest of my life in Canada… I would do that… And, for Rick, if that meant that he was to live the rest of his life in South Africa… he would do that. So this process of going backwards and forwards was working that issue out, of our yieldedness before God. I can remember, Rick and I had an incredible amount of conflict in our marriage, for the first twelve years of our marriage. We're married nineteen years. And it was over the Canada - I haven't spoken about this much at all. Because, over the Canada there is the South Africa issue. We would draw up lists… Canada, South Africa. Pros and cons. Where to live. Which place to live in. Which one is better. Where are the opportunities? We never came to Canada in 1997 because of security. There are other things that maybe drove people here - it's not what drove Rick and I here.

"Anyway, so we agonized over this decision, in those in-between years when Rick

and I lived in South Africa. Those were very hard years for us. Because Rick was

coming to… the process, of saying to the Lord, 'I will do whatever You say… I am

prepared to lay down what I want, in my life. I am prepared to completely yield, to Your

will…' And I at the same time would say to the Lord - but, for the most part that was not

was he was saying to the Lord; for the most part he was saying to the Lord… 'I don't

want' - now, after he came back to South Africa the second time, he was saying even

stronger, 'I definitely don't wanna live in South Africa! I've come back; but I definitely

wanna be in Canada for the rest of my life.' He had resolved it, and me, I would say in

those interim years… 'I definitely am not going back to Canada.' I remember saying to

people, 'The only way you're gonna get me back to Canada is if an angel himself stands

in my living room and told me I have to do it! Because otherwise I'm not going

anywhere. I am staying in South Africa, I'm not moving.' And it wasn't even like I had

a terribly bad experience in Canada the first time I was here! I just wanted to be South

African, I wanted to live there! I wanted to raise my children there, I did not want to live

here! And I remember we argued about it a lot… we debated about it a lot, but we had

committed ourselves to be married to one another and we were gonna stick it out. I don't

know how we were gonna do it, but we were gonna do it! Very difficult when you've got

one pulling one way and the other one pulling the other way!

"And I can remember very clearly… it would have been 1995, or early '96. I

remember lying in the bath… and crying… and I would have been married at this stage,

twelve years. And I can remember saying to the Lord, 'Lord… I give up… If You want

me to go to Canada… If You want me to live there… I am giving You permission, to

change my heart… I'm telling You now that I don't wanna go; and this is not what I want

for my life.' And at that stage Rick had a very good job. We were wealthy, doing very well. But I just said to the Lord, 'I'm willing for You to change my heart. I'm willing for You to work in my life, and I give You permission to do what You wanna do with my heart… to bring these things to pass.' And then I just left it.

"And then in the next few months, through a very serious set of circumstances, Rick lost his job. His company was involved with a merger, and all the management lost their jobs. And he could - not - find a job. He could not. And there were many issues in the pharmaceutical industry, he could not find a job. He started to look - running concurrently to me saying, 'Okay Lord, I give You permission to work in my life.' It was not the same thing as saying, 'Okay I'll go.' It was saying, 'If You want me to go in the future sometime' -- 'cause I mean our life looked very secure -- 'I'll allow You to do that. In me.' At the same time… I can remember Rick lying on the carpet… he is straight on the floor. Saying 'Lord, if You want me to stay here… I'll stay here. I will do what You want me to do.' And those in-between years… from 1990 to 1997 was the issue… probably, for those seven years, in our relationship… That was through ups and downs and many different things, through my husband walking away from the church, through different sets of circumstances… was the working of this issue out. I can remember his lying on the floor, saying 'Lord, I give up. If You want me to stay here I will stay here for the rest of my life. And I want to serve You and I will do whatever You say.' And so we both came to the same place spiritually. Of being willing to lay down our own personal agenda. So then, Rick lost his job, and he looked at every possibility in South Africa, and there was nothing, there was absolutely nothing. And he came to Canada for an interview; and within three weeks the company here offered him a job; told us that

they would pay for all our airfares; and they would move all our household goods. The last time we came to Canada, none of our furniture we paid to have moved here. That was paid for. Every part of our move, financially, was taken care of.

"And this is the same place he works for now. It's five years now. So financially, it was very good for us. And he got the job offer on email, in South Africa, on a Saturday morning. And you know, normally when you get a job offer you agonize over it… you debate it… I mean he got this offer and within two hours, Rick and I made the decision. 'We go back.' …And I wanna tell you something. People say to me, 'Sandy, you are peaceful about living in Canada, how come you've settled so well?' And I will always say to them, 'It's because I settled the issue before I left.' For me, when I landed here, that issue was settled! I was settled. The issue for me was settled when I lay in that bath that night, and said 'Okay, I allow You to change my heart.' My heart - the Lord changed my heart, so that the issue for me is settled. I've settled that Canada - South Africa issue. And as a result, our marriage is not the same! The last seven years have been… because that was first twelve, and now nineteen years we've been married; the last seven years are completely! completely different from the first twelve. You can't even compare them! It's like two different relationships. And… when I got off the plane, that's it. And people in South Africa say to me, 'Do you miss South Africa?' I say 'Of course I miss South Africa! I love South Africa!' And they say to me, 'Would you ever come back?' And I say, 'No, I settled the issue.' But it's taken years to come to that point. It's not without a great deal of pain! And it's not something that happened in a hurry…"

At Home in Canada

Migration's Impact

"I find... when you come to a new country - my husband and I have spoken about this a lot; he spoke about his experience in South Africa and I spoke about my experience here in Canada... The only way that I can describe it is that you meet people, and... they don't know that I had another life! One that was for thirty-four years of my life. They're only interested in the [few] years that I've been here. So in a way, you feel like [only a couple of] years old. You want to sit a person down and you want to say to them, 'I have thirty-four years of... living! And I want to tell you about it!' But for the most part... people don't really really wanna hear. They're not interested. And of course they haven't a clue what to even ask! It's only my closest friends who are starting to ask me questions and give me... opportunities to talk. But generally speaking people only wanna hear the very most superficial... the smallest amount of information. And so you feel like you carry around a whole life! A whole lifetime of experiences. I've got my Canadian persona; and I've got my South African persona. And I live in the one when I go to South Africa and I live in the other when I'm here. It's almost like not the same person. Because the people in South Africa can't really relate to my life in Canada. And the people here can't really relate to my life in South Africa.

"And you think you're gonna go back and pick up where you left off but you can't... Going back last December I loved my time, but in many ways I also felt like I didn't belong anymore. It's a funny feeling! You know you feel like it's home, and you can understand it and you identify with it, you can relate to it, but there are many things with my own people that started to irritate me! I'd see my family doing things that

irritated me, which five years ago wouldn't have irritated me. They do things which I now think, in my Canadian-influenced way, that is careless! But they don't see it as careless! Canadians are very particular about... they're very particular people, you can tell by their lawns and their houses, you see? They're very particular! And they're very particular about rules. Okay? So they, for example, will never put children into a car without a car seat, or without a seat belt. In South Africa I go there; and my brother-in-law arrives with the van; and all the kids just jump in the van and there are no car seats -- nobody uses car seats -- and they drive off down the road! And now, that really bothers me! So I'm driving along and I'm thinking, this really bothers me! Whereas five years ago I would have done exactly the same thing, and it wouldn't have bothered me at all.

"I mean my brother gets in his boat, he's got some beers and a boat and he's a lovely daddy, he loves his children, he loves his babies, he gets his babies in the boat - no safety vest. He's gonna go for a drive up the river; have a good time in the sunset; he's got his babies on the front - !!! And I'm going, 'This is a very irresponsible thing to do!' So, in a Canadian kind of way. Whereas five years ago it wouldn't have bothered me at all! I would have done the same thing. So there's a carelessness... It's a freedom to be creative, but there's also a carelessness. Which bothers me now. And I'm thinking, these are my people, and I'm irritated by them! How can I be irritated by them! And it's funny, because when I came here, first I found it so stuffy. I'd say to my husband: '...I'm going to drive down Yonge Street and I'm going to throw a cigarette box out the window (begins to giggle) ...just to see if I can get somebody to respond to me!' Because everybody's so obedient! And obeys the rules! There was a kind of a thing in me like, I just need to like... ruffle this a little bit - I need to see if I can get a response!"

"...As I became a Christian I became more and more aware of the [Dutch Reformed] churches' involvement in politics [in South Africa]. And that really bothered me and it's very interesting! Because when I enrolled my children at the Christian school here... I did not know that there was such a close tie to the Christian Reformed Church [a Dutch Reformed denomination in Canada]. I thought it was just a Christian school! And I wanted a Christian school for my children! And I got here; and I found out that there was a strong influence from the Christian Reformed Church and I was horrified, Mieke... ab-so-lutely horrified! I thought to myself, 'What have I done?! ...I don't want a tie with this!' But I believe that God has His ways. And He brought me into that situation because He wants to bring healing in my life. Remember what I told you? He wants to heal certain things in my life and that's one of the things He wants to heal in my life. And when I interacted with these people, from this denomination... I heard a sincerity there. So, that was still there. That even if I didn't agree with what was in South Africa, it didn't take away people's genuine sincerity here, in the Christian Reformed Church. So it's been quite a neat experience for me. I'm now glad! But at the time, I thought 'Ohh! What have I done!'

"And you see, that theological mindset of believing... I even hear it in the Christian Reformed School [here in Canada]. The mindset is that we are the covenant people of God; so they take a theology which really isn't intended for them; it's intended for the Israelites, the Jews. And they make it theirs. And so, in the South African context they came to South Africa and they said, 'We are the covenant people of God,' and 'We

268

are coming to a promised land.' And they... put a theology on to themselves which I'm not... a hundred percent comfortable with. So what it meant was that, they almost had a view of... all the other people in the country are not covenant people of God; they are almost... like you read in the Bible, like the Philistines. They're like the other people we fight against but they're not really part of God's family. And that's a dangerous thing. And that theology, if I have any complaints with the school and sometimes some of the things that they teach it's that element of it. Because of what I've seen it do in a political context. It's the potential way that that can go, the exclusivity of it.

"I have been to some of the Dutch Reformed churches here, a couple of times... (sighs a bit) Umm... I believe that God is working there; I believe that He's working in their lives; when I listen to the Christian Reformed moms at the school, talking... I hear them speaking about God's work in their lives, so I know He's working... My concern is, I want to stand up and say to them: 'It's not a religion! It's about having a relationship with Jesus. It's about... it's something much more dynamic than what you experience.' You see, there's kind of a religiosity, a stiffness and... but, on the other hand I know God is working there. And so I just keep praying, and say 'Lord, You just keep working there, in people's lives. Give them a desire...' I just wanna say to them, 'There's more... there's more!' and they're almost afraid! That it's going to become too... I don't know, 'happy-clappy,' do you know that term? They're very wary of that! And yet I know that God has His ways. He's working in people... the kind of music that they're listening to, it's all coming out of the charismatic churches! I smile... I think 'You're so anti but meanwhile the music that you play in your car on a CD is from those churches!'

"But there are many good things, and then I saw that in South Africa too; I believe

that every denomination has something important to bring to the worldwide body of Christ. The Christian Reformed denomination has -- really for me -- brought a very well-thought-out approach to education. And I believe it's their contribution. So they haven't brought so much the worship music; that has come from other denominations; you'll see the dynamic worship music, the dynamic... other things. But the Christian Reformed Church... their commitment to education, and even their financial commitment to Christian education is phenomenal. You just don't see it anywhere else, I don't think. You don't see that kind of commitment anywhere else."

Friends, Family, and the White South African Dispersal

"I sort of... I sort of feel sad. I look at my life and I think... I mean, I've got my family still in South Africa. But a lot of my friends are not there... they're not there... It's hard! And I would say for the most part, new immigrants are going to be people who are forty years old and younger, my generation. So, who come here in their twenties and thirties with their young families. And then they make their life, in their... forties or fifties or sixties, here in Canada. But what it does, is that it has put our parents in a very interesting situation. My mother speaks... she says 'Sandy, I met with so-and-so on such-and-such a day, and we sat around the table and had a cup of tea.' And then she said, '...And all of us have children overseas...' And what it has meant, is that all those grandmothers, and grandfathers, all those parents have got their grandchildren not in South Africa! Their grandchildren are all over the world! So what happens is, a lot of older people, my mother's generation, are traveling! Are going to all sorts of places! So that they can go and see their grandchildren! I mean, my mom's closest friend has a

daughter in Australia and she goes twice a year to Australia to see her grandchildren. My mom comes here, probably once every year, once every eighteen months; so that she can connect with me and see her grandchildren. And I don't know if they fully intended that, for their older years. But there's no choice.

"And that is a strong motivator, for people to leave South Africa of our generation. Many of them will say, 'I left because of security, and I left because of opportunity for my children' and then, if you push it a bit further they will say something like: '…and I didn't want to be the one left in South Africa when my children have moved.' Because their attitude is, 'eventually… my children will move. And I will be the one left in South Africa and my children will be overseas. So I'd rather stay close to my children, and make the move now.' They want to be around their children, they realize that if they want to have a part of their children's grown-up years, and their grandchildren, they're gonna have to move away, because the chances of their children moving are great. Now you get the odd South African couple still, who say 'You know what? We're gonna stay! And we don't care what the future holds! We're committed to here, we're African, we're not gonna move… and that's it.'

"But the thing that's also interesting is that South African couples, my generation who are still there… If you probe a little, they've all got what I call, contingency phase! They've all made an application to another country, found out about another country, have started shipping money outside of the country… have spoken about moving, have a plan… even if they're still there. Many of them. I would say ninety percent of them have spoken about moving. A lot of them! I mean my closest Jewish friend there! She's already been to New Zealand and Australia; they've done all the paperwork; they're just

not prepared to make the move! 'It's our plan. It's our plan on the backburner.' And there are many sitting in that situation. I mean my brother has given me money… to put here in Canada. And yet he runs a business there that's hugely successful, he would never leave I don't think… but right at the very back of his plan… there's a 'what if' scenario. What if it doesn't work out. What if I need to…

"I think many white South Africans feel that they are sort of being driven into the sea. Because that's how it is spoken of! As the differences of various governments, and the various political changes have come down through Africa. Zimbabweans came, and the Rhodesians. And Mozambicans came to South Africa. And South Africans have very little option! They don't wanna move further north, back into Africa; they look into the West. And are thinking, 'Okay… if we're gonna make a life for ourselves…' and for the most part, you know what Mieke? They're just honest people who want to work, raise their kids, and have a future for their families. And they just wanna walk away from it. But the thing is that they can't, because culturally they're South African! So, it's hard. It's a very complex issue. 'Cause on the one hand, you wanna give your children a future, and you want the security, and on the other hand, you are South African. And that's all you know, and that's who you are!

