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APPENDIX A

DATA GENERATION AND ANALYSIS: PHASE I: RESPONSES OF STUDENTS

RESPONSE SETS OF STUDENTS AND STAGE 1 OF
ANALYSIS (OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE SETS)

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GROUP: UNIVERSITY
AGE: 22
REGION: OMUSATI

UNI-1

Independence Coming

- organised activities, such a guard of honour
- looking very disciplined
- anxious people, to protect the President ie Dr Sam
- happy people, celebrating, singing dancing
- welcoming, looking quite solemnly
- all activities seem to be well organised
- excstasy, anxiety, looking quite cheerful, optimistic and hilarious
- competition, especially by journalists, as everyone is jostling trying to a better view of the people they want to take pictures of.
- activities are following each other in a logical sequence, such as welcoming, greeting, or hugging friendly
- Excitement all over, cheering, chanting, ululating, quite jubilant mood
- National Security guard, looking and acting patiently and disciplinedly
- The President attracting a lot of attention, both the general attending public and the Press, journalists, everyone was to take his pictures, the people ululating as they see the President. Many people attending, but only the dignitaries are introduced.
- the people in general showing tremendous patience, waiting ...
- Clappings, ululating, applauding especially after something, apparently "good" has been said.

In the speech of the Secretary-General of the U.N. reflecting wide knowledge of history, politics and general issues in life, like how to articulate his message, in clear,comprehensive way, reflections of hope, promise and sense of achievement. After, apparently something nice or exciting was said people showed their happiness through making all kinds of noise. In the speech of the S.A. President, Mr De Klerk, reflections, of hope, sense of determination to put the ugly past behind, sense of sadness for something lost... The lowering down of the S.A. flag seemed to have the "climax" of the whole event, with the S.A. President Mr De Klerk showing a deep sense of sadness and unhappiness, while the contrary seems to happen, as almost everybody else seems to be quite hilarious, with the President of Namibia leading the way, with his enigmatic smile and sense of disciplined self-restraint.

In the oath, by the President, reflections of loyalty and patriotism... In the speech of the President, reflections of strong sense of triumph, sense of historical awareness, determination "to go forward with confidence and hope". The importance of people highly reflected.

The people were just crazy with jubilation. The heads of states, shown great respect throughout. Well-wishers, admirers, (joyous moment indeed, it was) if the President, Dr Sam Nuyoma just going crazy, wishing to touch him, even touching the car in which he travels, seems an "honour", if not an "achievement".

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A complex telling of the event focusing on a variety of aspects, articulating in many different voices. * The constant contrast between spontaneity, excitement, exuberance on the one hand and restraint on the other. * Many connections are made between present, past and future. * The activities and emotions of the people are directed in relation to the dignitaries, especially the President. In relation to these they experience anxiety, get enthusiastic, wait, take photographs. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations as joyful, festive, exciting, and as well-organized, orderly. * Independence as announcing a new future. * Independence as an achievement which opens up the future. * Independence as highly meaningful. * Independence is depicted as being strongly sanctioned, even blessed on both the national, regional and international levels. * Independence as putting an ugly past behind.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Much emotive language used in relating independence celebrations. * Much involvement in the telling; participating emotionally in event, even though it is past. * Articulating with a sense of excitement and spontaneously. Account is alive. * Articulating with strong sense of approval. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * "The people" as active participants in celebrations. * The President is depicted as a precious gift to be revered and protected.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * President would speak into this discourse as a hero, almost as a god! * President could speak into this discourse as one who articulates for Namibians, visions for the future, springing from a strong sense of the past. * "The people" could participate in this discourse as enthusiastic participants in the celebrations, as ones who have long expected these celebrations with great anticipation. * President could speak into the discourse as 'a man of the people'. * "The people" could speak into the discourse as ones who are strongly involved, engaged in the celebrations (<u>but</u> they might <u>not</u> be able to participate in the sense of reflecting how the celebrations are meaningful for them. * People as swept along by spirit of celebration 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world suffused with a sense of achievement and hope for the future, with a sense of optimism. * It is a world in which there are (implied) possibilities, in which the future is open.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The repeated references to discipline might be objected to from a Foucauldian point of view, pointing out that this is a classic case of outside control being replaced by 'inside' control. * Objection that the repeated reference to discipline and order reflects a sort of paranoia in respect of 'real' change which inevitably involves some chaos and that the term is in support of 'pseudo', 'evolutionary' change. * Objection could be made to the depiction of the President as hero, referring to him with reverence because this is the beginning of not being accountable. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The President might have been depicted as an inexperienced statesman (as he is in some of the protocols), and as fallible. * The people might have been depicted as less united and as more ambivalent, sceptical. * Independence celebrations might have been depicted as lacking organization (as they have been depicted in other protocols). * Independence might have been articulated in terms of redressing the injustices of the past, even as an occasion for taking revenge. * Independence celebrations might have been articulated much more critically.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discourse of responsibility is prominent, implicitly, as can be read in the many references to discipline and restraint. * Values implicit in discourse: self-discipline (coded as "responsibility"), patriotism (coded as "nationalist"). * With all the emphasis on discipline and restraint, there seems to be a sense that the celebrations could easily veer out of control and that the joy could easily disintegrate into chaos, so that the chaos and disintegration must be repeatedly checked. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As if there is a strong sense of potential disorder and having to keep this in check by finding examples of order, discipline. * Discourse of human agency is implied. * There seems to be some scepticism regarding the extreme reverence shown the President <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - see "honour", "achievement". * By implication the President is trusted not to act in his own interest, but in that of the people. * "Apparently good"; there is a sense here that there may be doubt about what is good, what bad. 	

GROUP: UNIVERSITY
AGE: 20
REGION: OSHANA

UNI-2

INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA 1990

It was in 21 March 1990 that Namibia attain its Independence after a long term of apartheid rule by the former South African regime. The independence celebration has been marked with international guests both from around the region and overseas. There was a huge crowd of people who welcomed the guests as well as protocol members who officially welcomed them. Among the guests of honour were the UN's secretary general, his excellency the Angolan president, his excellency Zambian president. The spirit of tolerance was swivering among the whole crowd and everybody seems eager to witness the long awaited self rule of Namibia.

The official celebration has been earmarked to take place at the independence stadium in Windhoek. Before only last hour of before the independence huge crowd of people had gathered already with full of excitement and jubilation. The occasion was furthered by loud shouts and song from the crowd after the arrival of dignitaries and the appearance of the president to be Dr Sam (sic) Nauyoma.

The stadium was full up to its capacity with the official opening being too read by Dr Perez de Cuellar. The emphasis was that Namibia as a nation have to promote national reconciliation and selfdetermination with a democratic structures as the only possible way of nation building and development. Namibia was therefore accepted as the 160th member of the United Nations. The colonial era was finally put to an end with the South African president Mr de Klerk making the finally speech before the lowering of South African flag and the hoisting of the new national flag of the Republic of Namibia. The freedom light was lit which empower the new born nation Namibia. The first president was then sworn in, to took the challenge in order to rule the nation after a century of colonial rule.

There has been a warmth congratulations for the president elect Dr Sam Nauyoma among which were ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife.

The commitment of the president towards democracy has been shown with the appointment of chief justice as well as all the ministers.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No personal response whatsoever. * As if Independence has nothing to do with the respondent. * What the authorities say is reported. * Telling an integrated story. * The present perspective is never brought in, Independence is treated as an 'independent' thing, cut off from past and present, but at the same time, 'it' the event, is firmly situated in the past. * Much emphasis on the dignitaries; their actions and talk are reported. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The discourse is about the Namibian Independence celebrations. * A very formal account as in a history book. * Independence is talked about <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as long awaited - as a reason for excitement and jubilation - in terms of the sort of future it inaugurates for the country, specifically in terms of nation building and development - marking entrance into the international community. (coded as "changing position in the world") - as joyous international occasion which brings people together - as marking the end of colonial rule; thus as representing a break in history - as representing the birth of something new. * As a joyous international occasion which brings people together.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No personal response, but dispassionately like a history book account. * Independence is depicted as a bounded event with no connections being made between the present or future of the respondent. * Everything is right and fine. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * International guests are talked about very respectfully and formally. * Politicians as "dignitaries". * people, the "crowd" - "everybody" - is talked about as exuding tolerance and as jubilant, as well welcoming guests; talked about as 'united'; as responsive to political leaders.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The politicians can say what is expected, that Namibia is now a democracy and that the country should strive for peace. Furthermore, they can affirm how good it is that Namibia is now also independent. They can call for reconciliation and promise democracy. * The crowd, "the people" cannot really say anything. As a collective this crowd seems to be required to give volume to the celebrations and to provide an audience. The crowd can speak as one. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The crowd makes this into an occasion by shouting and singing, mainly in response to what the dignitaries do and say. - It is not possible to step into this discourse as a sceptic; as someone with a different view. - The crowd can speak in a patriotic way. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world of international political relations, of international politics. * Things run smoothly according to plan and the parts fit together. There is a proper course being run. * The world runs in an orderly way. * A world in which formal political events are determinative or at least foregrounded. * A harmonious world in which people are united in a common cause. * A world in which nationhood is very important.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Objection that the world is by no means united may be dealt with by saying that people in Namibia have to act as if this is so to ensure development. * Objection that the discourse ignores/takes for granted power relations may be countered by saying that authority is being recognized. * Objection may be made out that independence is constituted in terms of harmony and in terms of moving forward while looking backward may be as important. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations could also be constituted as 'the beginning of the end' or <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as controversial in the sense of embodying a diversity of hopes, fears, concerns. - as the culmination of a bitter struggle. - as the occasion which will allow for the redress of injustices of the past. - cynically, as an internationally wrangled affair.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence is constituted in terms of a nationalistic discourse. The mandate for nationalism is provided by none other than the Secretary General of the United Nations. Thus, nationalism is sanctioned at the highest level. * If the crowd is "swivering with tolerance" then the possibility for 'intolerance' must be implied. * If reconciliation is called for then the possibility for strife, conflict, disharmony must be implied. * Democracy discourse is implicit, but seems to be contradicted, at least in part, by a 'reverence of authority' discourse. Self-rule seems to be equated here with a particular person becoming president and with the stepping down of a former colonial regime. * Democracy seems to be vested in the President's commitment. 	

GROUP: UNIVERSITY
AGE: 21
REGION: OMUSATI

UNI-3

The traditional group must be well organiser eg. one group is here and another one is there.