"And I think that maybe people who look outside of South Africa might look at white South Africans and say, 'Well, what's the big deal?' But… I feel African! And the thing is that… I've even heard from black South Africans, 'So what's the problem? You can go back to England or you can go to the United States, that's where you came from,' …but originally maybe that's where they came from! But their allegiance, and their sense of belonging is not to those countries! They are now South African! I mean my

forebears arrived in South Africa in 1820! So for the last four generations, or five, or however many, my family's been in South Africa! I'm not English! I might have certain customs that oriiiginally came from England; but when I went to England I certainly did not feel at home in England! There was nothing about England that made me feel that this was mine! It was English, but it wasn't mine, the only similarity was maybe the language! And even that was different! And so, it's that. It's that white South Africans who have been there a long time are African! They're not African in colour, but they're African! And that's the part that's hard.

"...I don't think that black South Africans understand that about white South Africans. I don't think so. I think that they see them... Well you see, maybe it's because of the language... that they speak English, and they have many English customs. Some of their customry is English. So they associate with England, but I don't think that... maybe the educated. Maybe the more educated you are, the more you realize that people's sense of belonging is where they grew up! And it's only in one generation - my children will be Canadian! In this generation! Now can you imagine, it's like me saying to my children, to my grandchildren, 'You're South African!' They're no more South African than... I mean, they can't be! They didn't grow up there! So, you become where you grew up, and if for generations past you've been in a certain place, then there is no question in my mind that white South Africans are African. They're African in thinking, they're African culturally, and that is home.

"And I think that black South Africans... they have to move, uh, my challenge to them would be, is that you have to accept that whites are part of this picture as well. That you're gonna have to work it out together. You cannot exclude whites. They did terrible

273

things; but you cannot exclude them because they're just as much a part of this as you are. They grew up in South Africa, just the same as you did. And you cannot blame them for being born there. You can't! And they have to be part of it. You can't say, well, you know what, let's get rid of them all, and we'll carry on the way we could have done in the sixteen hundreds. But the point is that you can't, it's the same as North American First Nations people, wishing that all white Canadians leave. They can't! They are Canadian! They're part of Canada! They need to make a future together! You know? In the same country, they… for whatever reason, brought the original settlers here - their future is together! It has to be together! And I think that's just… I think South Africans of all colours have to come to terms with that. They're just gonna have to. That it can't be just a black South Africa. It has to be a mixed population, in order for it to work.

"I think, it's a conflict of idealisms… and reality. You want something, peace, equality, and that's the ideal; but the reality is that if your future is threatened and you can't give your children… even if it's a perceived threat. You're not sure you can give your children a secure future. Forget the ideals! You know - you will leave! Because at the end of the day, your safety is an issue. And I mean, it's all very well having great ideals, but you still need to be assured of some kind of security.

"I think white South Africans feel a tremendous amount of guilt, about apartheid. I think they feel a real mixture. There's a guilt thing, there's a kind of defending it… you'll still hear it, and even me… it's a complex set of emotions. Guilt, defending it, ignoring it or pretending it wasn't there… I think many South Africans come here and they want to literally close the door. And walk away from it. And say 'You know what? It's in the past. It's a past thing. Don't… wanna know anything else. I don't wanna talk

about it, don't wanna… it's not part of my life any longer. I'm gonna move on and forget

about it.' …And it's a legitimate thing. They just can't… they just wanna start a new

life. They don't wanna go and bring up that stuff…"

A Difficult History

"It's funny because these issues drove me to God; but also, God drove me to these

issues. It drove me to God because there's some so painful that you have to go to God for

them. And God drove me to these issues because you can't believe in Him and not look

at these issues! You have to look at these issues, because they're just part of life, and part

of your moral circumstances! I mean… a bit like what I was talking about earlier in

Liberation Theology. You can't not look at these issues and be a Christian! I think!

Now there might be other people who have somehow managed to keep the two issues

separate. Then they have to hold on to a faith, and not look at the apartheid issues in the

country. And I think that you might even find some very sincere Christians in South

Africa, who really love God genuinely, and yet who still believe in apartheid… And I

know for a person outside of the country - but they don't even go together! I mean, I

think they don't go together. But I actually think that you probably could find somehow,

in their minds… they're able to hold those two in tension. Which is bizarre to me, that

they can, but I think it's possible. I don't know how… and I don't know how

successfully you can; but I think you can… Because people in the Dutch Reformed

Church did! And it's not to say - I think I'd be very arrogant to say that all people in the

Dutch Reformed Church didn't have a sincere faith in God. I think that there were many

that did have a very sincere faith in God, and yet still believed in apartheid! I don't know

how they did that, but they did… (grins)

"The only way I think that you can do it, is that they would believe in apartheid, but I think that it's only when you push the issue, and you start to explore the issue, that you start to realize that you can't hold the two together, I don't think. So, what you might find is that, if you were to try and push the issue, or try and talk about it too deeply, you probably find you can't go there. Because they haven't gone there themselves. Because I don't think that you can successfully hold the two together. The only way you can, is to almost, separate the two in your mind. 'This is my ideological belief; and this is my spiritual belief.' And they don't actually touch each other. You can't put them together, otherwise you have an explosion. And yet their faith is probably quite sincere, in this separate part of their lives! It's just that, I had them mixed up…"

Chapter Eight: Jane's Story

Introduction

The second life story that I collected during the summer of 2003 is presented in the chapter that follows. This is the story of Jane Cameron, a 'British' South African woman who first moved to England with her husband John, where they lived for seven years. In 1997 they once again relocated, this time to southern Ontario, with their two young sons. The current chapter takes a similar format to the previous one: I first elaborate on the fieldwork context wherein the research was conducted, after which I present Jane's story by relating important segments of her narrative (see Chapter Seven, n.1). Together with Sandy's account, Jane's narrative is analyzed in Chapter Nine.

The Fieldwork Context

Jane Cameron lives with her husband, John, and their two sons, Eric and Jacob, in a town just north of the city of Toronto, not far from Sandy and her family. Like Jane, her husband is also originally from South Africa. I first heard about Jane from Sandy; in fact, it was Sandy who gave me Jane's telephone number before I had even met Sandy herself. Consequently, I met Jane for the first time on the same beautiful spring day that I first met Sandy. My first meeting with Jane took place in the afternoon, at her home, which is located on a quiet street near the edge of the town.

Upon ringing Jane's doorbell, I immediately heard the excited barking of what sounded like a little dog, followed by a woman's voice saying "Here Mandy, here!" Two seconds later the door opened, with Jane trying to let me in while tightly holding on to a little black pup, who was clearly eager to escape. Quickly shutting the door behind us,

we said our hellos while the puppy sniffed and jumped and ran excitedly around my feet. Laughing, Jane apologized profusely, saying that Mandy was only two months old, and though "she *is* really cute, she still pees all over the floor and I really need to think about a way to train her!"

Jane's bungalow-style house is large and spacious; large windows ensured that plenty of sunshine shone into the living room and the kitchen. Jane explained to me that she and her family had only moved into this house in January of 2003; before then, they had lived in another part of southern Ontario. At the time of my first visit, Jane had thus only lived in the house for about four months, but in that period it had been freshly painted and decorated. The living room, where most of our actual interviews took place, was painted in a soft yellow tone; it had a cozy fireplace and looked out towards the back deck and a large backyard with an in-ground pool. Jane, who is forty-two years old, has straight black hair running down to her shoulders, with gray hair showing through here and there. As we shook hands her dark eyes shone vivaciously through her glasses. On that beautiful May day when I first met her, she was wearing a blue-and-white, sleeveless knitted top, and blue summer pants with a white flower print. I quickly noticed how her face would light up, especially when she laughed heartily at something.

Jane spends her days both homemaking and teaching.[1] In May, her sons Eric (eleven years old) and Jacob (nine years old) were still in school, but I did meet them later that afternoon. They are tanned, healthy-looking boys, with big brown eyes just like their mother's; after greeting me shyly, they ran to play with their puppy. Over the course of

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[1] On Jane's current effort to teach part-time through the district school board in her new area (remember that she and her family had only recently moved when I met them), see Jane's story below.

the summer, as Jane gladly agreed to work on a series of extended interviews with me, Eric and Jacob were usually in or around the house, either playing together or with one of their friends. Eventually their shyness largely disappeared; I think they came to expect me as 'the lady who keeps taping while our mom keeps talking.' Most of our visits took place during the day, both in the mornings and during afternoons, but in July Jane and her husband invited me for a nightly 'traditional South African *braai*,' complete with boerewors and plenty of South Africa's Two Oceans red wine. This was one of the few occasions during which I met John Cameron, but the majority of my meetings with Jane consisted of the two of us talking, while John was at work in Toronto. John did come home for lunch (which we took to sharing on the back porch) on my last visit late in August. "Mieke," he said good-humouredly, "I believe you have interviewed Jane to death!" The fact that three and a half months had passed since I first got to know Jane was, however, most evident in Mandy, who by the end of the summer had grown large and calm - by August, she clearly preferred sleeping in the sun over any other activity.

Both British South Africans, John and Jane met in South Africa in the early 1980s, where they married after a few years. At the end of 1989 they moved to England, where John found a job with a South African-owned company. Their two sons were born in England in the early 1990s. After seven years in England, they decided to migrate once again: this time to southern Ontario, where they have lived since January of 1997. Below follow parts of Jane's life story.

Childhood Days

Childhood Awareness of Apartheid

"I knew that there was a political struggle going on from when I was very little. My dad was always very anti-government, the regime, and was anti-apartheid, and used to always speak very vociferously about it, that it wasn't right to suppress people and that the people didn't have rights and all those kinds of things and couldn't vote etcetera. So I was always aware of it from home. And I studied history at school, and because of my family awareness, [I knew that] whatever we studied in history was also biased... I used to get really angry... I remember just sllamming my desk down! We had those lift-up desks and closing my book and sllamming it -- the desk -- down and saying 'I'm just not studying this anymore!' you know... things like that. History books were written by the white people, the textbooks, so often your textbook would have some kind of biased point of view or leave some things out or... they weren't always written by the other side as well, so you'd see sort of one view of things. And also you would only learn the white history; you wouldn't learn the black people's history. But luckily we had quite a liberal history teacher, so you know we did discuss other sides of things... So I was aware of apartheid from my family and from my schooling.

"I mean you did learn to live with it and it becomes a way of life. Obviously we had servants in our home, we had a person to do the garden and a person to do the washing and a person to clean the house, so we had three servants. And there were only white kids at our school, and the black kids went somewhere else and the black kids didn't live in town; they lived in a location on a hill far away. And you'd notice that they didn't go to the movie house or the restaurants. They weren't allowed in all those places -

so it was really a white community that you lived in and the black people were separated

from you. And yeah I accepted it to a certain extent because that's the way of life but I

didn't know that it wasn't a right, that people couldn't choose to get ahead if they wanted

to or live where they wanted to… or vote, things like that, so."

British and Afrikaners in Millertown

"I went to a school that was a dual-medium school, so that means there was

English and Afrikaans at our school 'cause there was only one school in the town, so it

had to accommodate all the white children. Now there're blacks at the school since South

Africa's changed. But so I had always Afrikaans people around me, and in junior school

we were in separate classes, we were in an English class and there was an Afrikaans class

in the same grade. Separated grades; but once you got to high school you were together,

Afrikaans and English. If you did history, Afrikaans and English went to history, and you

did half your lesson in Afrikaans and half in English.

"Of course also with my dad's influence as well, I was aware that Afrikaans

people seemed to be much more conservative than English-speaking people, about… you

know Africans and the government and things like that and to us, the National

government was an Afrikaans government; the leaders and the prime ministers were

mainly Afrikaans-speaking, and the party that we voted for, the Progressive Federal

Party, they were more English-speaking. So in politics generally speaking, Afrikaans

people seemed to me more conservative and supportive of the apartheid regime. That's

how we saw it anyway. You know, there were groups like the Broederbond[2] who used to

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[2] See Chapter Five, n.12, for a brief description of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

work for Afrikaner interests, and put down the African interests and even sometimes the white English-speaking people were seen as… kaffirboeties they used to call us, you know, a kaffir is a black African, and a boetie is a person who is very friendly with someone. So often you would be called a kaffirboetie if you supported the other people.

"And then also, there was often some… not rivalry but some people didn't like it if their children wanted to marry an Afrikaans person sometimes. There was this prejudice sometimes… I know in my husband's family… I only learnt this later on when I met my husband but [my husband's sister] married an Afrikaans person and her dad was not very happy about that. So you got that feeling as well from people, you didn't want to mix the two. Anyway, of course most of my good friends were English-speaking, in my class. There were a couple that were Afrikaans-speaking, but they all spoke English to us 'cause I think that there was a majority of English people at the school. So English tended to be the language that was spoken most often.

"And I remember, there was a huge big Dutch Reformed church in our town! They were always very imposing buildings! There was a new one built in Millertown, the town I grew up in. It was quite a modern-looking building with a big spire and it always had the reputation of being the… you know, very conservative strict church, they all had to wear hats and the diakens [deacons] all used to wear white ties and suits and things like that. We used to view it I suppose as the church of oppression… It's just 'cause, from our family's point of view you know, 'It's the same as the government,' you know? You know it was 'Dutch Reformed.' …In people's minds, it was certainly tied to the government. Well for me - for us it was."

Emily, Ashley, and Joe the Garden Boy

"Our servants used to be looking after us when we were little, and we used to call them by their first name. Emily was one, and Ashley was the washer woman. And we'd always call Joe, the gardener, 'garden boy' even though he was a grown man, it's very derogatory when you look back on it, but we just called them by their first name and they would call us by our first names. But my parents would be called 'master' and 'ma'am.' 'Master' was my dad and 'ma'am' was my mother - that's how it was! And they used to speak English to us and we spoke English to them. I should have spoken Xhosa but I just didn't... but my parents used to speak Xhosa, my mom was quite a good Xhosa speaker. And she used to speak most Xhosa but with lots of English words. And my dad could also speak Xhosa but my mom was better at speaking Xhosa than he was.

"And they would come early in the morning, before we were all up they would come. The house girl, the house maid - not the washer woman, she would come later from the location. 'The lokshien.' They used to talk about living in the 'lokshien.' So she would come from there and the garden boy would also come from the lokshien but the girl [Emily] would live on site, in a little room at the back. And we had a stove that you made a fire in. They would always make the fire, so that it was ready and going by the time we got up. And they would take my parents' coffee [to their] bed, and make the porridge. The porridge, that was for us kids and also for my dad. And then we'd get up. My dad also used to get up early, but the maids were always in there before we got up.

"As a little kid, I used to love to go into Emily's room and listen to her talking to her friends. I don't know why she let us in there! I mean I would have wanted some of my privacy but I didn't ask; I don't think I ever asked to go in! I just used to waltz in!

And sometimes in the afternoon or something she'd have friends over. And sometimes, I mean they didn't have a shower or a bath… I don't remember there being a shower and a bath so she used to wash in an enamel basin, bring water in. And I used to watch her bathe, and… I can remember that! That was pretty intimate! I mean I was younger then, I was little, four or five or something, but I can remember that.

"And I don't remember being carried [by them] but I can remember my younger brother being carried around on their back with a blanket and things, and I can remember, we used to live opposite of the open field, and there were some [rinkals, they would show up…] …pythons, snakes. And they saw these snakes! It was with Emily and the garden boy, and Thomas was on Emily's back, and there they were beating these snakes… (starts to giggle) and they killed these two snakes! And they had been hanging in our peach trees! My mother was just so upset that she [Emily] beat the snake with Thomas on her back, because these rinkals spit very accurately in the eye, so! And I can remember that in great detail… about these snakes hanging in the peach tree.

"They always used to eat outside on the lawn; never inside; and they always used to make their own food, and my mother used to get cheaper cuts of meat; not every day, but certain days of the week. And then they would have what they called mush, I used to love to eat mush, it's this samp and beans, mealie… mealies. It wasn't the pap, pap they used to have in the mornings, they used to make that dry pap, my dad likes to eat it. And then they used to have sour milk called mas, on this pap. But we never used to eat that. But… the mush was -- it was more -- hold -- it was called samp. White mealies, they were… white. And they were packed up and then you'd put brown beans [with it], not as big as kidney beans, but brown beans in there. And that's what they would have for

lunch. And then they would always cut thick slices of bread with just jam, and they'd make coffee. They'd always eat it in these big enamel bowls, never on a plate... and I used to like to go and sit on the lawn and eat with them. I used to have my own plate of mush, because I used to like it so much, with butter. And I'd often sit and talk to them, and heard about their... I don't know what they talked about, their families and things, but I always used to like to sit with my parents and listen to the grownups as well, so maybe it was just me, but I often used to sit on the lawn and chat to them while they were eating.

"And then, they always used to be polishing the silver and the brass on the lawn, and then I used to go and sit and maybe polish with them and things... So it was always - we always were friendly with them, and I would always chat with them. And the older I got, I suppose I got to think that it was unfair that they were downtrodden in society and that they didn't have the same opportunities... so I started recognizing that. But it was just such a way of life, that's what you grew up with. And, it was their job...

"The one time, one of our servants had some boyfriend or some lover or something come to her room late at night, with a knife, and there was a bit of an incident. And I was really nervous, I was really scared that night, I don't know how old I was, but... my dad had to phone the police, and they took ages in coming, and this woman was screaming and she'd been stabbed, slashed across the chest and... You know my dad had to go out there, and I can't remember - he took his gun or something, you know... But, oh! I was just really nervous with that kind of thing and that's when some people started being nervous about having servants on their properties, you know it started getting like that. We still for a while had [servants on our property], but when I got older we actually

didn't have anybody living on our property anymore. And lots of people stopped doing that. I don't know very many people who still [have] that. Most servants come in now during the day, you don't have this living on your property. Because then, you know you've got people coming onto your property all the time, visiting and whatever and you just don't know what could really happen, so some people don't do that, and it's too dangerous. So I can remember those kinds of things sometimes used to go on and then people say, "Ohh, you know these Africans," you know…

"So yeah… I was always friendly with them and things, but you could tell them to do things for you, even as a kid, you know? For them to do this and do that, and so you had that scope, to do it. I didn't ever… I don't think I was that kind of person, [who] just went around and threw my weight around and ordering them to do things for me all the time and bring me this and bring me that, I didn't do that, but you could do that if you wanted to… even as a child with an adult servant around. There was that scope…"

Thinking About Servanthood

"With my dad of course, he lived on the smallholding [in the Eastern Cape][3] and he still had a servant recently. Now he's just moved, I don't know if they've got a housemaid now. But he had a servant right up to the end, who did everything. She couldn't speak English much, so I didn't have much of a relationship with her, but I would say hi and she would be interested to see how the kids had grown and things like that. But my dad would always be quite good to them; I mean I paid for the schooling of the one boy, and it used to be quite… my dad always used to say, 'It's like having

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[3] See below, where Jane explains that her parents were divorced when she was at university. Her father

286

children, having servants!' I've never had a servant like that, so I don't really know, but they always come to you with their troubles! And you've gotta look after them like a child![4]

"Sometimes if the adults are in a situation, you'd have to help them out! And give them money for certain things. So my dad would help pay the bill of schooling for this one and this one and they'd need uniforms or books and that all just had to be forked out or… money used to be borrowed and then paid back slowly and things like that. And I suppose as South Africa's changed in the last decade or so… there were laws about what you had to provide your servants with. So they had to have a certain standard of housing, if they were on a farm for example. So my dad, he built his farm manager quite a nice house, and he had electricity put in. So this was great, for them! They hadn't had this before! And with the new government grants coming, or some things for black people, my dad would make sure that his manager knew about it and my dad would arrange for him to get some land, and help them along like that.

"And sometimes they don't really know. Whereas on the other hand, some people say 'Gosh! Now they're just expecting everything!' And 'They just expect everything to be handed on a plate,' and some people get mad about [that], because sometimes they would demand - that's a joke, you know, the word 'demand…' 'We de-mand this!' You know, 'It is our rright now!' And some people would get fed up with that. And even my dad would say, 'These de-mands have been coming now,' but… it's funny…

"But I think it was a responsibility to have a servant in some aspects, especially

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later got remarried; her mother never remarried.

[4] See Chapter Three, n.17, for a consideration of the paternalism involved in the employer-servant

287

with my dad's situation, when they're living on your property and they have [work on] the farm and things. You can't just let them go… whereas if they just come every day like a job, it's a completely different life, a different situation. But we used to give them all our old clothes, and things like that… And I remember a couple of times, sometimes we'd have to take them back to the location or something, and I mean it was really [warped,] in the location… you would see where they lived and things like that. There you really see the difference between your life and theirs - they just lived in mud huts! Or in corrugated iron houses. Now there are some concrete-built houses, and then I think that even in the location, the more wealthy ones live in those but lots still live in mud huts, and corrugated iron shacks. And that was their home… maybe a little yard, and some people have got flowers and some haven't, and they've got chickens running all over the place, and goats running all over… There's one [hut] that they go to, and they all line up and take their food and [water and] those things… They didn't have running water or electricity or sewage or anything like that. Well that was long ago… they are starting to upgrade the townships now. But there's still many that are like that in the country…

"I would never get out of the car in the location… I think my dad a couple of times got out to help with something, or fetch something, but I used to feel very nervous and hope he would appear again. I used to feel uncomfortable! The people there, they would stare at me and the little kids used to crowd around the car and peer into the window… Another thing I still hate about going back to South Africa is… the begging. I - can't - stand it. You know, it happens all over, but even back in Millertown… there's

relationship.

lots of black people in it. I mean they're also swamping Millertown really - not as badly as places like King Williamstown but you just can't park your car, can't walk to a shop… nothing without hoards of… especially kids. Saying 'Madam… please… give me something…' and oh… I just find it so disconcerting. I feel guilty because I've got nice clothes on, and I've got some money… But you just can't be handing out this money all the time, you know? And it's -- they -- I feel harassed! I just hate it [when they do that]. It's just… I feel totally swamped and now that's the one thing I can't stand when I go back there! And I love it here because you just don't have that! People coming up to you all the time, begging and wanting things…"

Mom's Job

"My mother… was at home. Some worked… my mom didn't work until I was a bit older, and then she worked for my dad 'cause my dad was running a sheep breed society, and his office was on our property - he had a special little office built. And my mom was a secretary, she did secretarial work before she got married. So she used to work part-time for my dad. And then his office did move uptown, and then she used to go there part-time. But she was home most of the time. I often wonder how life must have been… (Jane's voice rises) She was always busy! She always did the cooking and she always used to do the flower arrangements, and always seemed to be busy, but you know, she had the women to do the washing and the boy, the gardener, she used to tell him what to do every day, in the garden.

"My mom was a great gardener. And, you know always telling the servants what to do. I think the houses were very clean in South Africa (grins and then starts laughing)

'cause they used to be cleaned every day by the servants! She used to do the cooking and the overseeing of the servants, and she used to knit a lot. She wasn't a great one for volunteering I don't ever remember… but then she just would do this part-time business, and that fit. And then she started working -- 'cause my parents got divorced when I was at university -- and then she started working again full-time. And then she didn't have a live-in maid but she used to have a maid come in, twice a week I think, for her. So, that's what she did."

Adulthood in South Africa

Employing a Char

"When I had a house of my own in South Africa, we lived in Cape Town, and I only used to have a char. We called them a char; once a week she used to come, in the morning or… I don't know how long. She used to stay for lunch. But you know I hardly ever saw her, she had a key to the house and she used to come in and clean my house once a week. We didn't have live-in quarters anyway and it was expensive to have a servant in the city. Much more expensive than in the countryside.

"But as an adult, when I started working and the char would come in… I used to always feel very uncomfortable… I liked to be out of the house if she was there, because I just… felt uncomfortable with her working around me, and I used to say, 'Do you want some coffee,' or, 'Do you want some…' I just… well it was part of this whole thing of not agreeing with the regime, I just used to feel that I didn't want her to wait on me and things like that. I mean I gave her a job and I wanted them done and I didn't have the time to do it all, because I was working full-time but I really felt uncomfortable with it. It

was just this whole servant - black - white thing that I was feeling so uncomfortable about, you know? …So engrained, but there was something that I didn't agree with… I don't know if I just… carried that over here, but [here in Canada] when I [was working] full-time [before], I had a cleaning lady who was a really nice lady… and I would feel a little bit uncomfortable even with her working in my house! And, she was a white woman, but… it got better after a while, we'd chat and everything, but I'd also prefer to be away. That feeling, like somebody was working for me, and… I don't know. It's just very… uncomfortable…

"I remember once, with my servant I had in Cape Town… I always used to leave her a plate of food, and I didn't give her samp and things like my servants used to have when I was a kid. Because I felt that she should be eating the same food as I was eating, you know? So we always used to -- the day before she came -- I would make enough for three, and dish it all up and have it on a plate for her. And I remember one time we had pizza so… (laughs) I left her a pizza! I didn't actually cook it but I said, 'We had pizza last night, and it's in the freezer,' you know, 'do it by yourself.' She didn't like-, she didn't really like that kind of food! I think she wanted to have the samp maybe and those kinds of - maybe it was more filling or something but… It's where she wasn't used to eating pizza! So she didn't really enjoy it! (clasps hands on her knees) And I… I just felt so… I was so upset! I thought that I'd done the wrong thing, and that I wasn't thinking or… And that she just wanted her basic meal and here I was giving her pizza! And I just was assuming for her, so that really stuck in my mind, I was all upset about that! (grins) So I never ever left her pizza again! And I think I started asking her, well what she didn't want for me to leave her, you know? But here was me, trying to let her

have the same things as I was having, you know?"

Teaching at Gravenhurst

"I started teaching in… I guess it was '82 or something… and it was a school called Gravenhurst Girls High School in Cape Town; and it was a very old school. I think that they'd celebrated their centenary before I got there. So it was one of the old original Cape schools, all white, and a lot of the old buildings, like a Cape Dutch… Well it wasn't quite Cape Dutch, but it was a beautiful imposing old building. It was an all girls' school, quite an academic school. I know that the principal used to interview the kids who came to the school. Mainly they would come from Gravenhurst Girls Junior School, which was another building close by. But they still were interviewed. I mean I didn't have anything to do with that process, but I know they were interviewed, to come in. And they used to wear lovely uniforms - blue gym dresses and navy blazers, and tights in the winter and white socks, short white socks, in the summer.

"We teachers didn't wear uniforms but we had to wear dresses. We were - not - allowed to wear pants. And we used to always be really mad about that! I mean, our principal was very good, she was strict and she had the school under control and the kids used to respect her. She was a great support for the teachers in that way, I mean you just had to say to the class 'Well I'm sending you to [the principal]' and you'd have no trouble. You know? So she was very supportive in that way, you just have to say - she had a bench outside her office, and you'd send the kids to sit on that bench. And that was it, kind of thing… (claps her hands) It was good to have that kind of thing to rely on, 'cause I know in some schools, you can threaten the kids to kingdom come and they don't

listen to you!

"So yes, it was a very traditional, strict kind of school. It was a strict dress code, the kids weren't allowed to have their hair touching their collars. If you hair touched your collar, it had to be tied up. And you weren't allowed to run in the corridors... And I used to find myself running every now and then... (grins) I was this young teacher, and I would still run everywhere, you know? (laughing) Ohh!! I remember, I wasn't allowed to run in the corridors, if I'd run from this staff room to the... thing or something like that, and... you weren't allowed to whistle... that was very unladylike.

"It was almost all female teachers. There was one man... the French teacher was a male; Monsieur VandenBerg; he was obviously of Dutch... French, kind of origin; Pierre... he was Pierre, but VandenBerg, and so of course, the kids used to swoon over him! You know, 'cause he was the one and only male teacher! It's sort of ridiculous... (laughing) He didn't mind being with a whole lot of women! He was married and had a kid and everything, but he used to just be fine with all the women around him! (giggles) I know he used to come into the staff room and... you know, get all mad about things and say, ['man, the women!,'] you know? (laughing) And swear and carry on!

"Yeah, it was funny... But then, there were some of us young teachers there; but then there were quite a few older... spinster teachers as well. They were unmarried, Miss... So-and-so, and we used to sometimes... we younger teachers used to moan about them because they were just so... (sighs) ridiculous about rules and things like that, you know nothing was computerized when I first started teaching, and you used to have to write up your mark books and things like that and... hand them in to the vice-principal for checking and... then she'd - huh! - say 'Miss McDonald' -- I was Miss McDonald at the

time -- 'These lines are not supposed to be in pencil, they're supposed to be in pen,' you know, those kind of petty things, and we used to say 'Oh! They need to be married, they need a man in their lives...' (laughing) We used to just moan about them!

"So, the vice-principal was a miss... Miss Lewis, and then there was another older teacher, the Latin teacher was Miss Charleston, and there was another older... Afrikaans teacher. Miss Marais. And she used to have a little dog, Buddy. He used to sit in the classroom with her all day long and follow her around the corridors! You know, she had been there years and years and years. And she used to - I don't know if she taught the kids very much (grins) really... I don't know what, she used to be in the kitchens cooking half the time! She was always cooking [for] the staff... flavoury tarts and this and that and the next thing... She was very sweet, but she has died now, poor old soul...