- It must not mixed up together.
- The journalist must give the honourable guestes to walk
- They must not surrounding them, they must stay at least 10m away from them.
- The journalist should not surround the president because the spectator couldn't see him.
- NDF is okay.
- All the people should stand up and clap their hand before the hounourable speaker/guest start addressing his/her speech.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Concern with establishing and maintaining boundaries and with 'proper order'. * At one level it could be said that the account is extremely impoverished. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is, in large part, silence about an event which presumably is highly significant. * The respondent refuses to articulate, remains silent about something which supposedly he should be able to say a lot 'about'. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in this sense there is extreme withdrawal into the private sphere. * In one sense this is an exceptionally 'radical' discourse in the sense that it is so completely unexpected. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in another sense it is a profoundly conservative discourse which is about 'petty' order. * Although supposedly the talk should be about independence, independence is never named 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discourse is about how people should behave; it is about order, how behaviour should be ordered. * Significantly independence is never talked about (although, judging from the respondent's age and the region he comes from this 'should' have been an important event). * Independence celebrations as occasion which calls for 'proper' behaviour from people.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Pejorative language. * Language of regimentation. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * "Honourable guests". * The President as spectacle. * Journalists as disrespectful. * 'Ordinary' participants in the independence celebrations as providing a sort of background against which "honourable guests" can stand out. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'ordinary' people as creating spaces for dignitaries to come into view.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * "Honourable guests" could participate in this discourse by giving orders. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - by creating distance between themselves and 'ordinary' people. * 'Ordinary people' as nothing but applauders of politicians. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - thus 'ordinary' people could participate in this discourse by applauding politicians and keeping a 'respectful' distance from them. - they cannot speak into the discourse in an 'own' voice. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A picture of the world in which behaviour is directed and severely circumscribed by many 'oughts' and 'ought-not-to's'. * It is a world in which spontaneity is not possible. * A world constrained by trifling detail and regulations which does not allow for any visions for the future. * A world where silence is 'better' than talking, or more desirable; possibly a world where 'talk is cheap'.

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * The 'discourse of non-participation' could be objected to by saying that this is surely a matter which concerns the respondent.
 - respondent might reply that in fact he/she has been left out of independence, that it is not his/hers.
- * Objections might be raised to the strong pejorative language, the many 'oughts' and 'shoulds' to which the respondent might reply that all the talk about freedom (of choice, action) after independence is an illusion.
- * Criticism may be made of the 'distance talk' pertaining to the relationship between dignitaries and 'ordinary' people, to which respondent might reply that this accurately reflects the way things are.
 - respondent might reply by saying that this distance will be there anyway, and that all this 'democratic' talk is an illusion.

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * Naming independence.
- * Talking about the behaviour of ordinary people in terms of 'justified' jubilation in respect of the event of independence.

11. Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)

- * In one sense the language of apartheid is implicit, in terms of which things should be kept neatly apart.

GROUP: UNIVERSITY
AGE: 21
REGION: OHANGWENA

UNI-4

NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE DAY 21ST MARCH 1990

Mr J Perez de Quellar arrived at the airport (W/A). He was welcomed by a guard of honour and the Namibia VIP's. Mr Dos Santos of Angola was met by his Namibian counterpart, Dr Nujoma. Of course the guard of honour could be seen in the background. Cheerful voices of Namibian Cultural troupe and happy women were heard. The Nama Community in its spectacular wear threw up those langarm oriented dances.

Mr Sam Nujoma's happy face showed his delightfulness. Then there was that moment when the big rivals shook hands. It was Mr De Klerk of South Africa and Dr Nujoma. The Eastern Europe people came also, to witness the independence of this newly born republic. Kaunda was no exception. He could not bear missing the independence of Namibia for which he co fought. Who was that one? Spectacles and white hair? The Union Jack flag said it all.

The midnight was approaching. The independence Stadium was all filled up to the brim with people. The Katutura Youth Choir utilised its chance by singing the Africa Anthem: Nkhosi sikele!i Afrika. The VIPs were led to their places. The People of Namibia were cheerful. Whistling and talking or singing. The Namibian Gurd of honour (mebbe Presidential) entered the Ground. They looked super hot in their navy uniforms with white belts and gloves. The Salute was the first of the kind I ever seen.

The Press had to be controlled for it was the first time to take pictures of Namibian President.

Mr Nujoma and De Klerk exchanged a few words.

The Master of Ceremony gave Mr Javier Perez De Quellar to make a statement. He started giving thanks to the people. He noted the declaration of Namibia as not only for Namibia but for all Southern Africa. He went on stressing how people have been fighting restlessly for the Namibian independence. The joint commission received uncountable thanks for handling this sensitive issue with care successfully. He assured the Audience that the assistance of UN and international community will not cease for Namibia.

Then the former President of South Africa stood for his share. He opened his speech with words that he was a peaceful guest. He stressed the point that the time of conflicts for Namibia and Southern Africa has ended. "It is we the Africans who negotiated for the solution to African Problems," he said. He concluded by wishing the Namibian people with blessings from the Almighty.

It was then the time for the lowering of the South African Flag. President Nujoma looked it with happy eyes, while Mr De Klerk's face was serious. The crowd was cheerful. Then Frank Kayele entered the Stadium with the torch of Freedom.

President Nujoma was very happy to see the Namibia flag being hoisted. Fists, symbolising the power of the people could be seen while the Namibia National Anthem was turning in the background.

Javier De Quellar sworn in our President.

IT WAS THEN A TIME FOR THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT TO ADDRESS THE MEETING.

He gave thanks and welcomed the guests. He noted how difficult the struggle has been. He also pointed out the sufferings of black people in Namibia. The international community was no exception to receive warm wishes from his excellency, Dr Nujoma. But most of all the thanksgiving went to local people who helped in the struggle. He went on saying that people should look forward to a happy future. He assured how safe everyone will be regardless of colour, race, religion, sex or creed. He concluded by assuring the masses that Namibia is forever free and sovereign. He finally shook hands with De Klerk.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Articulating as in a newspaper report; trying to provide all the details 'objectively'. * It is as though 'the force of subjectivity' is missing. The story is directed by events 'out there'. * The account is a faithful repetition of the events as articulated in the video; nothing new is added. * No attempt is made to reflect on the event of independence from the perspective of the present. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the only way in which the perspective of the President is brought in, is by speaking of the 'former' State President of SA. * Relationship between de Klerk and Nujoma is frequently addressed. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence as hard-won. * Independence as a meeting point for Namibia and South Africa, specifically their representatives, and representing a turning point in the relationship. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as a platform where the dynamics of the relationship can be played out, but this time with a different ending. * Independence as empowerment of the people. * Independence as the orderly take-over of power by Namibia from South Africa. * Namibian independence as milestone in the history of Southern Africa. * Independence as the cessation of hostilities; as peace.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The talk is a repetition of what was; this, together with the telling of the story in the past gives the account a depersonalized flavour. * Independence is talked of approvingly. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The President as a 'keeper' of history and a guarantor of the future. * Political leaders as connecting past and future. * The President as speaking for the Namibian people as their voice {'our president'}. * Namibian people as united at one level, but differentiated at another level. * Black people.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The President can enter this discourse as one who speaks for 'his people', who is the voice of Namibians. * The President can speak into this discourse as one who is victorious in relation to (the former) president of South Africa. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world in which political power is of paramount importance and in which socio-economic and psychological aspects of life are not an issue. * A world in which what the President says must be right and good.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The emphasis on independence as the beginning of peace and as getting rid of SA colonial rule misses the point that much needed to be done internally to redress injustices of the past. This objection might be dealt with by pointing to Angola as example where just this attempt has contributed to chaos. * The division between those who fought for independence and those who didn't might be objected to on the grounds that the division along these lines could be used to justify the present unjust distribution of resources in the country. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - objection could be dealt with by noting that those who did not resist implicitly showed that they accepted the status quo. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Black people might have been spoken of as strongly divided. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - along class lines, particularly after independence which has marked the rise to political and economic power of a small black elite. - along the lines of those who fought for independence and those who were apathetic. - along the lines of those who went into exile and those who did not. - along ethnic lines. - along gender lines. * Independence could have been articulated - retrospectively - as a process whereby a small section of the black population managed to establish itself as middle & upper-middle class. * Independence might have been articulated - retrospectively - as changing nothing in the socio-economic sphere.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Implication that freedom amounts to being liberated from colonial oppression; idea that the stepping down of the colonial power entails empowerment of the former colonized. * President Nujoma is articulated in several ways as being superior to President de Klerk and as being the victor. * Even though "the people of Namibia" are spoken of in terms of unity, there are also differentiations, between those who fought for independence and those who did not; those who suffered previously and those who did not. * There is the assumption that all black people are united on the basis of their colour, and on the basis of having suffered as black people under colonialism. 	

GROUP: UNIVERSITY
AGE: 23 (M)
REGION: OMUSATI

UNI-5

Namibia' independence day

21st March 1990 has marked the starting of the new era in Namibia. The independent was attended by existed local people and the honourable guests from the diplomatic countries.

In Windhoek it started with introducing of the Members of Parliament. World leaders from Europe, Asia, Australia and from Africa were warm welcomed in Namibia to celebrate the country independence. Among the guests from Africa were President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Quett Masire of Botswana and South African government officials who came to confirm the returning of the land the right ful owners. Pres Nelson Mandela etc was also present. President De Klerk emphasized that the time of has passed.

United Nations representatives were in Namibia, Namibia became a member of common wealth countries. The well known (inter) national anthem was heard (Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica).

Thousands and thousands of Namibians witnessed the removal of the South African Colonial flag. The national flag was hoisted with the remarkable trumpet sound. Namibians were existed. The Namibian Nation was born.

Former UN general Secretary Dr Javeer Prez De Quellar has made a statement, about Namibia's relation with outside world and admitted Namibia to be a member of United Nations. He has encouraged the president and all citizens to reconcile and start with the new epoch and build the country.

The first President of Namibia President Dr Sam S Nuyoma swore in presence of the fellow Namibians and guests from abroad that he will protest the country's freedom.

In his first speech in independent country the president Nuyoma has emphasized that the Namibians has reached an achievement and people determined who will rule them. Themes in his speech were freedom, peace, unity and justice.

The government officials and ministers swore that they will hold their positions.

Namibia's ind. was a remarkable day.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Largely a 'report' of the independence proceedings, a report of the 'facts'. * Simply repeating what is depicted in video. * There is no 'own' voice here; when statements which entail an evaluation or a judgement are made this is done in terms of clichés. * There seems to be no passion, no desire in the account. There seems to be no story apart for the formal, official story. Personal opinions are absent. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence as start of a new era. * Independence as "birth of the Namibian nation". * Independence as the return of the land to the rightful owners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thus independence is articulated in material terms and in terms of change of political power from South Africa to Namibia (interestingly the time that has passed since 21/3/90 has seemingly not allowed for a new articulation eg. in terms of 'psychological liberation'). * Namibian nation as coming into being as if magically by the lowering of one flag and the hoisting of another. * 'Freedom' is talked about in terms of national sovereignty.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence is spoken of largely in clichés which are, to a large extent, part of ruling party rhetoric. * Hardly any attempt is made to draw connections between the present from which respondent is writing, and the past, ie. the time of the celebrations. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - this also serves to render the account stagnant. * The official account, in line with party rhetoric is never rendered problematic. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * President Nujoma is protector of the country's freedom. * The President as chosen ruler of the people. * People of Namibia as celebrating independence, and as witness to change of power in the country.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The President can speak into the discourse as representative of the people, as one who speaks for them. * The President can speak into the discourse as a sort of superman who can keep his country out of harm's way. * The President can speak into discourse as a ruler. * People of Namibia may speak into the discourse as ones who are witnesses to a transfer of political power (but it is not clear how they are active in the process). 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a world in which many meanings are simply assumed. (coded with "cliches") * It is a world in which things happen almost magically e.g. where new nations are born and land is handed back to its rightful owners without any notion that these issues involve painful processes, struggle and conflict. * It is a world which is somewhat devoid of processes, where closure, a jelling into a particular state comes quickly.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Terms/phrases such as "Return of the land to the rightful owners" may be criticized with reference to how very little has changed as far as class relations are concerned. * An objection may be made out to the positing of the President as ruler, pointing out that the word contains the seeds of oppression. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence could have been constructed as an opportunity for people to give shape to their own future. (It is as though, by having determined who will rule them, independence is complete; it stops there).
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * By implication there has been change since Namibian independence ("21st March 1990 has marked the starting of the new era in Namibia"). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - this notion of "new era" is an integral aspect of government discourse; the government newspaper has that name. * Nationalist discourse as implicit. * What is implied is that the change-over of power from SA to Namibia put quite a few things right eg. depicting independence in terms of a return of land to the rightful owners. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - even in 1996 the land issue is still very big in Namibia (coded as 'discourse of fairness, justice'). 	