"And I taught English language and literature. We used to have thirty-five minute lessons, they weren't long lessons. And then once a week we'd have a double lesson, which then would be an hour and ten minutes. But we'd see the kids every day. And I also used to teach Afrikaans, but just to the Standard Sixes and Sevens because I didn't feel competent enough to teach the higher standards. I taught second-language Afrikaans. Originally English-speaking kids would take mostly second-language Afrikaans; you could take first-language Afrikaans but most English-speaking kids would take second-language Afrikaans. And I used to teach religious instruction as well. It was a Christian school of course, the government... policy and so, every year I'd have to teach some class or other in religious instruction. So that's what I did, and... yeah it was very traditional kind of... the desks were mostly in rows, and old-fashioned desks, with the lift-up lids and feet.

"And also, then you had to teach a sport. Well you didn't have to - we used to get mad because we young teachers were always saddled with all the sports and these old spinster women never used to do anything! Oh!! (laughing) In the staff room, we used to get so mad! But anyway... so I taught field hockey, in the winter. Which meant longer hours as well; you did that straight from three o'clock, from lessons, you're out there on the field! Doing sport! You know, these teachers in Canada don't really know! We used to work... I think much harder (grins) than them, we used to have to do the sport as part of our job, you know? So that used to go to five o'clock or whatever; and then every Saturday (claps her hands) it was matches. Matches were every Saturday, against the different schools, so you'd have to go and take your team. If it was an away-match you'd drive them in the school bus to the school, and play the match on a Saturday. And then in the summer I did athletics, and we used to go to all-day athletics on Saturdays."

From South Africa to England (1989)

Leaving South Africa

"...It was in the late eighties, and we were just upset about the politics in South Africa at that stage, you know? Mandela was still in prison, and we didn't always agree with the government policies and things like that and my husband often said 'Achh, we should - just - leave,' and I wasn't too keen to just - up and leave 'cause I'd never been overseas before. And I said I'd rather like to visit a place first, before I just leave South Africa... In the end, John managed to get a placement with his accountancy firm in London for two years, and I thought oh that's good you know, we can go and live and work in England for two years; and then see what happens.

"So that's what we did, it was in the end of 1989. We sold up our house and everything, and left; and then Mandela was released about a year afterwards, I think? Just the year after we'd left South Africa! It really went fast! Things changed a lot, but we still... weren't sure about what the future was gonna be like in South Africa and my parents had always said 'You know, you should get out,' and John's parents had also said 'You should see if you can make a life somewhere else,' so we also had those kinds of suggestions from family... And lots of people were leaving around us as well, you know? So then we thought, well, we'll try and see if we can stay in England. 'Cause we were only there for two years but if we managed to get a job to stay, that would be great. So John did some work for a South African held company, and they offered him a job in England. So that was great, that was our way of staying. So we did that; and we managed to get our British citizenship, which is what we wanted to do - we wanted to be able to get citizenship from another country. Which would enable us to move around more freely."

Following the Transition From Afar

"We watched the television... (sighs) a lot, in England. Yeah, F.W. de Klerk... and Mandela coming out of jail, being met by all the crowds in Cape Town, in front of the town hall, whatever it's called, Parliament Square or something. We watched it on TV a great deal. And then I have letters... we went on the internet, or on email at that time, we would write letters home and get news from family, and then also from some friends who came over, I had quite a few friends come over and stay with us that year. And then you get the news from them, and talk to them about it. And we were all glad, because this is

fantastic, you know? 'Look at how quick it's changing and it...' And we were so amazed, at how forgiving Mandela was, you know he was ready to... work together with the white people, and make a go of it, which is what he did, you know... He was an amazing man like that...

"So we were all really glad about that, and then of course as the years go by, and you see how things are developing, and crime, and this and that, and... the farmers that were starting to be harassed and killed and some stock being stolen, then you - then people start being disappointed and it's 'Now, this is not going the way we're going,' and we would always say 'Oh, it's gonna take... twenty or more years,' you know? We were never gonna go back! Because we knew that there was gonna be a lot of change that had to go about, you know... And we were going to watch this change from where we were. And see how things panned out. And often we say it's changed... it's changed for the better sooner than we thought, but on the other hand it's not going and it's not what we had hoped... Well... we feel [it's] still not right for us to go back, with our kids... with the education... And like, watch how the schools change, and obviously I was a teacher so I'd speak to my friends who came over, just how the schooling was changing...

"Because when I was at Gravenhurst, there were still some riots going on. There were a couple of times when... there would be an alert and all the shutters would close, and we'd all be in our classrooms, 'cause there was an alert of a bomb or a riot or something like that, and there were no black people at school. Not - at - all. And then once Mandela was released, and things started changing, then I'd hear about how there were black people in the school, and just sometimes how... they weren't as well-prepared as the white children who'd come from a white system, they'd come from a black school,

so some teachers would have trouble with trying to get them on a par [with the white students.] And then of course funding, now there wasn't [any funding,] because all the white schools used to get the most funding, and now there were lots of black people coming in and they had to fund all the schools -- black white everybody -- so there wasn't enough money to go around.

"Now the parents had to pay much more money, because school fees when I was teaching were not that much... 'cause at thirty Rand a term, it was a lot! Thirty! I mean it was really minimal! It was all government education, all your books would be provided, everything, you know? You didn't have to pay a thing. Nothing. If you were a boarder you'd pay for your boarding, and you'd buy your own pencils and pens and your own uniform but everything else was free! And then it wasn't even enforced to pay those school fees. You didn't have to pay them. If you came and said, 'I can't afford to pay them,' you didn't have to pay them. And then suddenly, how school fees just went up... amazingly! Of course especially for the white people, because now they weren't getting the government funding anymore to run the schools, and to have the number of teachers that they wanted to have, to pay the salaries and whatever... parents still wanted to keep the standards up, but in order to do that they had to pay much more in school fees. You know, hundreds and thousands now, instead of like, thirty Rand per term!

"This is how lots of private schools started out, lots. In that time period. In that time, since I've gone! Like, little private schools would start, and a couple of teachers I taught with would go... to teach in some of these private schools or start them up... Not that they didn't want to teach in the government schools I don't think, but it was an opportunity for them, to do that... Not that they didn't want to uh... associate with the

blacks, but they felt that they could keep the standards up that they wanted… what their expectation of the school should be, they could maybe keep the standards up. And even in my family, I mean John's sister's kids went to a private school, and we started hearing of lots of family and friends, whose kids are going to private schools. And others stayed where they were; and the [government] schools are… are great, you know? …But then most of the schools where the parents are, you know, in wealthy areas where the parents can pay the school fees that are required, [their kids go to the private schools.] And lots of moaning about how the standards were going downhill, because now it was all being leveled off rather than [being] kept up there, and then also people would grumble about university standards dropping… that maybe the standard is dropping and also to get into university, they've lowered their expectations, so that more people could get in, in a more fair way kind of thing… now there are these lower standards.

"Of course… you know, once your kids start going to school with uh, the general population, it's the norm for them, and so it's becoming more and more of the norm. As the generations grow up with that experience. It isn't such a shock as it was in the beginning, I think. But in the rural areas you still have the black schools, you know? 'Cause for the black people to come to a white school, they have to buy a uniform; they have to pay the school fees that have gone up, you know? And they've gotta come in from where they are living; I mean they are allowed to live wherever they like now, but that takes money, to go and move and buy another house! So naturally, you do still have black schools, and not enough teachers in those areas, and… not qualified, you know? I mean, schools that were mainly white are still majority white schools, and vice versa. It's just that there're no rules against it. You can if you want to [go to a white school], but it's

sort of an economic thing now... whether you can afford to or not. And of course you'll never have white people going to the black schools, never, so you won't have that integration, it will always be from that end coming into the white schools. It's just reality that sets in.

"Still... it was nice, it was great you know, to see the change from afar. We were all rejoicing with the change, because we... we didn't agree with apartheid. So that was great, but you know, then it was always interesting to hear how things were going in South Africa and how all the things were changing..."

From England to Canada (1997)

Leaving England

"We came to Canada through the same company that my husband John was working for in England. They offered him a job -- it was a South African held company -- and then it was sold to another South African company. Then he continued to work for them in England, and then they were looking at a plant here in Canada. And he came over here and did some work for them here, and then they offered him a full-time job. He really wanted to take it - I didn't want to know about it (grins) at all... I didn't wanna go through another move! Not at all, and you know I was very happy in England, my kids were born there, and I had a really good group of friends, you make such good friends, and you've got babies, having a big baby group, and... I was very happy in England, I loved England. I love all the culture and the history and all the beautiful places we could visit...

"Anyway, so when he wanted to come to Canada I didn't even wanna talk about

it! (laughs) And often he would say 'you wanna talk about it now,' and I just didn't

wanna talk about it but… anyway eventually we did come over, we came over in August

to look at a house and things like that, and when we got here it was beautiful summer

weather… (starts to laugh) and they were having a festival on, and it looked really nice,

so I thought 'Okay, maybe it won't be so bad.' So that's how we came over here.

Through the same job, you know, the same company. In January 1997 we arrived here.

So we were in England for seven years and then we moved here. It wasn't as difficult to

move here from a family point of view, you know? Because I'd already left the family in

'89. And when we left in '89… also it wasn't a huge big wrench from the family because

we went with adventure, to travel and things like that, and then we lived there and we

liked it, so we just stayed on… It wasn't like I was being forced to leave from the family

at any time. But I mean I do miss them now, especially with the kids getting older… that

they almost never see their family, their cousins or their grandparents… We do go, to

always sort of re-establish the relationship, get to know each other again. And I love

being with my brothers and things, but it's a very rare occasion that we are together."

Teaching in Canada

"Now when we came here… Eric couldn't go to the local public school, because

he was too young by fourteen days, and they're so strict on age-things! You know he had

been going to school full-time in England because they do that from when they're four.

And so all the kids his age seemed to be going to sort of… play-group type of things and I

just wasn't happy with that. I wanted something more academic and structured for him.

So then I found the Montessori school, they went to the Montessori school and then I just

got to speaking to some of the teachers there, and they just all said, no they're qualified, and this, and... they [got qualified] by correspondence. So then I thought, well that's a good thing, I could do a correspondence course. And even if I didn't use it, I could... learn a little bit more about Montessori, because my kids were going to the school. So that's what I started doing; I wrote away for the papers and things, and then... I'd asked the school if I could just volunteer once a week, or one morning, just to get practical experience. I mean it was a totally different teaching experience, because I'd been doing high school and this was little ones, and very different, but still it was where my kids were, so that was really nice as well. And then they said they'd think about it; and they came back and they said 'Well, why don't you come every day; every afternoon,' and then Jacob could come to the school for nothing!

"So that's how I started teaching here, I started volunteering at the school. For a year I volunteered, and Jacob went there for free. So then, the following year they offered me a full-time job! So then I was teaching - I taught at that school for five years. And then... in the interim I did get all my papers together to the Ontario College of Teachers. 'Cause I needed to get that, in case I ever wanted to use it again, get all the papers and get my Ontario license; so I did do that, and then I got my Letter of Consent. Which means you can go and get a job. But I had this job at the Montessori already and I was happy there, it was sort of a low-stress job, my kids were at the school, so it suited me. But I just didn't look into it well enough and I didn't realize that I could actually get my Letter of Consent converted to an Interim Certificate at this particular school. I thought that you'd have to go to a public school in Ontario. And I thought I'd have to teach kids, the ages I used to teach, to convert it. But then it didn't seem like that was,

and anyway it was merely valid for three years, and when it was about to expire I thought I better do something about this thing again! And then I was looking into what I could do; and I finally realized that I could convert it at the school I was teaching at. So I did convert it there, but then I had to teach for two hundred days…

"By then we also didn't know if we were gonna move, because John had lost his job by then [because the company closed], and we didn't know if we were gonna move… I couldn't say to them that I would return for sure so I just decided to go supply-teaching with the Public School Board; so that's what I did last year. I was supply-teaching. And then you could get your days by supply-teaching, to get your proper certificate. So I got into that and I was being called a lot! And then we moved south, to this place here. …I was called only a little bit this year, but not much, because we moved here. And then I applied to the [local school board here]. And I was successfully interviewed by them, so I'm on their list, but they're very slow in getting it all processed. I still haven't done the police check and all those kind of things. So hopefully in September… I'll get going with that again. I'll start with supply-teaching because I like the flexibility at the moment with my kids, just supply-teaching, I like to be able to say no, I don't wanna do it, or no I can't do it this week, or whatever. And when the kids get older… then I can go back to work full-time! Maybe… yeah they grow up so quickly you know… I just wanna have the best of both worlds, I suppose!"

On Dutch Reformed Schools in Canada

"Our kids are in a Dutch Reformed school here, in fact that's how I met Sandy! Because our kids go to the same school. Well, they started off going to another Dutch

Reformed school, where we lived before.[5] And there are quite a few [kids from] different denominations who attend these schools now. I mean, there are still lots of Dutch names in the school and we find it quite funny to begin with, because we're used to saying the Dutch names in the Afrikaans way from South Africa; and for my husband and I it was quite difficult to say, '...Miss Oosterhuis (pronounced uu)' rather than Oosterhuis (pronounced oo) and things like that and... (laughing) Volk - Wolk - Wolk rather than Volk. So anyway, but now we're used to it. And other than that it's been fine, you know? Because there are lots of different denominations, and our very best friends at the other Christian school, they were Anglican. I suppose maybe we tended to befriend ones that were... I don't know. But one was Anglican, one was Catholic, so... they weren't the Dutch people, [the ones we befriended]. (sighs) ...I don't know sometimes... we don't want to be overly religious, you know? So I suppose we tended to go with people that weren't too much into... too fundamentalist.