GROUP: AUGUSTINIUM
AGE: 19
LANGUAGE: OTJIHERERO
REGION: ERONGO

AUG-1

I saw a Map of Namibia and two representers. A lot of soldiers standing in a row in front of the big Aeroplane. Mr Theo Ben Gurirab and other people coming out of the aeroplane. The people coming out of the aeroplane is welcomed by Dr sam Nujoma and other citizens of namibia. The crowd were very happy about this people coming from other country. There were a lot of songs sing there by the crowd of the people. Dr Keneth Kaunda and his wife were also present that day. A lot of people were present that day because it was a very big day of the celebration of Namibia. National choir of Namibia at the Stadium. A lot of people that were really celebrating the Independence of Namibia. There were beautiful dressed soldiers acting very good there. Our president Nujoma followed by two soldiers. Mrs Kovambo Nujoma with Marry De Klerk . President Nelson Mandela of South Africa were also welcome very hard by our president Sam Nujoma. Dr Peretz Dequatal the secretary General of U.N. delivered a speech.

Mr F W de Klerk the State president of South Africa were also delivered a speech that day. The time was now over for the South African flag and they take it off. When the flag of South Africa was take off the whole people were very happy. Frans Kayele were running with fire the whole stadium around that represent peace. Dr Sam Nujoma were smile very bride that time. While the New Namibian flag were put on Dr Sam Nujoma were standing straight . Perez Decueral were reading and our president were following after him. Dr. Sam Nujoma reading the speech for the whole people on that Independence day. People were throuwing fireworks in the air and it were looking very beautiful. The Prime Ministry Hage Gaigob were also delivered a speech. President Sam Nujoma and the first Lady Kovambo Nujoma and Winnie Madela and Nelson were greeting by many people. After that they climb in the car and went home. The whole streets in town was full of people celebrating the day. Mr Hans Becker offer a greatful speech which were wonderful. The president of Egypt delivered a speech.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The event of independence is cut off from the present; the implications of that event for a future are not touched on. * There is no sense really of what this event means . The account could have been of any old celebration; person does not relate to the event; seems not to be engaged in it. * A newspaper report without any personal involvement - 'objective' report. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discourse is about the diversity of activities making up the independence celebrations. * It is also about the diversity of role players making up the independence celebrations, not as specific, individual people, but as players of roles eg. choir members, makers of political speeches.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The independence celebrations are talked about as an event which is in the past, and no links are made between that event then and the respondent now or in the future. * There is a double distantiation form the event; not only is it placed in the past, but the respondent positions himself at a distance from the event by noting that he "saw a map of Namibia and two representers". * The event is talked about dispassionately, in a neutral, distantiated way. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Specific contributors to the celebrations, playing particular roles e.g carrier of the peace flame. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - subjects are not really present in any other way - the only way in which specification/ differentiation of "the crowd", "the people" happens is in terms of roles. * The people are talked about as good welcomers of guests (coded as "creating spaces for dignitaries to come into view"). * Statesmen and politicians are talked about as readers of speeches.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 'The people' can step into this discourse as supportive of the procedures, as going along happily with what is happening. * As the people playing the different roles - soldiers, choir members - one could not say very much except that which would be deemed to be part of the role. * What 'the people' might say in this discourse: they might simply be moved along by the spirit of the celebrations. * People might speak as ones who had set eyes on a dignitary. * 'The people' might simply speak into the discourse in a happy, joyous way, participating in the spirit of the moment. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world constituted by big names and roles. * A world running quite smoothly according to plan with everybody doing things in terms of their role. It is a world not plagued by any major issues. (coded with "harmonious world").

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * An objection might be made out that the world is not what it looks like on the surface, that this surface description of events constituting the independence celebrations misses out on a great deal of complexity eg. pertaining to political life.
- * Argument may be made out that the very meaning of independence is missed, and that this is not some isolated event disconnected from the present, unrelated to a future.

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * Independence might have been constituted as an occasion for redressing the wrongs of the past.
- * Independence might have been constituted in terms of liberation and in terms of opening new possibilities for the future.
- * Independence might have been constituted in terms of having been hard-won, of having required much sacrifice.

11. Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)

- * Implicit in "our president" is the notion that he belongs to everybody and that everybody is agreed.
- there is the implication of unification, of sharing vested in the President.
- * The President reads the speech for "the whole people"; thus he does not discriminate.
- * There is an allusion to the former war; this is implied in the section describing Kayele running around the stadium with the flame representing peace.

GROUP: JAN MOHR
AGE: 17
LANGUAGE: AFRIKAANS
REGION: LUDERITZ

JAN-1

I think that the people is very unfriendly. There's not even a smile or happiness on their faces.

President de Klerk, who was welcomed by President Sam Nujoma. He feels sort of unwelcome but at a later stage he became more welcomed.

President of Zambia and his wife, they feel very happy to everyone and I also think that his way of dressing is quit nice. He greets everybody with a smile.

I also think that there are too many people (journalists) surrounding the presidents. Most of the presidents are too old.

The National Choir - I think that they all have quit lovely voices. It's just the way they are dressing.

I also think that the National Army are well trained and that their uniforms.

You can hear at the background the whistle of people and the screaming because of excitement and happiness because Namibia achieves it's independence.

I think that Nelson Mandela is a great and a very intelligent leader. He knows what he must do, that's why many people admire him. Perez de Quellar's speech is too long and his wife don't seems to have any interesting in it.

President F. W. de Klerk's speech is short and understandable and also to the point.

Sam Nujoma's voice is so slow. The way he express his words. (Hy trek so sy woorde). He does not have proper(well) eye contact with the people infront of him

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Politicians are depicted as creatures to be evaluated and, if necessary, criticized. They are by no means posited as figures to be revered just because they are politicians! * Politicians are posited as people who have certain feelings and who dress in particular ways; thus they tend to be depicted informally. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations in terms of the feeling tone associated with this; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in terms of the participants' adequacy or inadequacy, effectiveness/ineffectiveness. - in terms of its 'good' and 'bad' sides, not so much as this pertains to the political connotations of the event, but more in terms of the event in and of itself (coded as "said and done"). * Independence is spoken about as a joyous occasion.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * An evaluative stance is taken in respect of the actors and activities which are constitutive of the celebrations. * Aspects of independence, ie. the activities and people constituting independence are talked about as something which one can have an opinion about. * Independence is not given any concrete form; there is no indication of what it might entail specifically (coded as "term 'independence' is never used"). 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 'The people' are spoken of in terms of their affective states eg. as happy or unfriendly/ sullen, in terms of the absence or presence of joy. * Politicians are spoken of in terms of their emotional/affective state and in terms of their competence/lack of competence. * Politicians are spoken of in terms of what sort of orators they are.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Both 'the people' and politicians could participate in the discourse along the lines of justifying their action/behaviour or explaining themselves. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they could also participate in a way of accepting compliments or simply ignoring criticism or assessments. * The subjects who help to constitute the discourse could participate in terms of how the proceedings went, and in terms of who said and did what. * Subjects could participate in terms of what the celebrations meant for them on a personal level. The discourse certainly does not open a space for 'the people' as political actors. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a world strongly constituted in terms of individual emotional states and affective behaviour. * A world in which emphasis is on polite, socially acceptable behaviour. * To some extent it is a world in which niceness and being niceness are important. Decorum is important. * A world constituted in terms of judgements of acts / behaviours as polite or impolite, nice or not nice. * It is almost like a tea-party world where the talk is of who behaved how. * It is a world in which impressions created are important and evaluations are strongly based on those impressions, although also on other aspects.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Criticism could be expressed in respect of the fact that independence is talked about, not in terms of the political and social significance of the event, but in terms of the impressions which were created by the participants. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Politicians are constituted in terms of experiencing certain feeling states, in terms of playing the part as public figures, but also in terms of the presence or lack of abilities. They could also have been constituted as 'authorities', as heroes, as infallible super-people who are beyond criticism and reproach. * 'The people' might have been constituted as ambivalent, as having many expectations.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Namibia's history, specifically the apartheid era is implicit in the discourse. 	

GROUP: JAN MOHR
AGE: 20
LANGUAGE: NDONGA
REGION: OMBALANTU

JAN-2

Observations

It was during Namibian independence were the president Sam Nujoma and prime minister mr Geigob were receiving a lot of other presidents at the air port who came to celebrate the victory with namibian people.

SA president P W de Klerk, Zambian president, Mr Keneth Kauda

All the people had gone to the national Stadium where more than 5 thousand people could gather. Singing groups, presentation of the national anthems. Marching group. the president were given the chance so that cameramen can take some picture.

The hoist of the new flag and the down of the old one. Nelson Mandela the ANC president was also there.

The speech of Mr Javier Perez De Cuellar announced that the Namibian independence means much for Africa as a whole. He also added that there must be a solidarity, peace and friendship between the two countries, he asked the two political parties to come together and construct Namibia as an independent country

The speech of Mr De Klerk announced that the violence for Namibia was over and Namibian independence should be enjoyed by Namibians and he thanked

the flag of South Africa is lowered and Mr De Klerk was very unhappy.

Frank Frederics ran through the Stadium with the flame as honour.

The hoist of the new Namibian flag and the smile on the President's face (Sam Nujoma).

Namibian President Sam Nujoma swears that he will do anything that Namibian people will ask him to do.

President Sam Nujoma's speech stated that he was very happy to have Namibia independent after so many years. his speech were mostly based on the independence itself. he gave the message to all his people which stated that Namibia is now in our hands and we are the owners of Namibia and we have the make our Namibia is our land for ever.

The crowd with joy

President asked prime minister to swear

The ANC president and his wife showed passion and love to Mr President Nujoma. The streets were crowded and all the people celebrated the independence with

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Important links are made between past and future. * The future is spoken of as malleable by 'the people'. * Importance of control over land. * strong sense of agency articulated. * Importance of solidarity in African context. * When there is victory presumably someone must have been vanquished. * The victory is already won; nothing further needs to be done to redress imbalances. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations as victory. * Independence as great occasion. * Independence as highly significant in African context. * Namibia as a precious possession; as something to hold on to. * Independence as lending the country (Namibia) significance in a more global context. * Independence as marking the end of violence.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence is spoken of in terms of his/her strong identification with the process (coded as "engaged account"). * Independence spoken of as momentous. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Namibian people as victorious. * The President as representative of the Namibian people (coded as "voice of Namibian people"). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as a sort of benevolent father who will deliver to his people. * 'The people' are spoken of in monolithic terms, they are not differentiated, but are 'united'. * The President as embodying the hopes and wishes of 'the people'. * The President as omnipotent. * The people as the masters and guardians of the land. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the people as identified with the President in this matter.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is not possible to step into this discourse as a critic of the President. * The people might speak into this discourse as ones who ask of the President. * They might also speak into it as patriots. * The President probably would have to participate in this discourse as one who does not make mistakes, as one who embodies all the hopes of 'his people', as infallible. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as an enthusiast in respect of independence. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world is painted which is suffused with hope and a sense of agency. * Sense of agency is constituted in terms of cooperation, solidarity, friendship and <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in terms of guarding one's territory, one's space, not letting it slip into the hands of others. * Sense of achievement * Sense of a new world * A world in which people can take their future into their hands * Very much an 'African' world

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * Strong objection may be made out regarding the assumptions of unity as in "his people"; that it is dangerous simply to speak as if there is a united nation. Dealing with objection: that emphasis on difference can cause irreparable schisms.
- * Objection could be made out to the way the President is constituted as benevolent, providing father figure, that this may support the making of a despot, and disallows criticism. Dealing with objection: that President is representative of the wishes of the people.
- * Objection to independence as victory because someone has lost, and how can this victory be stated as self-evident, ignoring the vanquished or those who simply are not part of this. Dealing with objection: that we cannot afford to look backward.

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * Independence might have been constituted in more complex terms, as something which some wanted and others not.
- * Implied in the discourse of cooperation, friendship, peace is the discourse of conflict, war, violence.
- * Even as there is this focus on unity, solidarity, the discourse of division is implied.
- * The very stress on the unity, solidarity, peace, cooperation points to the precariousness of this discourse.
- * Control over the land cannot be taken for granted, there is the implication that this control may slip again.
- * Very clear that Namibia has won and the old South Africa has lost. This is implied in the emphasis on flags going up and down respectively and the Presidents' reactions to that.
- * Independence might have been articulated as an opportunity for the articulation of many disparate points of view.

11. Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)

- * Implicit in the discourse is that of national sovereignty, with all the drawing of boundaries and exclusion of others that may be part of that.
- * Difference within (Namibia) cannot be acknowledged. Everybody is happy, celebrating. The only one who is allowed to allude to difference, only by implication, is the highest representative of the UN.
 - The only one who is allowed to feel differently about independence is de Klerk who is already being replaced in the discourse by his successor.
- * Victory may be constituted as military victory, as the victory of SWAPO, as the victory of cooperation.

GROUP: JAN MOHR
AGE: 18
LANGUAGE: HERERO
REGION: KHOMAS

JAN-3

President elect Sam Nujoma received VIP guests to attend Namibian Independence. Various VIP guests including former UN Secretary General, Javier Perez de Quellar were present. Other guests were as follows:

Angola: Jose Eduardo Dos Santos
Zambia: Kenneth Kaunda (now replaced by Frederik Chiluba)
S.A : F. W. de Klerk (now replaced by N. Mandela)

At Independence Ceremony, various occasions were held to entertain the guests. A delegation led by the Namibian police with their drilling styles entertain the crowd at stadium.

Inauguration of Sam Nujoma as President of the Rep of Nam:
Speeches delivered by: F
UN Sec. General: Perez de Quellar
South African State President: F. W. de Klerk

Made a historical speech: "Season of violence has passed away for Namibia" "The beginning of new era brings hope to many Namibians". Moments of Independence come, South African flag was lowered Namibian flag hoisted. A sad moment for Pres F. W. de Klerk and moment of joy for his counterpart S. Nujoma. F. Kayele bring the burning frame of independence.

Inauguration time has come for Pres. Nujoma and was sworn in by Perez de Quellar (UN Secretary General).

Namibia constitution sworn in: consist of executive, Judiciary and the supreme court. People responded and enjoy when Pre. Nujoma delivered his speech. Namibians happy with joy celebrate their independence. Pr. M. Hage Geingob delivered his speech. First Judge Pres. Late Hans Joargim Berger sworn in. Follow by all cabinets ministers. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (his speech).

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Connections made between past and present in terms of change of political leaders. * Activities of political leaders are foregrounded and the said and done of the people is constituted as a response to political leader who acts as sort of catalyst enabling the response of the people. * What independence might have meant for Namibians then and what it means now is not articulated, except to paraphrase the words of a 'foreign' political leader. * It is the former colonizer who articulates what the future might entail, who is articulated as linking past and future. * The past - independence celebrations - is not connected to the present, thus the past remains stagnant and does not inform the future. * Content of speeches, what these mean is given little importance, but simply stress on that they are made. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence in terms of change of political power from SA to Namibia * Independence in terms of the said and done of political leaders * Independence as the institution of formal structures of government eg. executive, judiciary * Independence celebrations as suffused with dignity and pomp and as being lend stature by all the dignitaries and formal happenings that are part of the celebrations.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence is talked about largely as a run-down of the proceedings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a chronology of 'this happened and then that happened'. * There is no personal involvement in the telling: it is like an 'objective' news report devoid of an own stance, own ideas, values. * Talking in a formal way, making much use of titles eg President, Judge President. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The people * Political leaders or VIPs
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The people can participate in this discourse as being joyful about independence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Not as wary, sceptical, uncertain, or as harbouring specific ideals. * Political leaders as the makers of speeches, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as the ones who articulate for the people possible meanings for the future and, - who act as catalysts for the people's responses. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world in which title and position play a significant role * A world where pomp and ceremony and formalities are highly significant

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The very formal terminology may be objected to on the grounds that it removes the event from the sphere of 'common', lay people, that it misses the implications the event has for such people. * That the emphasis on role, title may place the event beyond criticism, it is thus rendered intimidating (much as all the pomp and formality of a court room serves to intimidate those who are not familiar with it). 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence might have been articulated as an opportunity for Namibian people to take their future into their own hands, to shape it in accordance with their imaginings. * Independence might have been articulated as an opportunity to redress the injustices of the past. * Independence might have been constituted in terms of the socio-economic and psychological changes that are part of the process. * Independence might have been constituted as liberation, as bringing freedom.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Implicit in de Klerk's words which are quoted here is that the effects of a season of violence will vanish with political independence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The naive notion that, by stopping the war, all will be good. - further the implication that something else will naturally take the place of the struggle for independence as a goal, a source of hope. - idea that the past can simply be wiped out and we can start with a clean slate. * Implicit is the idea that violence is something imposed from the outside, and that violence is synonymous with political violence. 	

GROUP: JAN MOHR
AGE: 16
LANGUAGE: AFRIKAANS
REGION: REHOBOTH

JAN-4

I think the arrival of the presidents was alright. The traditional songs and everything was I think a warm welcome to the visitors. Don't like the way that the Ministers gathered at end of stairs it is very disordered. Don't think the photographers should walk on the red carpet.

The National army is performing very good It is a nice sight.

All the photographers must not be on the field when the march on They must have a specific place.

Mr De Klerk doesn't really look pleased with himself, he is worried about the time.

They should have given all the VIP seats. Perez De Quellar's wife doesn't look very friendly. Perez De Quellar speech too long. Eentonig. F.W. De Klerk het a sterk persoonlikheid, selfversekerde houding. Like speech - kort and kragtig.

Mr Sam Nujoma praat asof hy gesang sing. He just needs reads of his paper and has no eye contact with the other people he is talking to.

Fireworks nice.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Stating personal opinions (coded under "talking about the talk"). * The event of independence as meaningful is never articulated. (coded under "free associations") * Does not attempt to consider the implication of independence, the impact on her/his life. * Much evaluative language (coded as "talking about the talk") * Implications of independence for her life for how she is living her live now, for how she will live life in the future are never articulated * A highly significant socio-political event is "reduced" to the level of a show, a spectacle * Namibia's president is not made present as a person who has thoughts feelings, and is a particular personality * Criticism of president is at a personal level; not criticised in terms of what he stands for, represents 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations specifically the organizational aspects thereof. * Independence celebrations in terms of whether these happened in an orderly manner * In fact, the term 'independence' is never used; it is as if all this is denied.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Talks about independence as a spectator at some show (expressing personal opinions) 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The self, 'I' is articulated in relation to independence celebrations in terms of personal likes, dislikes, personal opinions. * SA president de Klerk: he is the only politician who is given a personality, feelings (coded as "having a personality, feelings")
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 'I', the self can step into the discourse as articulator of personal likes and dislikes, personal opinions as to whether things look good or bad. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - it is a self articulated in terms of 'small talk', gossip * De Klerk can participate in the discourse as someone who is concerned about the organizational aspects of the independence celebrations and who is doubtful as to whether 'they' can pull it off properly. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - someone who is assertive, powerful. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * If is a 'flat' picture articulated in respect of what is immediately visible, on the surface details. * A picture of the world in which appearances are important - the world is articulated in terms of whether things look and sound good, right, proper or not. (coded as "appearances are important")

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * An objection could be made out that the way independence is articulated, as simply a show to be judged in terms of how badly or well it is organised misses the significance of the event. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondent might retort that in fact independence is not of significance to her because she was too young at the time, -because she does not get involved in politics 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence might have been articulated in terms of the political change this entails * Independence might have been articulated in terms of opening the way for many social, economic and psychological changes to be initiated. * 'I', 'the self' might have been articulated as participant in the celebrations, in the sense of relating the events to self. * Independence might have been articulated as posing a threat to one's way of life. * The self might have been articulated in terms of values, commitments, identifications.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Implicit is the 'South African superiority, Namibian inferiority' discourse as reflected in the juxtaposition of the very different depictions of the 2 countries' presidents. * Implicit in the discourse is a negation of the significance of independence, this seems to be a case of 'if I do not give it a name, if I ignore it, it will go away'. * The 'people', the crowd are never even mentioned; the absence of 'the person in the street', and the implication that this is not their event. The only way in which people are by implication made present is that they welcome the guests. 	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 13)
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-1