"Because you do get some people who are very fundamentalist and I've been a little bit wary about that, so if the kids come home with some kind of story that they learned in Bible or did in devotions, I... do prick up my ears and just say well, 'This is just... this is how we see things,' just to try and give them what I think is a balanced view, not too fundamentalist. You know because sometimes, like our Catholic friends, they've had a bit of trouble sometimes with some kids... criticizing them for being Catholics and even one of a couple of teachers, saying some negative things about Catholicism. These teachers were also Dutch... people - I'm not saying there's anything

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[5] John and Jane enrolled their two sons, Eric and Jacob, at the Dutch Reformed school just mentioned after their initial attendance at the Montessori school mentioned earlier, where Jane taught for five years.

wrong with that, but they were real fundamentalist kind of teachers and you can get a feel for some teachers that are more so than others… I know that there were a couple of things… Like, you know, 'Be careful of interfaith marriages,' the kids would come home with this story, you know, 'It makes it difficult if it's an interfaith marriage,' and uhhh… (groans) So, just at those kinds of things sometimes I prick my ears up. But generally I think it's good, you know, that they're learning the Bible, and things like that…

"We chose to have them in the Dutch Reformed school because it was a Christian school there and it had a good reputation… it was a nice small school, and they were happy to put the kids in the grade that we thought that they should be in. We visited both the public school and this school and we just really liked the atmosphere there, you know? The classes, the kids seemed to be really well-behaved, and working well, so we just had a good feeling about it. That's why they did actually go there! (grins) And they love it! They really like it. And then when we moved here, we visited the local public school, and a couple of private schools and the school they're in obviously, 'cause it's the same system. And Eric and Jacob looked just really uncomfortable at the public school -- it's just big, I suppose, and the kids just seemed a little bit more rambunctious -- I'm not sure, but they were sort of clinging against the walls… And some of the private schools were great, but they're very expensive. And then we went to the Dutch Reformed school, and they just immediately looked comfortable there, they just… I could see them physically relaxing at the school and it's small, it's the same system, so we just put them in. They're familiar with it. But we do find the discipline at this school not as good as at the previous school, so… But we put up with it or learn to adapt… (grins)

"So that's why we're in this school. I don't know if they want to view themselves

as a Dutch school anymore, 'cause they are trying to get more interdenominational. I mean still all the Dutch names - we joke about the English names coming into the school, with all the Dutch names! (grinning) But they accept it, if you don't go to the Dutch church type-of-thing. I must say, the two Christian schools that my kids went to… people seem very normal. You do get some who, you know… We'd get a little bit worried sometimes if my kid's birthday party was on a Sunday, and a couple would say 'No, they can't go to a birthday party on a Sunday,' but generally, the people are totally normal and fine about it. So, we haven't found too much trouble with it at all."

Migration Ruminations

"Settling really can take a long time! Because I was further north from here for six years, and I was only just really starting to feel settled, and we hadn't made a great deal of friends but we'd made a couple of really good family friends. Canadians. And… we're still friends with them; we still see them because it's not too far away, but it takes a lot of time. Now I was always busy, and I really liked the people I worked with, but there was no friend who… when we came back from holidays they'd phone you and say, 'Ohh, you're back now, and how did it go, how was it…' you know? Or that they went on holidays and you phoned, to find out how their holiday went, or somebody to confide in when things went wrong, I didn't have anybody that kind of friendly. And now… now I do, those two friends do, you know, if I get back from holiday they'll phone, or those kinds of things. So… that's taken six, seven years to do that, kind of thing.

"All our family is still back in South Africa. Everyone. Every single one. We're the only ones that are away. All John's siblings are in South Africa and all my siblings

are in... Well actually one of my brothers is in Zambia but it's still on the African continent! And England was great because we saw more friends from South Africa in England, because people tend to go to England and Europe more from South Africa, it's not so far. People like to go and travel Europe for a holiday, and I find fewer people come to North America from South Africa to visit, it's really far and expensive, and it's harder to see your family. ...John and I often say that if we didn't have kids, we probably would have gone back... I don't know, who knows. You know because often you get fed up with things here, or... say 'I'm just gonna go back home to South Africa' -- not -- you don't -- you say it flippantly. You don't really mean it. We might have if we didn't have kids, but we feel that this is good for them here.

"It can be so hard... like my mom got cancer in South Africa when we were living here. Actually she was going to come here - two days before she was about to fly, she... discovered she had cancer of the colon and had to have an operation and couldn't come... She died six months later so she never got to come here. And that was pretty hard, being so far away with my mom dying, that's tough... I felt guilty from my mom's point of view 'cause... you know I'd gone and she didn't really ever see her grandchildren much... My brother lives in Zambia, and my other, younger brother was in Cape Town which is also far away from where she lived! I just felt that she was lonely and then she had this cancer and you know, I felt guilty that she was alone and that we were so far away. But I went during Christmastime, and then I managed to go again in March with the kids, and then I went again in June, when she died. So I did go three times when she was sick.

"That's really - that's when you feel guilty, and bad. I would have loved for her

to have just stayed in her house! And maybe died in her house, but because of circumstances we couldn't be there. I mean I had my family here and my brother's in Zambia and our other brother in Cape Town and we just couldn't… We had to put her in a home… So that was taking her out of her environment and I'm sure that depressed her even more, when she was sick. But that was the only way we could do it, in the end… I'm sure she would have been actually happier if she was in her own home when she died, but there we go. It did work out quite well then because I came for a bit and then, luckily my brother from Zambia came for a bit and then my brother from Cape Town, so we did talk to each other and we tried to share the responsibility a little bit. And luckily my dad lives in the same town, although he was married again, you know he was around for her quite a bit as well. But… that is difficult when you've emigrated and your family's back there. That's tough. So often I'm so grateful that my dad's remarried and, his wife's ten years younger than he is… although she's been a bit ill lately… But I just always feel so happy that he's got somebody and that there's somebody to look after him, you know it's almost like, takes the guilt off my shoulders a bit…"

Gender and Migration

"I'm not as much of a risk-taker as John is. He doesn't mind taking risks, and sticking his neck out and things like that. So when we first were talking about leaving South Africa he was just ready to emigrate, you know? I'm much more cautious and fearful about taking chances than he is! So I didn't want to just, go to a place that I've never even laid eyes on before. Because I'd never been overseas at all! When we left, that was the first time I'd ever left South Africa. So in the end we didn't [right away

emigrate], we went on a two-year work-thing. So, that was fine. And then once I got to England and got used to it, I was happy to stay there. But I always like to see where I'm going, first. And then, I suppose the same [thing happened] when we came to Canada! Then I was used to England, and I'd had my children, and I had my group of friends, and I was really happy where I was. And then we talked about coming to Canada and I just couldn't stand the thought of moving to somewhere where I didn't know again! And plus my kids had their friends and I had my group of friends, I didn't wanna leave that again...

"I'd left some friends in South Africa the first time, a really good group of friends there; and okay I made new ones in England, but I knew that I'd have to leave them again. So I think I was getting tired of leaving friends behind. That's why I didn't even wanna talk about it at first, to move to Canada... I didn't... And then for John, he always had a job to go to. And the first time I went, he had the job, and I always had to follow on and then find one somewhere, find something, or establish myself once I got to the place. So that's also more difficult, you know... I'm following, and he'd visited the place in Canada quite a few times before coming, so he knew where he was gonna work and who he was gonna be working with, and all that sort of thing. So that was good - he was always set up every time we moved, even when we moved here, he's set up with a job and then I've got to... pick up the pieces again, you know? So, I find that tough... I seem strong to people on my side because that's what they say then, but I don't think that's - sometimes, [I'm] not so strong inside...

"And when we moved from England to Canada, I'd had my two kids... Jacob was two and a half and I started to get itchy feet, started thinking that I should re-establish my career, my teaching career. And I hadn't worked for... you know, four and a half years or

something, and you start panicking that everyone's passing you by and things. And, so I'd started doing a back-to-teaching course once, and then I gave it up, and then I started another one. And they had been free [events,] you know, back to teaching, you know, getting yourself established and things. And then this thing about moving came up. And I couldn't finish it again! So this is when I thought, I was gonna start getting myself going, and we had to move again! And then a totally different country with a system I didn't know, so that was difficult... so for the first six months of living in Canada I was unhappy because I didn't know the place and plus this job-thing, what am I gonna do, what am I gonna do... so I was depressed on two fronts. Yeah, on two fronts I was depressed. So that's the thing.

"And you know once you move... John goes to work... perfect; I had to find all the schools for the kids, you know I just had no clue what the schools were like, where they were, I mean I started off just in the Yellow Pages! And I'd never driven in Canada, and it was the middle of winter... and driving on the other side of the road... And you just have to get in the car and do it! You got these kids, you gotta find a school for them! So, I think it's tough on women from that point of view you know, you've always got to... (clasps her hands) go and find the schools, and then start establishing friends for the kids, and supporting them and finding them activities to do... So I think, sometimes it takes a lot of courage and effort to do that.

"And now again I'm playing catch-up, with this teaching and having moved here, you know? I was just getting known by the schools over where we were and... being called a lot, and then, you know you come here, and nobody knows you again. It's just all the time, you know? That's what I found difficult about moving often... And then

often I think back to my other friends, in South Africa where we all taught together. And I've never been in the position where you... fall pregnant, and you go on maternity leave. I've never been at a job where... I've always been looking for jobs after I've had a baby... I haven't been in a job and then gone on maternity leave and then you go back to your same job that you know, and it's not stressful because you know the situation, so that's probably why I've been a little bit more reluctant to leave places than my husband...

"I mean I'm not saying - John is very supportive, he's always supportive and always lifted me up and encouraged me and everything, but it's still on your shoulders, those kind of things. It's just, you're the mother and he's working full-time! He's working! He's bringing in the food and the money, so you gotta just do that! Who knows, it could be the other way around, I know some people where it's the other way around, but not in our situation... But then, once I've moved to a place I don't sit in the house and mope. I do things and go and meet people because nobody's gonna come and knock on your door! You know? You've gotta get out there, and meet people, and make little groups for your kids, and make them feel at home... Everyone always says I'm very friendly and they can't believe that I'm... maybe a bit shy or whatever; because I don't seem to be like that but you just gotta make the effort. You have to do it otherwise you just get depressed."

On Violence

"Now my dad, he's just moved from his farm in the Eastern Cape. 'Cause he and his new wife had been living there for a while and you know... they've been worried

about their future as well 'cause lots of farmers have been just killed in South Africa! And some of my dad's very good friends have just been murdered on their farms since the change! Actually, talking about my dad being so anti-government before and influencing me - he's now really quite conservative, you know, 'things aren't right here, it's just terrible' and he's quite negative now about how things are going and the crime and just... this and that and '...it's going like Zimbabwe' - I'm sure you know, the stories of the farmers. So it's interesting that my dad, he was so... against having Africans suppressed... he's now quite negative! And it seems to be the older generations that are like that. Like, John's parents also 'don't ever come back!' and you know 'the black government this and that' and the next thing you know, first it was the white government that wasn't good enough, and now it's the black government that's just 'corrupt' and this and that, and 'it's going like Zimbabwe...' Whereas our younger friends who are staying and not leaving now... I suppose they have to be more positive, you know? So they've got a more positive outlook, and if you didn't, you probably would die of depression!

"But they all live behind walls, and have got security systems, and... we even heard from our very good friends [who live near Cape Town] that they'd hired somebody to guard their kids going to the park and things like that, you know?! So... that's different from Canada, I mean, talking about differences between South Africa and Canada, you know this is just so... people don't realize what a wonderful life they have here! It's just so secure. Ahh! In South Africa, you just don't have open yards like this. I mean, maybe long ago they used to... But now you have huge high fences, sometimes it's barbed wire or they've got electric wires around the thing, and you got alarm systems and gates on your doors. So if you wanna open your front door, you've got a gate that is

locked on all the doors, and you've got the bars on all the windows, so you do live in your home like it's a prison.

"You know not everybody has that, like my parents-in-law. There are areas that are safer, but my dad and his wife, they moved because they're in the country and they're worrying about their old age, and their safety and things like that. So they moved to a town on the coast, near the Western Cape. My dad says it's much safer there, there aren't as many black people around, so it's more secure. Not that he's totally against black people but there does seem to be more crime where there are black people. There's obviously unemployment and so you've gotta live somewhere, so there's lots of crime where those kinds of people are around more. So they've moved to a safer place. And people always used to say Cape Town was not as dangerous as Johannesburg but lately we've heard it's just as dangerous, you know…

"South Africans do discuss it here, you know? Like with Sandy at first, I asked why she left, and she asked why I left. You always say, 'Why did you leave?' And it's normally the whole thing about security that they talk about.[6] Recently it's security, that people left. And then you have discussions about how the… (sighs) you know, they talk about how the government isn't right, what the government's like now and how they're not addressing issues, or you know, security's not being looked after, or… often reverse discrimination is discussed, and those kinds of things. But I don't ever think… you know we never… people haven't discussed it… 'It should be reversed,' you know, 'go back to the way it was,' kind of thing, you know? Because we don't think that that was right, but

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[6] But recall Sandy's emphasis that security was *not* a reason why she and her husband Rick decided to settle in Canada rather than in South Africa.

now lots of things are criticized as to how it's going at the moment! That opportunities for white people are more limited, and things aren't safe…

"My friend Marcia [Ravenbury]… she often likes to tell me horror stories about what's going on in South Africa. She seems to hear quite a few things about what's going on in Durban, and her mother being held up by somebody or seeing a hold-up or something… And sometimes we'll say something positive… like last year when we came back from South Africa, we'd been there for five weeks, and we were really impressed, especially with Cape Town, how great it was looking! Lots of building going on, and people all seemed… you know, people that we saw, and our friends and that, all seemed to be happy and their jobs seemed to be going well. And things were looking clean and well-kept, whereas previous times we've gone it was looking a little bit run-down, but Cape Town was looking good… And even Joburg, we just drove around the edge of Joburg, but there's lots of construction going on.

"So we thought, oh! You know, 'this is looking quite good,' and then we'd say to my dad 'Oh, things are looking good,' and then he would have all the negative things to say, and then also when we came back, you know we'd say things are looking good, but often Marcia and them would mention negative things about it. There's always something that brings it down… something negative! …But when I went to South Africa last year, I also saw some negative things, which John didn't see because John was just in May in Cape Town with me, and in the Drakensberg and in Johannesburg, [but] he wasn't in the country. So I was in the country with my dad, in the Eastern Cape, and we drove through bits of the Eastern Cape that had been given over to the blacks, you know, where land was given back to them. Especially like, around Fort Beaufort and… in the Cat

River Valley, there're… there were beautiful orange citrus orchards. And they used to grow beautiful citrus there, and these have just… gone, to the dogs. So you can see how, with lack of knowledge, and… the expertise and things like that… these people don't really know how to run these places! No… it's just uh… deteriorated terribly and then further on near Gravestone - the same thing. There were beautiful pineapple plantations that have also just gone to nothing, you know? And that's where my dad will… (sighs) 'People don't know how to look after anything,' and 'It's just a waste,' and 'They've chucked all the white people out, yeah, but there, look what's happened now…' So there are negative things, especially in the countryside…"

'Sometimes You Feel like a Refugee'

"My dad was always very… 'you must get out,' and… 'don't come back,' you know… There was one time in England that there was a possibility of a job in Joburg, and it was before Eric was born. And 'should we go back, shouldn't we,' it was a huge big decision and at that time, both parents said 'don't - think - about coming back, don't you ever think about coming back!' And then again now when John lost his job in Barrie two years ago, there was another possibility of a job in Johannesburg. (sighs) And again, the same thing from our parents. So then sometimes we get cross and say 'Well it's fine for you to speak!' You know, 'You're not the ones that are the - refugees!' You know? 'Cause sometimes we do… you get sad! And sometimes you feel like a refugee; well we feel like… we chose to be refugees as it were but… maybe if South Africa was different we would still be there! You know? (deep breath…) …Because of the politics of the country at that time, we just did what we chose to do, but we sometimes feel like we're

refugees and we don't wanna go back 'cause maybe circumstances aren't so great for our kids there. Anyway, it's easy for them to say! And now my dad's actually moved... it's obviously a great step, he's lived in this town for years and years and years and he loved his little farm... I think in some little way now, he can identify with what a wrench it is, to move to... now, for us a totally different culture even, you know?

"I suppose we often get fed up and say, 'We're refugees, by choice.' We weren't kicked out, but... we do feel that way. ...Well first of all, we didn't feel that we wanted to be part of the apartheid regime, we didn't agree with it, so we left. And then we didn't wanna go back because things are still not right, and there was this reverse discrimination, and things weren't gonna be good for our kids, and what future are they gonna have there, you know? We'd left once, and it was hard enough, and why take our kids back there, for them to maybe have to leave again - rather just let them have a safe life in Canada or England or wherever it was, where they've got a good future. But we still long for South Africa, and we still feel South African and identify with the people and the country is beautiful, and... you know, it's so, when you're an immigrant you often feel upset and... not at ease with things, and you say then 'Oh... I'm just gonna go back to South Africa, I'm sick and tired of this place here' but then you think, ah well, but you can't go back to South Africa, so then you feel like you're a refugee... you've chosen to come here, but... you can't pick up and you... you can't go back.

"So that's how we feel, sometimes. Yeah, sometimes we feel just from a personal point of view, not sort of... 'It should be the way it was,' but, you just... (sighs) feel that you haven't got the choice to go back. ...Well you have, but you shouldn't be making that choice, for our future, for our kids, their education. We often say - I don't know, but

we often say that if we didn't have kids we would've gone back. And then, you know with the crime… that's a big issue that people do have in South Africa, you do see people leaving if they've got the chance to leave and so they do feel, and often say, that they have been driven out, they can't stay there anymore so you're being driven out. And then you see things like Zimbabwe, physically driving out the white people - especially the farmers, they say the same, South Africa is going the same way, and [Robert] Mugabe [the current leader of Zimbabwe, described by one informant as "loony Robert"]… well Mbeki didn't criticize Mugabe, so they're in cahoots… So I can understand when people argue that they are being driven out…"

In relating segments of Sandy's and Jane's life stories, I have aimed to let them speak for themselves as much as possible within the limitations outlined earlier (see Chapter Six; and Chapter Seven, n.1). The current chapter provides a comparative analysis of these 'British' South African migrant women's narratives. Following anthropologist Sharon Roseman, "[m]emories, as narratives, are also discourses. They can be analyzed with regard to their rhetorical strategies, aesthetic components, performative contexts, and other linguistic and metalinguistic aspects" (Roseman 2003b:438; see also White 2001:497). Accordingly, the comparative analysis that follows focuses on the discursive elements and issues that play important (and often different) roles in Sandy's and Jane's accounts.

The first section of the chapter addresses Sandy's and Jane's position as 'white,' British South African women who grew up in apartheid South Africa. This section is thus concerned with the generational nature of their stories (Mangini 1995, Passerini 1987, 1996). Accordingly, I consider each woman's positioning and stances in light of apartheid, including their consciousness of 'race' issues, racist oppression and their use of essentializing language (see Gramsci 1971 on consciousness; see also the introduction to the thesis). In the second section, I demonstrate how particular gendered positions and experiences have influenced their lives, in relation to their fathers, their former servants, their husbands and their children. Third, I focus on important decision-making processes in Sandy's and Jane's lives, especially those regarding apartheid in South Africa and the choice to leave the country. The role and influence of religious belief is addressed in all three sections, though most elaborately in the last section (it must be remembered that the

318

topics just delineated overlap and influence each other in multiple ways). I end the chapter with a brief conclusion.

Generational Memories

In what ways do Jane's and Sandy's accounts point towards the generational experience of white South African migrants who grew up during apartheid? Clearly, as British South African women of the same age range, their positions were similar: both Jane and Sandy grew up in privileged households and attended privileged schools and universities in a deeply divided country. Several parts of their narratives bring to light the discursive elements that characterize this privileged position during apartheid, including its lasting legacy.

Sandy's and Jane's positions, and the ways in which they describe these positions, are a result of the social, political and economic advantages that benefited all white South Africans during apartheid. In this vein, the essentialist categories that both of them drew upon in our conversations remained indicative of the racist history of South Africa. One example of linguistic essentialism found in both narratives comprises the uneasy shifts that took place between notions of 'the black people' and more complex conceptions of the lives of Sandy's and Jane's childhood servants, Doris and Emily. While 'black people' lived in "the townships" or on "the location," Doris and Emily had permanent homes in particular places that Sandy and Jane knew about (Bophuthatswana and the Millertown location), just as they knew (about) these women's families and friends. While black people's lives and circumstances were predominantly hidden from white people during apartheid, the employment of black servants comprised one way through

which white South Africans could gain insight into the conditions of black life in South Africa. Still, such insight was limited to the lives of the few nonwhite people, mostly female servants, with whom white people might have interacted (in an always unequal relationship), generating continued essentialist descriptions among white South Africans who grew up during apartheid (see Crehan 1997, Frankenberg 1997, Hartigan Jr. 1997, Mouffe 2000).

Though growing up during apartheid in South Africa is a generational experience that Jane and Sandy shared, their stories also clearly point towards their unique, individual experiences and interpretations *of* this generational history. Both women indicated that they "knew about apartheid" from early childhood on (as it was often discussed around Sandy's dinner table, and as Jane's father and schooling experiences influenced her). However, Sandy's consciousness of apartheid, as she grew into adulthood, was jointly shaped through her Christian faith journey and her increasing awareness of inequality and oppression in South Africa during her university years. Jane's story, on the other hand, points toward an initial contradiction: despite her father's and her school's influence, she argues that she "didn't know that it wasn't a right, that people couldn't choose to get ahead if they wanted to or live where they wanted to." While Sandy's words illustrate a consciousness of apartheid violence and of her privileged status -- a consciousness that turned into an active Christian stance against apartheid -- Jane's account is indicative of what may be considered a contradictory consciousness in light of her advantaged position (Gramsci 1971). In this vein also, Jane preferred to leave her home when her char came to work for her, even though she worried about providing this servant with the 'right' lunch.

Though inhabiting similar positions as British South African women, Sandy's and Jane's stories differ in their descriptions of how they experienced and interpreted apartheid. Closely linked through a generational history and a subjective identity (not only as white, but also as British women), their identities were nevertheless "constructed on contradictions" (Passerini 1996:22). Following Passerini's argument concerning her autobiographical work on the lives of "generation '68" Italians, "[e]ven those stories that emphasize the continuity of their own lives extract from the autobiographical material -- as far as the formative years are concerned -- recurring themes of division, of difference, of contrast" (Passerini 1996:22). In light of Jane's and Sandy's accounts, such contrasts and contradictions occur both between and within their stories.

Gendered Memories

In addition to the various generational aspects of Jane's and Sandy's stories, there are also specific gendered elements that pertain to their narratives. However, it is clear that the gendered positions and relationships that have played important roles in their lives have been different in the case of each woman. As their stories illustrate, their experiences already differed significantly during childhood. In this vein, Sandy described her father as "definitely the boss" in the household that she grew up in; in fact, as she once told me, "the only emotion he could really express was anger." When she became a Christian, her father was "antagonistic" towards her faith, and each time she and her husband Rick decided to migrate (three times in total), he got "really angry." Jane, on the other hand, described her relationship to her father as positive; indeed, she talked about him often during our visits, and it was clear that they continue to have a close

relationship, despite the great geographical distance between South Africa and Canada. Moreover, Jane's father (along with her mother and her husband's parents) always supported Jane and her family in their choice to emigrate, warning them to "not ever come back" to South Africa because of the changes happening in the country. Jane's elaborate discourses concerning the current levels of violence, crime and even a sense of 'chaos' in South Africa remain strongly influenced and supported by her father.

Sandy's and Jane's gendered relationships to their former maids also differ in important ways, even though both women recalled their various servants affectionately and with a comprehension of the latter's oppressed position in South African social, political and economic life. Sandy's account illuminates her understanding of the life of her childhood maid (Doris) especially well, including the gendered relationships that Doris had with her mother and father (see Chapter Three). This understanding has led to a continued relationship with Doris, who now works for Sandy's sister in South Africa. Accordingly, Sandy told me that every time she visits South Africa, she brings along "two or three suitcases of clothes" for Doris, which she can use or sell to "make a bit of money." Sandy also helped the two servants whom she and Rick employed in South Africa in the 1990s to find new jobs before they left South Africa in 1997. As she once explained it, "helping the maids" in this way was (and remains) her responsibility as a Christian, as a privileged white South African, and as a woman.

Jane's description of her gendered relationship to her childhood servant Emily differs from Sandy's account, in part because Jane never kept up a relationship with Emily. Nevertheless, Jane also vividly remembers Emily's presence in and around her family's household in Millertown; indeed, her story attests to the fact that she loved to be

with Emily and the other servants when she was a child. However, Jane also told me that as her awareness of apartheid's brutality increased, she grew more and more uncomfortable with the normalized apartheid ideology of employing a servant. Recognizing the inequality of the relationship she would have with any nonwhite servant she hired, she felt caught in the middle: on the one hand, she thought that she should hire a servant because nonwhite women needed jobs, and because it was 'normal' to hire a servant; on the other, the relationship made her so uneasy that she purposely left her home when the char was working. While Jane's uncertainty in relating to her char resulted in an ambiguous work relationship, Sandy directly interpreted her servants' lives as ones of suffering, resulting in a maternal Christian stance toward them.

Finally, the gendered nature of remembering is also evident in Sandy's and Jane's stories of their relationships to their husbands and in their roles as mothers (Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:14). Their narratives convey a similarity in their migration experiences, because Sandy and Jane both migrated several times due to their husbands' job situations. However, once again their accounts vary in important ways. Sandy's gendered position in relation to her husband Rick derives from Rick's Canadian identity *and* their joint commitment to the Christian faith. In light of her "cross-cultural marriage," Sandy explained that no matter where they lived, "one of us was always away from home." After many years, they managed to solve this dilemma (including Sandy's initial desire to have her children be 'South African' rather than 'Canadian') through their mutual "reliance on God."

Jane's account differs from Sandy's, in Jane's interpretation of her gendered experience as a wife and mother. As Jane so strongly expressed in her life story, it was

always through her husband John's initiative that they moved from place to place: from South Africa to England, from England to Canada, and then within Canada, from central Ontario further south towards Toronto. Granted, the last move was caused in large part by John's company's closure; as a result, he necessarily had to find another job, and this job turned out to be in Toronto. Nevertheless, as Jane expressed it, she was always the one "playing catch-up," particularly when it came to her own job as a teacher; and the responsibility to settle the family and to take care of her two children in their new environments always rests largely on her shoulders.

Decision-making Processes and Interpretations

In comparing and analyzing the various aspects of Jane's and Sandy's life stories, it becomes clear that each woman's life, though similar in light of their shared generational, British South African identities, has taken different courses. Their stories are stories of change and transformation, indicative of transformations in South African society in recent years, and of changes due to international migration. But how change actually happens -- how and when it exactly occurs, and how its results vary in people's lives -- is one of the most challenging problems in anthropology and other social sciences. In what follows, I compare 'change' in Jane's and Sandy's stories, including their own delineation of how they came to terms with important changes in their lives.

Changes are generated, at least in part, by decision-making processes, over which privileged people often have control. In this vein, Jane and Sandy both recognized that as British South Africans, their lives had been lives of privilege: the fact that the majority of people who have left South Africa in recent years have been white, well-educated people

(like Sandy and Jane and their husbands) attests to the continuing legacy of apartheid inequality. But lives, and the decisions that people make concerning their lives, are at the same time subjective in light of a host of influential elements. Following Geoffrey White, "[c]ultural analysis of historical narrative and its subjectivities… transit[s] back and forth between cognitive/affective processes on the one hand and institutional/historical forces on the other" (White 2001:506). While Jane's and Sandy's lives have been similarly shaped by particular "institutional/historical forces," the "cognitive/affective processes" (the bases from which they make their personal decisions) have taken different forms in their lives.

The binding thread throughout Sandy's life story is her conversion to Jesus when she was still a child, and her subsequent Christian faith. As a Christian, Sandy came to believe that faith and apartheid policy were directly in conflict with one another, and her commitment to Christianity largely drove her subsequent activities in South Africa on behalf of "the oppressed." Having married a Canadian, and having moved back and forth between South Africa and Canada three times, her current perspective is certainly that of a migrant woman who is part of a wider, predominantly white South African out-migration movement (see Crush, McDonald and Williams 2000, Myburgh 2002). In this vein, the migration experience has led to a transnational identity that both alienates and broadens her life experience (Brettell 2000:104). However, the "cognitive/affective processes" (or personal decision-making processes) that have affected Sandy's life have been strongly shaped by her and her husband's Christian faith, as Sandy has emphasized. The coherency of this faith, though expressed as an ambivalent force in parts of her story (for instance, in Sandy's relation to her father, during her university years, and in those

"in-between years" when she and Rick experienced marital conflict due to their disagreement on where to live), eventually led her and Rick to permanently settle in Canada.

While Sandy emphasized the role that Christianity has played in her life and in the choices and she and Rick have made, Jane's account differs significantly from Sandy's in Jane's explanation and interpretation of her and John's two international migrations. Instead of emphasizing religious influences and certainties, Jane's life story rests, in the first place, on a stronger gendered perspective. Second, it also rests on an uneasy balance between "feeling like a refugee" and discourses of violence and chaos in South Africa that Jane engages productively to justify her and John's long-term decision not to live in South Africa. Jane and John are, like Sandy and her husband Rick, also Christians; they attend the United Church in Canada and place a certain importance on raising their sons in a Christian manner. But Christian roles, practices and interpretations vary widely, as the life stories of Jane and Sandy clearly indicate.