-
- Musik leiert - schlecht
 - Teppich schief
 - geht ueber roten Teppich (Minister) vor Begruessung, waerend die Gaeste schon unter sind.
 - alle bei Begruessung formell angezogen.
 - durcheinander der Minister bei Begruessung (keine Reihen)
 - Traditionelle Taenze
 - Komische traditionelle Taenze (ungewohnt)
 - lachenole, froehliche Nambibianer
 - Rote Haare (orange), schwarzes Kleid...
 - Sambian Leute tragen gruen, rest blau/schwarz
 - Erkennungsmarken
 - einzelne Namibiaflagge bei Taenzern
 - sieht lustig aus (Foreign Affars UN) big smile
 - stadion propvoll
 - Xhosi (Erinnerweg - sahen vor kurzem Cry Freedom)
 - Der Chor singt gut & klar fuer so vile Mitglieder ... ist sich ueber den Text nicht ganz einig
 - Roter Teppich beim stadium
 - Stimmung im Stadion
 - Trachten der Armee (guard of honour) sehen gut aus. (blau + weiss) Ordnung! ist da
 - gepfeife nicht passend
 - Xhosi zum Abschied (nicht stem van Suid Afrika)
 - Stadion gut vorbereitet
 - Leute still in Stadion vor Ansprachen
 - Mandela in Hintegrund
 - Ansprache des S. Generals UN gut (vorgelesen nicht so gut)
 - Man hoert der Rede nicht mehr zu: zu lang - Wortwahl
 - Hauptsaechlich SWAPO Farben (gelb sehr wenig vorhanden)
 - President klatscht sehr komisch
 - 160th Nation - lauter Tumult
 - President immer mit dem selben smile
 - De Klerks ansprachen begruesst bei den Leuten
 - Wortwahl sehr gut und gut ausgesucht Kunstpausen fuers Klatschen English + Afrikaans
 - Almighty God - mentioned
 - Stem van SA - de Klerks Hand and der Brust
 - Fanfare bein Flaggen streichen (SA)
 - trauiger, wehmuetiger Blick de Klerk's
 - Freedom flame
 - enlightens - Endlich frei
 - Namibia flagge gehisst, - Proud feeling + happy
 - SWAPO Fausste, schade
 - Flagge gehisst - Xhosi gespielt
 - musst be shown what he must read.
 - does he know what he is reading?
 - Er labert. ChSCH!
 - Patrioten?!
 - Die Menge ist auch uninteressiert
 - SWAPO Fausste - Feuerwerk extra Aandag
 - memorial moment
 - Geingob macht den Eindruck, als ob er seinen eigenen Naman nicht lesen kann.
 - Unschmackhaft - Winnies Kleid
 - Kaiserstr. - Freedom Avenue - Independence Ave
 - Rote Flagge - Women discrimination
 - Nicht alle Schwoeren: So help me GOD
 - Hops Amathila

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * An account that is focused on appearances what things look like, whether they look right, proper. * Many evaluative statements in sense of personnel opinions * A report of the contents of the video interspersed with personal opinions; no attempt made to articulate meanings. * No connections are made between the present (of the respondent, of Namibia) and the event of independence, the said and done that was independence * Self-sanctioning in respect of critical opinions articulated about the president. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations in terms of the organizational detail thereof. * Independence as event that ought not to be constructed simply in terms of SWAPO rhetoric but should be more broadly constituted. * Independence celebrations in terms of how one event followed the other. (coded as "said and done").
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a 'factual' account, a report on the details of the celebrations. * Mainly evaluative comments help to constitute the discourse, these are largely personal opinions (rather than ideas which might be debated). * A string of impressions * The talk about the talk is quite flat, a repetition; the 'self' is never brought into the account. * Impressions do not hang together and often consist of single words or two, so that it is not even clear what the discourse is about because of the degree of fragmentation. * To a large extent the personal positions expressed amount to gossip. (coded as "evaluative account constructed of personal opinions") 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The President as incompetent and consequently an object of ridicule (coded as "object of criticism and derogation") * President of SA as effective and as reaching the audience.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * President may participate in the discourse by saying that he is being judged along typically racists lines, in terms of 'their' criteria and not his own. * President may participate in discourse as noting that to depict him as incompetent is part of a sour grapes phenomenon: 'They lost, so all they can do is to be critical of me'. * De Klerk may participate in the discourse as a polished orator and as a patriot. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world constructed in terms of appearances eg. the colours of clothes, and whether things look right, good, odd. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Looking right is, in part, a function of how orderly things appear.

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * One objection to the terminology is that terms are simply thrown in a disconnected manner, eg. "Endlich frei": who is free and what does this mean? Who is "Feeling proud and happy"?
- * May object to the disconnected terminology as follows: that it is impossible to engage with this.

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * Instead of 'negatively' constructing Namibian politicians, particularly the president in terms of their persons, they might have been critically constructed in terms of the policies they further, the way they have/have not lived up to election promises.
- * The discourse might have been more integrated, more in the form of a story, instead of this impressionistic way of speaking
- * Instead of 'negatively' constructing Namibian politicians, implicitly as incompetent, their seeming incompetence might have been constructed as resulting from the overwhelming nature (for them) of the event.

11. Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)

- * Importance of order
- * It seems to be implied that Independence ought to be handled as a 'national' event and not as a party political event.
- * The political position of respondent is implicit, would seem highly unlikely that s/he is a member of SWAPO.
- * Partly political discourse is implicit.

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 12)
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-2

Ich identifiziere mich in verschiedenen situation mit diesem Land!
Aber nicht immer!

Unklares Bild

Flugzeug ausgang zu weit weg.
Geschehnisse undeutlich.
Komentare geleiert
geniales schattenspiel (garde)
Durch einander, Kamera muss Naehher

Durcheinander!!

Bei Kaunda hat der Kommentator grad was zu trinken bzw

Essen bekommen, und wieder Energie zum sprechen gehabt.
Fauenstimme ist ruhiger und "leisure"
Sie gibt mehr info ueber die Personen.
Die menge hat weniger disziplin und der Kamara man laueft mit = genauere

Bilder

Singen: wir hatten noch keine eigene Huehmne
Genial wenn menschen maschieren!

S Nujoma weiss das man sein Knopf zu machen Muss, wern man steht / Laueft
Leute wissen nicht das (sie) bei der Huehmne still sein und andaechtig stehen
muessen. Es muessten gerade zu den ueberbrueckungs Zeiten mehr Kamaras
zugeschalten werden um interessanteres aus dem Publikum zu zeigen, als die
unanehmlichkeiten die zwischen/in den Pausen entstehen. Kein glatter ablauf!

Endurance und skill is needed:

De Quela Cuellar (oder wie man das schreibt) haette mindestens etwas auswending
lernen koennen! Er brauch nicht alles ablesen.

Die Frau hinter ihm tut nur interessiert.

The future of 1,4 million rest with one person and his party?!

De Klerk - spricht eindrucks voller!

Hope is the only option! But one has to help!!!

Den moment habe ich life mit erlebt aus einiger entfernung!

Was ist alles mit dieser Fahne runter gegangen?

{drawing of SA flag}

Freiheit?!

Und was mit der Fahne hoch?

{drawing of Namibian flag}

Nujoma should speak with more devotion.

he sees to not know the ueberzeugung die hinter den Worten steckt!!!

(Beim Zitieren) !!!!

Es scheint unwichtige Teile in seiner Rede zu sein
sonnst haette man sie nicht geschnitten!

Die 'Auswirkung' (Rauch) des Feuerwerks waren nicht einkalkuliert, die rennenden
Leute werden nicht gezeigt!

Was wissen wir noch nicht ueber was geplat wird?!

Geingob ist sympatischer! /Sieht Formeller und stielvoller gekleidet aus!

Die muessen gebeten werden ihm zu gratulieren!!?

Mandela und Nujoma kein vergleich!!

Den unzug auch Life mit erlebt (auf dem Umzug)

WHK had zuviele bewohner!

Diese Masse menschen hat physische Macht, die strassbe hat gebebt!

Ohne richtige Leitung

wird sie misbraucht

Herr Berker war wertvoll!

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The future is open, uncertain. * Account begins as an account of technical detail and then goes on to an articulation of possible meanings of independence. The account of the technical detail is 'objective'; there is criticism but this does not involve rejection. * To identify with does not prelude being critical of. * Much scepticism in respect of the presentation of the president, and the person of the president. * Concern with whether the behaviour of Namibians is up to standard, correct. As far as etiquette is concerned, a question mark over whether Namibians know how to conduct themselves. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Video recording of the independence celebrations of Namibia on 21/3/1990. * Said and done of the independence celebrations. * The possible meanings of the independence.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Talking about the video of independence celebrations in terms of the technical detail thereof. * Questioning account: the meanings of the independence celebrations tend to be articulated as questions, possibilities. * A critical account, questioning the said and done of the independence celebrations, but without being rejecting. * An 'engaged' account: personal opinions are strongly constitutive of the account (coded as "evaluative account"). 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Self as active participant in independence celebrations. (coded as "enthusiastic participant") * Self as in some ways identified with Namibia; but not in others. * S Nujoma as being presentable, but as not quite recognizing the gravity of what he is saying. * S Nujoma as someone whose word cannot be trusted. (coded as "someone to be wary of") * People as somewhat ignorant, but, at the same time, powerful as a group and requiring leadership.

<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The president has a place in this discourse as someone who does not quite know what he is doing, as someone who on the face of it might do and say the right thing, but there is no depth to that, no back-up. * The self may step into the discourse as participating in important happenings, and as being critical in respect of that which is being participated in. * The people cannot really speak into the discourse. They can simply act/do as a mass, and as such a space is made for them as potentially threatening, as potentially getting out of hand, as potentially frightening. <p>- The blindness of the people's power (and the respondent is part of that).</p>	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Picture of the world as going into uncertain future. * Constructing the world in terms of what is required for the future - ideals, practical skills. * World is tentatively constructed. * World is constructed in terms of whether and how things are and might be done right, 'properly'; according to what may be expected in that situation.
<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The cautionary, tentative terminology might be objected to, especially the tentative tone regarding the future. This objection may be handled by drawing on the history of decolonization in Africa. * The construction of 'people' as somewhat blind, not knowing and requiring guidance may be objected to. May be responded to by referring to Namibians' 'inexperience' with politics. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The meanings of independence might have been constructed more one-sidedly, as completely negative, also in terms of the future, or as completely positive i.e. in terms of bringing freedom, equal rights etc. * The president might have been constituted as a hero and as representative of all Namibians. * The people might have been constituted in terms of their hopes, fears and expectations in a more differentiated way, rather than as a threatening - at least potentially so - mass. * The 'present' of the independence celebrations might have been constituted more prominently in relation to the past. * Independence might have been constructed as an achievement.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The discourse of liberation/freedom in relation to, or as part of the discourse of independence is opened up, but the discourse is opened up, not as a number of cliches, but critically. * The discourse of 'decolonization of Africa' is opened up (coded as "change in power"). * Implicit in this discourse is a discourse of skill, ability, professionalism. 	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 13)
LANGUAGE:
REGION:

DHPS-3

1. AIRPORT:

Why are only some presidents and representatives invited?

And why do only certain ministers go to meet them on the airport? How are these ministers chosen? Only certain cultures and traditional dances are invited to perform at the arrivals of these visitors? Mrs Kaunda precedes her husband from the plane at the airport = but he is introduced firstly and then her. The role of the Namibian Woman in this African society is definately changing!

2. STADUM: INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS:

Totally unorganised - Namibia people are not used to such celebrations where all have equal rights and blacks can go where they like, to see all the important presidents they like - So they don't know how to react.

Fascinating how even the illiterates among the people have realized how important this independence is to us. All the speeches are worked beforehand, by someone else, Definately not the speaker himself. Why? How? I wonder.

Namibia does not yet have large and beautiful enough stadiums or halls where such functions can be held. Just like the Mrs Namibia - Mrs Universe Pageant. So now they're building a Hotel for this purpose.