Jane first met Sandy at the Christian school where Jane's sons and Sandy's daughter are currently enrolled. This Christian school (along with others like it) was founded by Dutch Reformed immigrants to Canada. Following Jane's and Sandy's stories, such schools have evidently become more interdenominational in recent years, so that children are allowed to attend even if their parents are not members of a Dutch Reformed denomination. In one way, the differences between the "cognitive/affective processes" in Jane's and Sandy's lives are well illustrated through their different reactions to the Dutch Reformed identity of their children's school. Upon discovering the close historical ties between Dutch Reformed theology and the Christian philosophy of the

school, Sandy immediately drew the connection to Afrikaner religiosity in South Africa. This connection initially scared her, because of what she had "seen it do in a political context. It's the potential way that that can go, the exclusivity of it." Sandy's reaction here illuminates her conception of the Christian faith, which is ultimately rooted in "more" than the Dutch Reformed practice of Christianity, and on which she bases her decisions and comprehends their consequences.

Though a Christian, Jane never defined her Christian faith in opposition to Dutch Reformed Christianity, as did Sandy. While Jane does not particularly identify with the Dutch Reformed people she meets (in fact, she and John tend to befriend other non-Dutch Reformed people whose children also attend the school), she nevertheless treats the situation relatively lightly, poking fun at the Dutch names and the "fundamentalism" of some Dutch Reformed people, and "pricking up her ears" should one of her sons come home with a "fundamentalist story." Compared to Sandy's response to the Dutch Reformism that still shapes the character of the school, Jane's reaction is 'less religious' altogether. But it tells of something else, for it points towards the "cognitive/affective processes" on which Jane's decisions and gendered interpretations are based, at least in part. A comparison of Jane's and Sandy's responses to the Dutch Reformed character of the Christian school that their children attend thus points towards the multiple and contrasting ways in which they (and their husbands) have made major life decisions, and the ways in which they interpret the consequences of those decisions.

Conclusion

Maloof, among others, has emphasized the importance of focusing on different

subjectivities within supposed cultural groups (an element of study that signifies the instability of hegemonic formations in people's lives; see Crehan 1997, 2002a and Gramsci 1971). As she has written:

> Each storyteller connects crucial, defining incidents and memories from her childhood with her present, concrete reality and projects her dreams and aspirations (for herself, her family and her loved ones, her community and homeland) onto the screen of an uncertain future in order to construct a unified identity from the fragments of her life. Her words illustrate how each woman structures a coherent self, in and through language, from the myriad of subjective and objective experiences that make up her life (Maloof 1999:2).

Accordingly, in this chapter I have provided a comparative analysis of Sandy's and Jane's life stories. Though they speak from similar generational positions, it is clear that Jane's and Sandy's lives have taken different courses: indeed, the discursive elements of their stories point toward multiple and contrasting decisions (and interpretations of those decisions) in light of apartheid, migration, the Christian faith and their gendered positions.

Multiple Influences

The two major changes experienced by 'white' South African migrants in recent years influence and shape their ambiguous discourses concerning South African history, and their current identity projects in Canada. The transformations with which I have been concerned consist of the official dismantling of apartheid as a totalitarian political system in South Africa in 1994, and migrants' personal chances and choices to emigrate from South Africa (occurring both in the apartheid and post-apartheid years). This latter issue -- the exodus of significant numbers of white South African citizens from South Africa -- has come to be characterized in recent years as a 'brain drain' - a term that not only signifies apartheid's racist, oppressive history, but also the continued legacy of this history and its discourses (Crush, McDonald and Williams 2000).

One major strategy that I have extensively drawn upon in my analysis consists of a focus on the workings of memory in immigrants' lives. Informants' memories provide a rich source of data that not only tells of their experiences in South Africa, Canada and elsewhere; it also indicates the unstable nature of the act of remembering. It is precisely by paying close attention to this instability that the subjectivities in people's lives, both as 'once-dominant' white South Africans and as migrants, become apparent. A second analytical focus in the thesis drew on the rich repertoire provided by feminist anthropology and gender studies, including research developed by scholars on women's migration experiences and life stories (see for example Brettell 1982, 2000, di Leonardo 1987, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996). While women's and men's memories and experiences overlapped in some situations, there were other situations wherein it

became clear that ways of remembering and experiencing were significantly varied, and sometimes even contrasting between women and men. This variation may be considered as signifying the gendered nature of remembering and experiencing, also in the migrant context.

Gendered memories and experiences constantly drew on 'race-invoking' and racist conceptions of 'blackness' and 'whiteness.' To better comprehend informants' invocations of these notions, I elaborated on Frankenberg's proposition that whiteness be seen as a historically powerful category (Frankenberg 1997). Simultaneously, in order to come to an understanding of the subjective positions of whiteness, this category must also be considered as complex, thus allowing for an incorporation of other defining elements, including a person's class, ethnic and gendered position (Hartigan Jr. 1997, Mouffe 2000). Related to these issues are the problems of essentialism and racism. In the thesis, I have argued that informants' narratives and discourses remain indicative of essentialist and racist invocations of such categories as black, white, British, and Afrikaner. At the same time however, migrants' stories often pointed towards their own struggles with and ambivalences towards such categories. Such accounts clearly related the instability and restlessness of those hegemonic formations that invoked essentialist and racist constructions (Crehan 1997).

Finally, I have considered the two major transformations experienced and remembered by white South African migrants in light of the theories of power developed by three key thinkers who have been influential in anthropology and other social sciences. First, I drew extensively on Bourdieu's habitus as a concept that served to illustrate the normative nature of white life in South Africa, especially as lived during apartheid (it

often went unquestioned, especially during informants' youth) and as informants now remembered it (Bourdieu 1977). A second important theoretical influence derived from the work of Gramsci, whose notions of hegemony and contradictory consciousness helped to illuminate informants' stories of becoming aware of apartheid and its injustices (Gramsci 1971). The third theorist whose ideas shaped my arguments in significant ways is Foucault - in particular, his emphasis that the strength of any powerful force derives from it being made desirable (or 'normal'), rather than solely from direct (physical) oppression or repression (Foucault 1977, 1980).

The Need to Remember

One of my Afrikaner informants, Johan Boshoff, told me several times over the course of my summer's fieldwork that "in Canada, big brother is on [his] side." This symbolic phrase of Johan's was his way of summing up his life experiences in South Africa and Canada in a playful, catchy way. But it also struck another chord with me, for it brought up the following question: for whom is Canada really the protective, safe, trustworthy big brother that Johan indicates the country to be? Despite several informants' (especially women's) struggles with homesickness and depression (mostly during their first years in Canada), the majority of the people I interviewed compared South Africa to Canada similarly to Johan. They argued that in South Africa, you cannot rely on the government, or the State, or the 'rule of law,' whereas in Canada the opposite is purportedly the case. This viewpoint necessitates an active remembering of South Africa on the part of white South African migrants. As I have argued in several parts of the thesis, this remembering helps to make sense of the 'chaos' they perceive South

Africa to have fallen into in the last decade (even though many will also say that the apartheid regime itself was 'twisted' and 'not completely right'), just as it serves to justify migrants' choice to leave the country of their birth. Canada is indeed a trustworthy big brother, compared to the 'mess' of post-apartheid South Africa.

The need to remember thus comprised a key theme of the thesis. Part I, which I entitled 'White South African Experiences of Transition,' consisted of three chapters. Chapter Three dealt with informants' memories of the farm labourers, domestic servants, and garden 'boys' whom they had lived with and/or had hired in South Africa, both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid years. Migrants' narratives concerning their black or coloured workers illustrated the oppressive and complex relations that colonialism and apartheid generated, differentiating people based on 'race' categorizations, ethnicity, class and gender. But these stories also did something more: they pointed towards migrants' current questioning of this form of labour (from which they benefited) as one of the pillars that had kept apartheid in its place. To invoke Bourdieu, their remembering illuminates the structures of the white South African habitus that defined and normalized (though never in a complete sense) white dominance in apartheid South Africa (Bourdieu 1977, see also Foucault 1977, 1980 on normalization).

In Chapter Four, I addressed white South African migrants' discourses concerning their subjectivities during apartheid, as well as their more recent rhetoric on violence and crime in South Africa. In this chapter, I showed how remembering white life during apartheid serves to explain and make sense of informants' ambiguous position of having belonged to a dominant, racist minority group. People's accounts of their subjectivities ranged from portrayals of apartheid as a propaganda system that had deeply 'poisoned'

white South African minds, to painful and angry, and sometimes defensive accounts that 'there was no apartheid struggle' during the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to explanations of subjectivity during apartheid, migrants also remembered their more recent experiences in the post-apartheid years. Their discourses here invoked elaborate descriptions of the (fear of) violence and crime that have, according to informants, run rife in post-apartheid South Africa. These discourses illuminate the productive power of such speech acts in the migrant context, where people struggle to justify their long-term choice to emigrate from South Africa (see Caldeira 2000). I also demonstrated that the cultural intimacy of white South African black humour forms one strategy (productive of essentialisms and racism) by way of which white South Africans deal with some of the tensions that different social contexts have generated in South Africa (Herzfeld 1997a; also see Brandes 1980).

Chapter Five, the last chapter of Part I of the thesis, discussed Afrikaner Christianity and political consciousness among former members of the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Like other white South Africans, the people whose stories I focused on in this chapter also lived with and employed nonwhite workers and servants in South Africa, just as they spoke about different subjectivities. In addition to (and meshed with) these complexities in their lives, Afrikaners often also had to deal with a Christian heritage that, in the 1970s and 1980s, increasingly came to be criticized as a key component of the apartheid regime. As I have shown, the Dutch Reformed Christian situation in South Africa demonstrates what may happen when a cultural/religious community, situated in a specific geographic location, becomes closely tied up with a political regime. The particular Christian situation in South Africa was not just Christian;

it was also deeply cultural, political, and economic in nature. The Afrikaner informants whose narratives I considered in the fifth chapter had, to different extents, become aware of this reality and its problematic consequences in the South African situation (see Gramsci 1971 on consciousness). By selecting those accounts that told of a political consciousness among Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Christians (that is, the accounts of those who distinguished between the Christian faith and their Afrikaner culture), and that pointed towards an involvement in anti-apartheid activities (mostly within the Dutch Reformed hegemonic structures that comprised their lives), I reconsidered some of the ways in which Afrikaner Christianity has been presented in the literature (see Crapanzano 1985, Patterson 1981 [1957]), Seegers 1993). Moreover, informants' cultural/religious struggles within the setting of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa need to be remembered in the Canadian context, for these past struggles define (at least in part) their continued adherence to different Christian hegemonies today (Gramsci 1971).

Part II of the thesis, entitled 'The Stories of Two British South African Migrant Women,' dealt with the accounts of two white South African women who have permanently settled in southern Ontario. In Chapter Six, I provided an overview of life story methodology, arguing that life stories are most revealing when they are embedded in a wider ethnographic setting. I also drew on the life story method in order to contribute to feminist anthropology, which has increasingly come to focus on women's voices and oral histories in an effort to destabilize the historical male-centeredness of the discipline (Geiger 1986, Gluck and Patai 1991), and to add to postcolonial critiques in anthropology and related social sciences (Crehan 2002a, Landry and MacLean 1996). Moreover, life stories allow for an active engagement with the problem of representation highlighted in

North American and other anthropological traditions in the 1980s and 1990s (for an example, see Behar 1993). Situated within these theoretical frameworks, Sandy's and Jane's life stories (in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight) illuminated their gendered migrant subjectivities (and in Sandy's case, her Christian subjectivity) as white, British South African, migrant women. Chapter Nine consisted of a comparative analysis of these women's narratives.

Throughout the thesis, my aim has been to convey the tensions that characterize the lives of white South African immigrants to Canada as a result of their situatedness within and between dominant hegemonic positions *and* subjectivities. Far from excusing racism, apartheid, gendered inequalities or any other system of oppression, I hope instead that this thesis has contributed to an understanding of the hegemonic formations that shape people's lives in all social settings. Along with Gramsci, who once wrote that each person "is a 'philosopher,'" it is good to remember that such hegemonic formations are never completely prescribed and enclosed (Gramsci 1971:9).

Appendix 1 (Chapter Three)
Excerpt from an interview with Julianne Madison

Mieke: Do people still have servants like that [in South Africa]?

Julianne: ...I have a nanny here, Penny, she stays with us Mondays to Fridays and I drive her either to the train on a Friday afternoon or umm, drive her home to Mississauga and she has an apartment with six other ladies, and they all work as nannies, and all... come there during the weekend. She's from the Philippines. And we have her just to look after the little ones. She's ended up - she does more and more, she sweeps the floor and does the ironing and... she's just kind of done more and more on the house even though we keep saying, "Penny!" She's downstairs sitting watching TV now just 'cause the babies are sleeping so that's good! (grins) ...It's nice to have her... She's uh, sort of, almost the same kind of thing I guess (surprise) but you know, she lives in our... I mean, but we - in Canada I mean this is a lot different from what when we were growing up. Penny has supper with us, she has supper with us! I mean our nanny never had supper with us! She'd cook us supper, she'd do the dishes, and then she had the leftovers or she'd cook her own... African mealie pap, you know that stuffed potato... mealie meal... it was called, they called it mealie pap, which is maize meal. M-, melius, is uh... And she'd go and take it and eat it in her room. You know? Whereas, I mean here it's become... Penny lives in the basement, but that's her choice. She could live upstairs too if she wants it (grins) but she likes her own privacy I think. And I mean, it's so different, I mean she has meals with us, she... (grins) uses our own utensils, she... you know like it's... she's... a little bit more different, the way you treat servants in South Africa.

She is... and I mean, it's just the way... if you knew... we never had... in Manitoba [I brought] my son to a daycare, we didn't have a nanny yet. When the twins were born we did, because, you know... Winnipeg in the winter, I had to go back to work when they were two months old, 'cause I was trying to finish my residency training, which was crazy... Well, I didn't plan to have babies (frustration in her voice) and then I got pregnant and actually it was a month after I got back from South Africa -- I came home -- a month later... umm, I was... I found I had got... I was pregnant... (grins, sourly/sadly) And, well I was mad! Because I thought, this is... it was probably because when I went to South Africa I was away from my husband for two months, I never took the birth control pill, I never thought about it, I got back here and then -- pop! ... I got pregnant... And I was just like, furious about that and I thought, this is just ruining my life, I've got my... [residency] exams in September and it's March and I'm pregnant and this is ridiculous and these babies are due in December, and... (deep breath)

...I was crying and it just - it was a disaster and then I went for a... I went for an ultrasound. Because I wasn't even sure what, you know... And my husband didn't even come with me because we were just mad about this pregnancy. I mean he wasn't mad, he was very laid-back; he was saying "this is exciting!" - I said "don't talk to me about exciting, I've got exams coming!" And then umm... I went for the ultrasound and they said, "do you have twins in the family?" And I said - "...twins - why? My mother's a twin, she's got a twin brother..." So, they said "there's twins," and then I was crying

after that! (laughs) It's very... very very selfish when I hear about how people struggle to have kids, but... I had exams in... I had them [the twins] in December and I had to do my oral exams in May, so... I had to get back... Otherwise I had to wait another year, and I mean, the babies would be older and impossible, it's just... if I'd taken a year off I think I would've never done my exams. So I just said... you know. So, nannies are - they're very... she's been a godsend, our nanny. (laughs) Our babies... I've got a baby boy and a girl. And then Timothy is a boy, so two boys and a girl. Boys are much easier... easier than girls. ...That girl is just, h-h-h! (deep sigh) She's the devil!