The personal guard does not even show any emotion, but the president has a broad smile with the hoisting of the Namibian flag.
How did the organisers and officials know how to organise this celebration, if it had never been held in Namibia?

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Association between equal rights and disorder, and the disorder arises from ignorance. * Even as Namibians are referred to as 'us' and are therefore all included in the in-group the discourse also makes room for difference which cannot simply be overcome. * A concern with hidden motives, hidden agendas. * Equal rights is here made synonymous with being able to go where one likes. * Concern with who and whose culture is accepted as being representative of a new Namibia. * Articulation in the public domain is rendered sinister, untrustworthy. Those who really express themselves through the mouths of political leaders remain faceless. * A standard, a template is needed so that things might be done properly. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations as totally unorganized. * Namibia as a 'new' developing country. * Welcoming of guests to the independence celebrations of Namibia. * Independence celebrations of 21 March 1990 as something Namibia is not quite ready for. * Independence as introducing a great number of 'firsts' into Namibia, and thus many challenges. * Namibia as not being able to contain the independence celebrations and the sequels there-of.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Seems to speak with same surprise that the independence celebrations could have been pulled off at all. * Welcoming of guests is spoken of with much concern for how this reflects changing power relations and for who will be deemed to be representative of Namibia and according to which criteria. * Questioning account. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Namibians. * Black Namibians as uncertain about what to do with their freedom. * Black people as spectators (of President). * Decisions makers, organisers, makers of speeches behind the scenes. * 'Representatives' of Namibia and Namibian cultures. * White people as uncertain regarding what to do about the freedom of black people.

<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Black people can speak into discourse as uncertain about how to deal with having equal rights. * Namibians as not knowing how to handle changes in political power, and how to deal with one another in the light of these changes. * Namibians as having been used to structuring interpersonal relations in terms of racial differences, and now being at a loss regarding how to relate. * Decision makers, organisers, writers of speeches behind the scenes, could speak into the discourse as the ones who are actually in control. * Representatives of Namibia and of Namibian cultures could speak into the discourse as justifying their 'representative' status. * Namibians can speak into the discourse as 'us', as an in group. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a world in which much that is important happens behind the scenes. * A picture of the world as being in transition and consequently, at least at times, chaotic. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an articulation of roles as changing, of people being confronted with fundamentally strange situations in respect of interpersonal relations, of building new spaces.
<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Could object to the articulation of Namibia in terms of its not being quite up to standard by pointing out how this very terminology has encouraged inordinate spending on luxury articles, on 'show-case' projects. * Could be pointed out that equal rights pertains to much more than being able to go where one wants and to see who one wants. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - May reply that in Namibian history this was an important right which people were denied. - Besides, for many people one of the benefits of independence has been freedom of movement even if many other hoped-for benefits never came to pass. * An important objection to the terminology might be that much which is articulated in present terms eg. "Namibian people are not used to such celebrations where all have equal rights and blacks can go where they like" might have been true of the past, but does not apply to the present. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Welcoming of guests, to the independence celebrations may have been spoken of in terms of the importance of the guests, in terms of what everybody looks like, is wearing. * Independence celebrations might have been spoken of in terms of the peace this brings, and the chance for reconciliation * Independence might have been articulated in terms of the meanings politicians read into it, in terms of the discourses articulated by the politicians participating.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discourse of exclusion; some ministers are invited, others not; some traditional dances are included, others not. * Discourse of patronage: 'they don't know any better' (referring to Namibian people not knowing how to react). * Discourse of underdevelopment "Namibia does not yet have large and beautiful enough stadiums". More cynically: the discourse of backwardness. * Patriarchy in African society discourse * Discourse of fairness, justice * 'Concern with power' discourse; specifically, whether women will become more powerful or not; Who will be the representatives in public of the country. * Discourse of gender equality is implicit. * Discourse of uncertainty is implicit: 'how shall we know to tackle something as new as independence; we have never done it before'. 	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 13)
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-4

Oh Boy

damals aktuell - heut uninteressant!
ueberfluessiges Komentar
absolut langweilig; eigentlich doch amuesant
Wen interessiert die Uniform schon!
Unnoetig: die live uebertragung der Ankuenfte der VIPs
Tall chap with the grey hair - ach please doch hey!
Ich moechte mal wissen was die foreign VIPs von unseren Leuten d.h. VIPs gedacht haben!
Independence Stadium besser als Ankuenfte!
Aussagen d. Gerichtsausdruecke der foreign VIP'S: Oh boy, can't wait until this is all over and done with.
Somebody please switch off!
De Klerks Gesichtsausdruck: Another country down the drain! Official crap! =
grosse politische Reden = leer und ohne Aussagen!

Alles nur drumherum gelabere!

What else is new?

Schade das kein Stromausfall war!
Man muss entweder naiv, blind oder so patriotisch sein, dass man sich an sowas erfreuen kann!
De Kweljaar (oder so) redet zu lang!
De Klerk (oder so) viel besser als geredet ! Trotzdem ein Politiker, hence: leeres gelaber!
Sollte lieber Dichter werden.

Sued-Afrikaner: holen Fahne mit Respekt runter
Namibianer: hissen Fahne wie die letzen Chaoten!
Sam Nujomas Gesichtsausdrude: Und jetzt!?
Entweder er hat seine Brille noetig od. er weiss wirklich nicht wo er nachlesen und auch nachsprechen soll was De Quella vorgesagt hat. "So help me God" Musste er wragtag auch lesen!

Endlich der Stromausfall!

Defeat = de tings dat you walk on
Defence = de ting that you put aroundee your house

What potential?!

Geil, nur noch 5 Minuten!

Es brennt im Stadion ... ach so, das ist ein Feuerwerk!

Bist Du Farbenblind!? (zur Feuerwerksfahne).

Overtime!

Da is der Wurm drin!

Libertina ist die einzige in der ganzen Regierung die wircklich was taugt!

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I don't want to know about this, or to think about it, I just want to escape! This is a strong message throughout. * With the independence celebrations on 21/3/90 everything is deemed to be 'over'; no connections drawn between the celebrations then and the present (except to make such blanket negative statements as "another country down the drain"). * What independence might have meant to the majority of people in Namibia is never touched on. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How the event might have embodied the hopes and expectations of thousands of people is not considered. * Not finding a way to transform the events of the past so that these may become of significance for the present. * The account is marked by impotent rage rather than a sense of agency, marked by a sense of helplessness. * Articulating the said and done of Namibians in derogatory terms and thus articulating the self in derogatory terms. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Video of independence celebrations as boring, as poorly put together, as no longer topical. * Independence celebrations as boring, something one needs to get through. * Independence as bringing with it a very bleak prospect for the future, as closing down on the future. * Independence celebration as something which happened 'then'.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Hypercritical * The talk is quite aggressive; angry * Talking in a devaluing, a deprecating way. * Strongly involved in the talk, the talk is passionate; much emotive language, yet distance is created from the contents of the video. * Rebellious teenager talk, which is all rejecting and this does not open possibilities for consideration and discussion 'oppositional talk'. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Politicians as saying altogether meaningless, official nonsense. * Foreign VIPs as disinterested and as regarding Namibian VIPs in a deprecating way. * Nujoma as totally incompetent (coded as "object of criticism") * Foreign VIP's as people whose opinions matter. * Namibians as being chaotic, incompetent Namibian politicians as being largely incompetent.

<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Politicians can engage in the discourse by talking in cliches, by failing to address issues (coded as "saying what is expected"). * Foreign VIPs can speak into the discourse as being totally bored with the independence celebrations and as being extremely sceptical of the sort of future that independence brings. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world in which much is unnecessary, in which half of what is might as well have been left out. * A world in which 'important' political events amount to so much nonsense. * A world constituted in terms of rejections and criticisms. * A 'one perspective' world that is never coloured by the experiences and possible concerns of others. * A world constituted as separate from oneself, as something which one has no part in constructing; a world which is constituted in terms of how one is not in it, responsible for it, where the distance, the separateness is created through, usually black, humour and anger.
<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1* The entirely negative construction of independence may be objected to by noting that it embodies the hopes and aspirations of large sections of the Namibian population. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This objection may be responded to by pointing out that, since independence, a large section of the population has continued to live in desperate poverty, that health services for the poor have deteriorated etc. * The construction of the world as being separated from oneself, as not being - at least, in part - constituted by one's own input may be objected to. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The reply may be that people like the respondent have no chance of attaining to political power in Namibia and consequently it would be an illusion to think that the world is co-constructed by him/her. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Politicians might have been spoken of as contributing to what has been achieved or they may have been spoken of with reverence. * Independence may have been constituted as a highly significant event in the history of Namibia and as embodying the hopes and expectations of the majority of Namibians. * Independence may have been constituted as an opportunity to take the future into one's own hands.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A 'lack of agency' discourse could be said to be implicit in the discourse; even as politicians are constituted as despicable there is a strong sense of their power, associated with impotent rage at these figures * Political processes are constituted as being steered from 'above': the sheer absence of people other than politicians from the discourse may be argued to contribute towards such a constitution. 	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE:
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-5

Ordentliches Auftreten der Gardenpolizisten = saubere Vorstellung.
Insgesamt ordentliches Aussehen der Minister/Präsidenten = Politikern.
Singen im Hintergrund ist störend!!
Gut von Namibischen Mitbürgern verteilter Empfang. Gute Flugzeuge.
Polizisten alle gut bewaffnet, was wichtig ist.
Bei jedem der hohen Besucher immer freundlicher + stark ausgeprägter Empfang.
Zimbawische Präsident extra wichtig. (eigenartig gekleidet.) = Safari-Kleidung
Überall stehen Kameramänner.
Ziemliches Gedränge von Kameramännern und Empfängern - (Politikern)
Gute Vorstellungen vom Chor mit dem Lied "Kosi sike le la"
Manche Politiker/Personen haben ungewöhnliche Hüte auf, obwohl es Abends ist.
Das "Independence Stadion" gefüllt mit Zuschauern, welche alle die Politiker herzlichst begrüßen.
Alle Garden sind gut ausgestattet mit ordentlichen Uniformen und Waffen.
Ziemliches Durcheinander auf dem Rasenplatz, verursacht durch die Zuschauer.
Riesig willkommen die Namibischen Bürger ihren Präsidenten, beschützt durch zwei Leibwächter (Sam Nujoma)
Herr de Klerk nicht ganz frohlich.
Schüchternes Benehmen vom Präsidenten Namibias.
Das Benehmen Nelson Mandelas zum Teil überflüssig, da er gleich sein Parteisymbol zeigen muss.
Gut ausgestattetes Stadion = gute Beleuchtung, anständige Plätze, gutes Mikrofon, viele bunte Farben/Fahnen.
Der Secretary General von der UNO, gute Rede doch zuviel abgelesen.
Politiker im Hintergrund unterhalten sich während der Rede des UNO Secretary Generals.
Zu lange Reden erscheinen oftmals als langweilig unter vielen Zuschauern.
Schwacher Applaus vom Präsidenten Namibias.
Dr. De Klerk - gutes Englisch und liest nicht viel ab. = insgesamt gute & interessante Rede. Kurze aber buendige Rede von De. Klerk.
Das Abhissen der südafrikanischen Flagge wird applausiert, und De Klerk hört sich seine Hymne an.
Sauberer Ablauf der Entzündung des Friedenlichtes.
Das Hissen unserer Flagge wird sehr stark applausiert + der Präsident (Sam Nujoma) steht stolz + interessiert vor seinem Sessel.
Schwaches Auftreten des Präsidenten = der Secretary General of the UNO muss ihm das zum Vorlesen noch zeigen.
- schwaches Englisch und undeutliche Aussprache des Präsidenten
Schwache Rede vom Präsidenten. (ablesen, undeutliche Aussprache, schwaches Englisch)
Interessiertes Zuhören des Secretary General UNO
Starker Applaus nach der Rede. Riesen Stimmung im Stadion
Gutes sogar hervorragendes Feuerwerk, das alle Zuschauer nur so staunen lässt.
Gutes Aussehen der Smoking des Ministers und Präsidenten
Alle Politiker und ihre Frauen gut und reich gekleidet
Traditionelles Begrüßen zwischen Nujoma + Mandela
Polizisten/Leibwächter stützen den Präsidenten beim Abschluss - Abfahrt in seinem Staatswagen