Mieke: ...People [servants] need the work?

Marcia: That's right! They had a roof over their head - okay fair enough, I mean the wages weren't...

Shawn: That's what I was gonna say, and that's where the problem is that, although you are employing somebody, I mean the wages are just shocking...

MR: Yeah. There's no way she can live...

SR: We would pay... we had a gardener who would come every Saturday, what time did he arrive, like seven...

MR: About eight o'clock.

SR: So eight o'clock in the morning...

MR: He used to work from eight 'till about four. Maybe five.

SR: But he would cut the grass... clean the outside furniture... trim the edges... do the weeds, clean the windows, wash the cars and vacuum inside of the cars... and we would pay him...

MR: Fifty Rand.

SR: Fifty Rand, so ten dollars a day. Ten dollars; and we'd give him lunch.

MR: Breakfast and lunch.

SR: And breakfast.

MR: And, that was a good... we're talking four years ago; I'm sure maybe it would have gone up by now. But that was a good salary. Fifty Rand for a day's work.

MD: ...Someone said to me that they now have sort-of contract rules in place, where it used to be just an agreement between...

MR: They - yes. They tried that but that hasn't actually - that's not really concrete.

MD: Okay...

MR: Because, umm... they tried that.

SR: No - there's a Domestic Workers' Union. That tried to set some ground rules and set uh, minimum wage standards and that sort of thing. And what happened was, the employers -- people like us -- just said no.

MR: We can't afford that! You know?

SR: I can't afford that or I'll just do it myself! So... this person wants to be out of work - that's fine. If she wants the 50 Rand - that's her call.

MR: Yeah... it doesn't work.

SR: But I'm not gonna give her 50 Rand and still pay you... her union dues plus tax plus E.R...

MR: Pensions and all that kind of thing...

SR: ...and pension and all that. I'm not paying that! So... I'll pay my upwards fifty Rand; you know if she's gonna take ten Rand home and he's gonna take forty, that's her problem. Or she can find work elsewhere and I'll just do it myself.

MR: Yeah. That's - that's a big mistake [the Domestic Workers' Union] as far as I'm concerned, because I think a lot of white people said, "Well that's it, I won't have a maid, I'll do my own work." And all those poor girls were actually out of work. Because of that.

MD: Because of the contract.

MR: Yes, because… uh, I think also your interest rates on your bond, for your home. And, with all your expenses, there's no ways you can afford to… pay these salaries that they want, you know what I'm saying. So, in the end these girls ended up with no work. So that -- that I don't -- that doesn't work.

MD: …It's like the previous system was better for them as well?

MR: That's right.

MD: Because they would get the food and meals, and rooms sometimes?

MR: Yeah, that's right.

SR: Well it's… either take the little you're getting, or you take nothing.

MR: Yeah that's right.

Julianne: We had the best of everything, the best education, we could all get into universities, 'cause we didn't have to compete with... the whole population and... we had cheap black labour, and I mean, that was... it was idyllic, almost, for a white. But it was... absolutely wrong.

Mieke: Yeah.

JM: I mean that's my feeling.

MD: Yeah... Do you have any specific stories from the person who worked in your house?

JM: Gertha, was her name. Umm... she... what, she... (sighs) she was an older woman, she must have been about uh, maybe ten years older than my mom, I think. And she lived with us, from the time I was umm, in grade two, I would have been about what, nine? Eight or nine? Until we moved to Cape Town, and in fact, at that time, she decided she was gonna come with us to Cape Town, because she... she just... it was just... my mom didn't think she could live without Gertha and Gertha didn't think she wanted to... live without our family.

And we had Gertha staying in a room in our backyard, which was... it was terrible, I mean I think back on those days, too... Even though my dad thought he was more liberal, he wasn't as liberal as he should have been, umm... She used to stay in a little room with cement floors, and maybe a mat or whatever and a single bed; and she had this bathroom that you had to walk outside to the bathroom, and yeah I know it was South Africa and it didn't snow and it wasn't minus forty but still it wasn't sort of an enclosed little thing. So she had an outside room and a bathroom, that you had to walk outside the room to get to the bathroom. And she never used our bathroom. She would always have to go and use her own bathroom. She never would... she couldn't use ours - even though she had to clean our bathrooms every day she couldn't use our bathrooms.

And umm, the other thing -- my sister said to me well, recently, we were just talking about it -- she used to babysit for my parents if they went out in the evenings, and they... you know, they did occasionally. And she'd stay in the house while my parents were out and then [...] you know, when she babysat us, I mean we'd all go to bed and sleep and she'd lie on the floor! (grins) Until my parents came home and then she'd go to her room, like she wouldn't... you know we... she wouldn't even sit on our furniture! I mean it was like...! (sighs) We didn't think about that! I mean, it was... it's just... it's... and even though my dad sort of knew that things were wrong, and that we just didn't... wouldn't make that step, and I think it was just, nobody... had... their servants do... you know?

Actually, I think my dad thought he was... being pretty good because he used to allow her [the servant's] husband James - her husband worked as a driver; he used to drive, chauffeur people around; and one day he got enough money to buy himself a car, a second-hand beat up car, but he was so pleased with his own car, his own set of wheels, you know... And umm, he used to come and stay with her, so we let him sort of live with her in her single bed in her bedroom. And because, I mean people used to steal cars and stuff in the street, my dad... my parents let him park his car in our driveway. And I think

my parents thought that was really, being, very nice because that was a terribly-looking car and imagine what people would think in our neighbourhood that we had this car in our yard and I mean, you know my dad, he vocalized all that to my mom, but - they - felt - that (deep breath), it was important that "James parked his car in our yard because it's so - poor James" you know, so... They kind of felt sorry for him in a sense, and they didn't... they thought that that was being very... you know... overall, above... above average. And so, yeah, James and Gertha were... umm, we didn't see much of James, 'cause he was always either working or sleeping (laughs), he was so exhausted, poor guy, he was always in the room just... sleeping.

And then she came with us to Cape Town and then, after a year -- not even a year, I think it was less than a year -- my parents felt that they couldn't do this to her because, it was just too hard, I mean, she'd have to come to Johannesburg to see her family, and then her one son became a schoolteacher. ...Which was like, a very prestigious thing for... considering his... the parents, you know? He'd managed to work his way through school and become a schoolteacher. And she was really proud of him. [And] her oldest son became a policeman... and, one day the schoolteacher just disappeared; he just... went to school one day and never came back! And they never... and it was terrible, he just - disappeared! and nobody knows whether he... he wasn't married or anything yet, 'cause he was young, he was just out of school; and nobody... we never really knew what happened to him. I can't think what his name was... Gerald was her oldest son, the policeman, and then... his name was... Jimmy, oh... I know she had... she had three sons... I can't remember which one - what his name was now...

He just... I remember she was... she just didn't know what to do 'cause she didn't know whether he... had been... killed or something, or... or whether he... and why in God-, nobody knew anything about him; he just disappeared and also... or whether he had just left and gone and joined, you know, some political wing somewhere or what happened to him... We never ever found out, and I remember she went home, and she came back and she said, "No, he's gone! He's just disappeared!" And... and it was just like, she just accepted it eventually, it just seemed so... So that was just... horrible. I mean her one daughter got pregnant also -- Elisa -- she got pregnant and then she was... she sort of had to support her daughter, her pregnant daughter, and... I mean, it was just so hard for her, you know? And her family lived, sort of in a black... area, which is two hours' drive from Johannesburg and she used to get to go home once a month, she'd go home and deal with... whatever was happening at home.

So that was a hard life for her, and I mean I never even realized, you know when I was growing up... but she was really, she was such a nice person, you know you just did so much for us kids and she was just so... She was just wonderful, she was so nice and I think my parents made sure that we respected her, you know... Even though they were not perfect, you know in their... they expected her not to sit on the furniture or anything. (grins) She never ever... I don't ever recall, even as a young child, her ever sitting on the furniture or doing anything that they didn't - you know, but they expected us to be utmostly respectable to her. And you know, so she was almost like a second mother to us, she was just... she was always there, you know? ...My mom could go out, my mom just had the freedom to do whatever she wanted. She could just say, "I'm up to the store now," or this and that, and... yeah.

Albert: From my outside and, now long removed perspective, it has become incredibly… materialistic in South Africa yeah, the Afrikaner and white… well the white community as a whole, not just Afrikaner. To the extent that people are very religious, and they're very church-focused, but even their church focus is very financially driven; umm… and, literally people would say, "I'm praying for a new car, I'm not sure if I'm buying a Mercedes or a BMW." And I… personally find that offensive you know, my… spiritual values are just so different from that, that I can't make any sense of it, you know? But I at least… it just doesn't ring, you know, that people are very religious, pray a lot, go to church, be an elder in the church and that kind of thing. So… and it's always been like that to a certain degree, but with apartheid, people would be very churchy, but… they wouldn't mind, really oppressing black people. And even hitting them on the farms, the farmers would… physically abuse them, the black people who worked on their farms, they were totally powerless. And then go to church on Sunday and sit as an upright… elder in… the front pew.

Louisa: It's a lot of, "the outside world doesn't understand us." Like, someone told me the other day, he's Canadian and he lived in South Africa for a while and his car broke down and this farmer took him home, very nice, great hospitality. And they talked a lot, and at one point the guy said to him, "You know what? Your natives, in Canada, are so much better than our natives. We have so much more [to deal with]," you know? And so, I think there's a feeling or used to be and still is, "people just don't understand…" There was this saying when we grew up, "The overseas media," you know, it was seen as a conspiracy against South Africa, that other white people could turn on you! And, start to criticize you; and… not understanding why you have to do what you are doing. And so, I think it must be for people moving here, as children they grew up with the idea 'the overseas world is our enemy.' Like yes, we've got lots of money, we go overseas; we go to Europe, it's seen as something you just have to do, you have to go to Europe. You know? So we do all of that; we lived a high style, our scientists, our business people, all of them, people think we travel a lot. So you would have… professors from there would attend a lot of overseas conferences, scientists would attend things, umm… There's a lot of studying what's going on overseas and all of that. But it is seen like, 'we are misunderstood.' That's a big myth, that goes. …Yes! Yes, maybe it's true! They are misunderstood! Because, we look, and say "How can you do that?" (grins) you know? "We don't understand!"

And then the other myth is -- and you will be amazed at this myth -- is that God, umm, in France. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked, umm… in 16… whatever. The Protestants fled to Holland, all over but also to South Africa. Yes, the Huguenots. That is a huge huge… theme for people, that God basically… planted -- they use the word 'plant' -- their ancestors on the tip of Africa. These are words they use, 'the tip of Africa,' 'plant,' to spread the Gospel. And some of them go so far, when they want to justify for coming to Canada, they would say "And now God is doing the next thing," they now use South Africans who actually are more religious than other nations. They

use them, to bring -- some of them who are moving back to England, who are moving back to Holland, and even, who are moving -- to bring uh, salvation... It's always them who move, from Europe, to Africa, to countries, to Christianize Africa. And now they are moving again, there's even a group of missionaries in France! We know the one guy. He's like, Charles's age, and they believe strongly that God is now sending them back to France because France is so secular. To make France Protestant Christian again. You know? ...No, it never was Protestant! But I mean, to bring Christianity to it, because they don't see that Catholic is Christian, so, I think... there's that!.. huge... myth...

Albert: And also 'the elect nation,' I mean for those who have that self-concept, of the... the elect people of God.

Louisa: The Afrikaans Christian view is becoming very charismatic actually, there's a lot of... they are very much attracted to the charismatic [movement]...

Albert: Yeah, the Reformed Church is actually very highly impacted by the charismatic movement. ...Unfortunately by the denial side of it, I think! Where, you know... the exciting stuff is a way of denying the misery of your regular... life.

LM: Like my brother is in a church, it's a Dutch Reformed church, but it's got a lot of... it's huge, it's like 5000 people... Huge. Huge. And he once said that they have an accountant who does, full-time, their stuff. He said, "People, we have a million Rands in the bank, at the moment. What do you want to do with it?" And he says, twenty kilometers from them, people are dying, kids are dying of hunger. But, they would be building a gym, they would be building a coffee shop in the church, they would be having all these wonderful sorts of...

AM: Pave the parking lot, yeah... That's what I say, it's very subtly... umm... it's very subtle; if you don't look for it you won't necessarily see it, it may be very impressive; ...but the spirituality is actually in the form of materialism. That's my analysis of it, it's very individualistic.

LM: I'll tell you that extreme example of my brother and his wife. When they were 23, they just got married, they lived with us for three months. And they belonged to a very charismatic church in Pretoria. And they told us two months after they arrived that, they didn't want to tell us this, but they were warned severely, by friends and stuff that, Canada is such a... humanistic...

AM: ...evil, evil humanistic country...

LM: ...humanistic country that when the plane lands, they would feel this, the... spirit of humanism, like they would feel it. Which they said they didn't feel anything.

AM: The demonic power of humanism, yeah.

LM: And they were completely pulled over, because they said, "You know in South Africa we are not used to when we drive, that another driver would stop and say, 'Come in.'" To us, that's a Christian... kind thing to do! And then, they went into a period of shock, where they couldn't... because they were young, right? They couldn't bring what they believed together with what they were seeing here.

Louisa: The people who are there now, who have any sort of money, who could emigrate but do not, are very defensive about it. And so... I think they want to somehow show that they've got a great life. They are fine, they are fine. And so... unfortunately a lot of

people who have come here, have... lately, in the last... since '94, '93 I would say, so in the last ten years, have come basically, to get away from the blacks. Or because they don't see a future for their children. Like they would... say, if they had boys for instance, a white boy, they would say "He's not gonna get a job in South Africa," so they are...

Albert: And there's some truth to that.

LM: Yeah. So they are people in exile.

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