Riesen Mengen von Leuten machen einen Marsch durch die Straßen Windhuk.
glatt abgelaufen die Übergabe des Postens für den: Minister of Justice
Vorstellung und Übergabe der ganzen Ministerposten.
Besonderen guten Applaus bekommt Frau Ammatilla.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The possible significance of the event, in terms of what it might mean for prospects for the future or in terms of the past is ignored. (Coded as "inability to transform past events") - independence is articulated as standing on its own. * 'Orderliness' plays an important role. * Whether things look right and proper is a concern. * There is no passion in the account, nothing personal (coded as "force of subjectivity"). * There seems to be little room for any subjects, except in terms of whether they perform well or badly. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations: the formalities thereof. * Independence celebrations in terms of the in/adequacies of the behaviour of the various players.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Evaluative language: things are "good", "bad", "orderly", but it is an attempt at 'objective' talk. * The celebrations are talked about very formally, distantiatedly. There is nothing personal in the account. * Talks in very 'polite' terms; it is an account consisting of understatement. * 'Stating the obvious' type of talk. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Namibian citizens as providing an audience for 'important' people (coded as "creating spaces for dignitaries") * President Nujoma mainly as incompetent (coded as "object of criticism "). * President de Klerk. * Politicians.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Anybody who speaks into the discourse would have to do so very politely, formally and dispassionately. * It is not possible to participate in this discourse in terms of expressing one's beliefs and values. * The only way namibian citizens could participate in this discourse is in terms of their appreciation for the politicians participating in the celebrations. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A picture of the world in terms of whether things run smoothly and in an orderly manner (coded as "run smoothly or not"). * It is a world in which appearances are inordinately important, an account which does not look beyond the appearances - a world constituted in terms of cliches. * A world which is differentiated into 'good-bad', 'weak-strong', and 'orderly-disorderly'; thus many dichotomizations and a lack of complex differentiations.
<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The constant references to order, neatness (sauber) may be objected to on the grounds that it is reflective of the typical paranoia about the possible disorder at independence. * The constant references to good may be objected to on the grounds that this becomes quiet meaningless, it becomes a cliché and makes for undifferentiated articulation and the absence of 'personal' input. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By referring all the time to the 'how' of the spoken word, the 'what' and how this may be meaningful in terms of a future or a past is missed. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Instead of focusing on the dis/orderly nature of the independence celebrations, the meanings of independence could have been articulated. * Instead of constructing the independence celebrations as a sort of isolated event, it might have been connected to the past and future, i.e. It might have been historically situated. * Rather than constructing the spoken of the politicians in terms of command of the english language, and in terms of good and bad in general terms, specific aspects of the said might have been constructed in terms of implications thereof for Namibia, Namibians, the future.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p>	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 13)
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-6

O nein, doch nicht NBC schwarz und weiss? Die Musik ist echt dumm
Ich frag mich, ob die Frau rassistisch ist ...
Typisch Namibia, die muessen erst mal wieder all aufrutschen.
Libertine Amathila, die soll ziemlich gut sein.
Der Typ der redet erinnert mich an den Ansager, der immer beim World cup und Wimbledon redet.
Die haetten ruhig einen festlicheren roten Teppich hinlegen koennen.
Klopf, klopf auf den Ruecken.
Warum brauchen die da so viele Leute mit Gewehren?
Ich wunder ob die ganzen Schwarzen dort einen hohen IQ haben.
Oh toll, ein Schwarzafrikanisches Kulturereignis. Sieht ziemlich albern aus.
Nujoma ist mir irgendwie sympatisch.
Diese Afrikanischen Taenze sehen unaestetisch aus.
Wow, de Klerk, ein Weisser. Was der jetzt wohl denkt?
Pik Botha, ein Rassist?
Cabinet, ob das nur all die Minister sind oder auch andere.
Mateo Hausiko ist jetzt Minister fuer Transport.
Let's just pray that everything in the world is going like in Namibia. Ja, hier war das
ziemlich friedlich und ohne groessere Gewalt.
Ha, noch ein Weisser.
Zambia Airways, damit wuerde ich nicht nochmal fliegen, sehr schlechte Erfahrung.
Den Film hab ich nie geguckt, ist ja schon schwach. Und das ganze ist jetzt schon 5 Jahre her ...
Nujoma laechelt immer. Kommt mir manchmal ein bisschen senil vor.
Ich bewunder diese paar Weissen, unter den vielen schwarzen Ministern.
Debating society, muss interessant sein. Diese ganzen Reporter.
Ha, jetzt sind es eine schwarze Frau + ein weisser Mann als Ansager
Ich liebe Nkosi Sikelili, bei dem Konzert hab ich im Chor mitgesungen, vorher hat es geregnet, und wir
waren patschnass. Hat aber unheimlich Spass gemacht. Na, da haben die wohl das Ende vergessen.
Ich erinnere mich grad, ich hab Nujoma schonmal die hand geschuetzelt. Ich glaube, damals war ich
noch Rassist, und hab meine Freundin nicht verstanden, die Swapo war. Heute kann ich nicht
glauben, dass ich mal so gedacht hab.
Kenya, da sollen so viele Bordelle sein.
Ha, dies mal schaffen die Soldaten es sogar, richtig zu marschieren. Sieht gar nicht schlecht aus. Ob
man auf dem Feld noch Fussball spielen kann, wenn die da alle mit ihren harten Schuhen drauf laufen?
Mister Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia. Auf den Moment hat er sicher auch sein
Leben lang gewartet.
Nkosi Sikelili, yiza moya, den Teil fand ich immer besonders schoen.
Frau Nujoma, Frau de Klerk, ob die sich gut verstehen: Also wenn ich da jetzt staende waer ich total
nervoes, wahrscheinlich so wie vor einem Referat.
Die Weissen haben ja ne halbglatze.
Also irgendwie kann ich mir ja nicht helfen, wenn ich so ganz viele Schwarze auf nem Haufen sehe,
denke ich immer gleich daran, ob sie was im Kopf haben oder nicht, und ob das wirklich unsere Schuld
ist wegen der schlechten Education, die sie erhalten haben.
Die Wut packt mich wieder, wenn ich an diese dummen Weissen in S.A. denke, so wahnsinnig
arrogant, dass sie die Schwarzen als Ungeziefer betrachtet haben.
(Wahrscheinlich auch nur eine Verallgemeinerung!!!)
Ich hasse es, wenn jemand keine richtige englische Aussprache hat, so wie der Mensch, der grade
redet. Aber andererseits bewunder ich auch alle, die mehr als nur ihre Muttersprache beherrschen.
ENDURANCE, SKILL, ist ja nett, das der uns das wuenscht.
Die Kirchen haben sogar Geld eingesammelt fuer Waffen fuer den Freiheitskampf der
Swapo. Ist das gerechtfertigt oder nicht? Eine Kirche? Naja, zumindest hat's
geklappt.
Ach, das ist Perez de Cuellar, jetzt weiss ich endlich wie der aussieht. Der Typ ist mir
sympatisch.

League of Nations is parent of United Nations General Assembly, haben wir heute in Geschichte gelernt. War wohl doch nicht so ganz umsonst, die League. The season of violence has passed for Namibia? Und was ist mit der Kriminalitaet, und den Leuten die von unserer Regierung oben bei Angola erschossen wurden.

Zugegeben, einen Krieg hatten wir nicht. Buergerkrieg. South Africa has helped Namibia's infrastructure.

Warum redet der Afrikaans, Sammi hasst doch diese Sprache der Apartheid.

May God be with you, und das aus dem Mund eines Suedafrikanischen weissen, die meisten haben doch nur glesen in der Bibel, dass die Schwarzen was schlechtes als die Weissen sind, gar nicht zu vergleichen ...

Was ist jetzt daran so toll, independent zu werden?

Cool, Frankie. Wow, ob diese Fackel die ganze Zeit gebrannt hat. Echt ein gutes Symbol.

It is now time, it is now time ... und Sammi smiled immer noch.

A nation is born, das stimmt. Ich wuerde echt gern wissen was Nujoma in diesem Augenblick gedacht hat.

Don't tell me, show me Sam Nujoma, that I will strive to the best of my ability, to uphold, protect and defend the supreme law, the constitution of Namibia!!!

Ausserdem ist die Konstitution sowieso ziemlich ungenau, zum Beispiel darf ein Minister nicht rausgeschmissen werden, so lange er nicht eine "grosse (serious)" Verstossung gegen das Gesetz gemacht hat, aber wer bestimmt, ob es serious ist oder nicht? Namibians, unite.

Wer hat eigentlich die Constitution aufgestellt, und wann? Muss ein ziemlich schwieriges business sein. Der Perez de Cuellar sieht aus, als ob er sich gleich uebergeben muss. Vielleicht langweilt er sich auch nur.

Without regard to race and colour. Find ich echt gut!! Nur muessen die Leute dann schon faehig sein, dass zu tun, was von ihnen verlangt wird. Bei den Feuerwerken war ich schon zu Hause.

Muss ein grosser Moment fuer die schwarzen Mitbuerger gewesen sein. Schade, dass die alle, die schon gestorben sind, also von einer frueheren Generation, das nicht mehr mitbekommen koennen. Aber vielleicht ist es nach dem Tod so, dass man trotzdem alles mitbekommt, was auf der Welt los ist????

Also Geingob ist mir auf den ersten Blick dort unsympatisch, aber wahrscheinlich ist das nur ein Vorurteil?? Der hat so ne dicke Unterlippe.

Da kann echt niemand Englisch richtig aussprechen, und Frau Nujoma ist ziemlich dick, die ist sicher oft so fettige sachen, wie Fisch und Chips und Hamburger. Ist ja fies sowas zu sagen, aber wie sonst kann man so fett sein? Naja, vielleicht hat sie ne Druesenkrankheit. Aber gesundes Essen ist ja ohnehin heute sooo teuer ... Ob er wohl an dem Abend mit seiner Frau geschlafen hat?

The brass band - Musk ist immer gut!!!.

Ich wusste gar nicht, dass sie das von oben auf gefilmt haben, am naechsten Tag.

Wie oft bin ich die Kaiserstrasse schon gefahren, runtergelaufen,

Ich glaub das Nujoma's Englisch sich schon ein bisschen gebessert hat.

Das hoert sich an wie Herr Kuehlwetter, der Mann mit Bart dort.

Nujoma sieht aus als denke er schon an das Jet fuer 80 000 000, dass er sich bald kaufen wird ... Ob er das damals schon mit eingeplant hat?

Hendrik Witbooi sieht aus wie ein Buschmann. Warum sagt der "O help me God", ist er ein Christ? Meint er das ernst? Kann Gott ueberhaupt helfen? Es heisst doch: Hilf dir selbst, dann hilft dir Gott. Amathila die Libertine. Ich bin echt vorurteilig, nur weil meine Familie meint, dass sie gut ist, find ich sie auch sympatisch.

Ich find das Englisch echt geil von diesem Weissen ohne Bart, hoert sich witzig an ...

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Connections are repeatedly made between the present (of the respondent) and the past as represented by the independence celebrations. The past is critically reflected on from the perspective of the present. * An account marked by strong ambivalence as far as race is concerned, and in respect of the person of the president (who seems to embody the ambivalences regarding race). * Opinions are freely and spontaneously expressed. * Many links are made between personal life and the event of independence. Thus the private and the public inform each other in this text. * In many ways a complex account in which different, sometimes opposing positions are taken - an expressive account. * In articulating a sense of place, the respondent draws on pre-independence language - "Kaiser Strasse" and becomes quite nostalgic. * The articulations in respect of the president contain all the ambivalences experienced in regard to 'the other'. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A video recording of the independence celebrations of Namibia on 21/22 March 1990. * Independence as an event in which race relations are played out at different levels. * Independence video as something the respondent should have watched but didn't. * Independence as a mixed blessing.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Spontaneous, expressive talk in which opinions are often expressed. * An account marked by considerable ambivalence. * Much emotive language. * Much evaluative language, including criticism. * In talking about issues many different positions are taken. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Black people as incompetent. * White people as 'last survivors'. * Black people as of doubtful intellectual ability. * Self, 'I' as enthusiastic participant in the celebrations. * Self as former racist. * White people as racist, but only S.A whites! * Self as passionate opponent of racism. * Self as white person. * Black people as other. * White people as hypercritical. * President Nujoma as someone to the way of , but also as not always able to overcome racism. * S.A. government officials. * Black people as possible victims of white racism. * 'We' as whites and 'we' as Namibians.

<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Subjects can speak into this discourse as highly conscious of their race group and the race groups of others. * A white person can speak into the discourse as highly ambivalent in respect of black people. * Black people can speak into the discourse as heirs of independence. * Self can enter the discourse as highly conscious of race, as racist, and as trying to overcome racism, but often unable to do so. * Self can enter the discourse as aware of the effects of racism, but also as defensive in respect of these effects, in the sense of blaming, attacking others who are constructed as even worse racists. * Self can enter discourse as highly ambivalent with respect to other race groups members, alternatively derogating, and wanting to approach and trying to be empathetic. * Self as attempting to enter the emotive world of politicians. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a world in which people are prominently constructed in terms of race. * It is a world which is spoken in multitude of voices, where irreverent voices co-exist with voices articulating 'important' things. * It is a world coloured by emotive language, by the articulation of feelings; a world constructed in terms of the multitude of feelings.
<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The irreverent way in which the president of Namibia is referred to may be objected to eg. the reference to "Sammi" may be objected to as being derogating. The reply may be that politicians are not holy cows and that it is dangerous to render them as holy cows. * The many references to "black" and "white" might be objected to as a way of reproducing racism. This objection may be dealt with by saying that race is a reality in Namibia, and that sweeping it under the carpet only makes the issue fester. * The connection between race and intelligence may be objected to. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence could have been constructed less ambivalently. * Independence might have been constructed as a process of reconciliation, without the reference to racial difference, without reference to black and white. * The president might have been constructed as a faultless hero and as guarantor of the people's freedom.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Very much a discourse of race and of racism, but occasionally there is an awareness of the racism inherent in the discourse where the discourse folds back on itself. ("Also, irgendwie kann ich mir ja nicht helfen, wenn ich so ganz viele schwarze auf einen...."). * The discourse opens up the possibility of articulating the struggle for independence in terms of the moral dilemmas this raises (churches raising money for struggle). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - this in turn connects with an issue prominent in Namibia during 1996, where churches reflected on and were called on to reflect upon their role in the silence pervading the internal schisms in SWAPO. 	

GROUP: DHPS
AGE:
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-7

Einleitung: Anfang eines Naturfilmes?

Zappelige Armee? Uniform, Empfang eines "hohen Tieres" mit viel
pam pam ...

- durcheinander bei der Vorstellung,
langweilig

Hintergrundmusik: Afrikanisch (wie ein Tanz um das Feuer)

Waffen: geben so ein Eindruck von der Stille vor dem Krieg.

- alle Haida Waida Musik
- aufdringliche Reporter (aeaeae!)
- tolle Verallgemeinerung: Life of Windhoek
"seh ja gar nichts!"
- Ansager drückt Misstrauen aus
- eine Rocksängerin? Die Frau mit den roten Haaren
- die "Hohen Tiere" sind ja fast alles nur Männer
- Gespielte Freundlichkeiten der Präsidenten
- eine Menge Fotografen/ aufdringlich
- ein super Stadion nicht
- das Lied kenne ich doch irgendwo her/ klingt stimmungsvoll
- sieh an, die Russen, eine Menge wichtige Persönlichkeiten
- tolle Stimmung im Stadion; mitreissend
- warum muss alles eine Uniform haben? Sieht etwas streng, einfallslos aus.
- oder? an den Uniformen kann man wohl die Polizei als Ganzes besser erkennen!
- aha! da kommt unser Präsident
- ein Durcheinander von Menschen, dass der Präsident von Namibia keine Angst hat
- Pause??!
- wissen die nicht wie es weiter geht?
- die Stimmung ist hin! Alles sitzt nur müde da (12 Stunden)
- ob De Klerk das gefällt; er sieht so angespannt aus
- Mandela kann sich durchsetzen, die Leute hören zu
- natürlich müssen die Amerikaner erst einmal reden. Immer die grossen Amerikaner! Seine Ansprache regt mich auf. "Armes Afrika, wir helfen Dir - = armes Afrika, bleib bloss so!"
- warum spricht nicht einer der Ahnung hat, ein Afrikaner? (aus Afrika) von aussen sieht doch alles anders aus!
- so, genug geredet!
- hurra, hör auf! Lange Rede, kurzer Sinn; gleich ist Mitternacht vorbei und die reden immer noch.
- der Präsident hat so eine Rede bestimmt nicht gern, an so einen wichtigen Tag für ihn.
- endlich De Klerk! Eine gute Einleitung seiner Rede
- der hatte es auch nicht einfach, ob er Namibia gerne abgibt? Spricht ja Hoffnung aus. "Africans found a solution for African problems" Das hört sich besser an als "Americans/Europeans found a solution ..." Er setzt Gott als höchstes Wesen! Gut!
- man fühlt sich eher angesprochen bei De Klerk als bei dem Amerikaner
- Eine Flagge sinkt, das ist als ob ein ganzes Land (unser Land ??) vom Globus weggestrichen wird!
- mit dem Feuer: der Wettlauf gegen die "Boese Welt" kann beginnen! (Namibia als neuer Starter)
- der Präsident freut sich! Muss ein echt tolles Gefühl sein.
- Die Stimmung ist grossartig.

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Although independence is representative of a break from an often very difficult past, the discourse is one of grave uncertainty. * There is a strong sense of the potential for disaster in the future, images of war and destruction. * Nostalgia for the past. * 'Us' and 'them' constituted in terms of Africans and Americans/Europeans. * Namibia is constructed as vulnerable, and this is connected with it no longer being linked to South Africa. * Close association between Namibia and 'nature'. * 'We (Africans) insist on doing our own thing, but we are also scared'. * The oppressed are constituted as Africans and as women. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations in terms of the atmosphere thereof. * Independence as radically putting an end to what was. * Independence as being thrown into a harsh, competitive world, and as risky. * Independence as loss of safety. * Independence celebrations as a party which is sometimes great, sometimes boring.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Talking about independence celebrations in terms of the emotional tone thereof, both as a whole, and as the emotional states of politicians involved. * Talking of the future of Namibia in terms of metaphors of destruction. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The president as 'a human being'. * Americans as imposing. * Africans as those who live in Africa . * Self * De Klerk * We, us, ours and 'we' as Africans.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * President can speak into the discourse in terms of the significance of independence for him. * President can enter the discourse as one of the common people. * Self can speak into the discourse as being African. * De Klerk can enter this discourse as having very mixed feelings, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as having achieved something and - as having lost something. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A world of us (Africans) and them, specifically Americans. * A competitive world, holding considerable potential danger. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the world 'out there' is depicted as threatening; the world 'in here' as shaky, as possibly not being able to 'hold its own'. * The world is constructed in terms of a sense of foreboding, ill omens. * Picture of the world as 'not to be trusted'. (the Prime Minister is constructed as a Janus face). * The world is constructed in terms of dominator, dominated with specific reference to global divisions.

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * The rendering of the president as being 'a human just like us' might be objected to on the grounds that he is a hero, a leader, a figure to be revered.
- * The rendition of Namibia / Namibians being possibly unable to 'make it' in the big wide world, as possibly not 'having what it takes' might be objected to.
 - all this may be dealt with by pointing out that in fact, Namibia / Namibians are still inexperienced, that they are learners in the game of self governance.
- * The oppressed being constituted as Africans and as women may be objected to on the grounds, that a glaring oppression i.e. that of white-black is ignored / not articulated.

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * Namibia's becoming part of 'the big wide world' could have been depicted in 'positive' terms, as an opportunity in terms of the opening of new horizons.
- * The future might have been spoken of in glowing terms, as bringing new chances.
- * Rather than constituting independence in terms of a loss of safety, it might have been constituted as liberation from oppression, as a chance for constructing ones own future.
- * Independence might have been constituted more in terms of a freeing from a war-torn, oppressive past, and less in terms of a frightening future.
- * African identity might have been constituted in terms of specific 'own' characteristics; and possibly merits.
- * Instead of constructing the dichotomy of Africans-rest of the world, distinctions between Africans might have been constructed.

11. Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)

- * Discourse of empowerment is implicit, implication that America has no desire to empower Africa.
- * Equal rights discourse, in terms of gender equality is implicit.
- * Discourse of identity; being African is constituted as being 'other' (of Americans).
- * Discourse of victimization, of down-troddenness (pertaining to women and to Africa).
- * Development discourse i.e. of 'developed', 'underdeveloped'.
- * Here the 'assertion of identity discourse' locks in with the discourse of 'down-troddenness' and of inadequacy, and self doubt.

GROUP: DHPS
AGE: (GRADE 12)
LANGUAGE: GERMAN
REGION:

DHPS-8

-
- Typisch: Frau weiss
Mann schwarz
 - Die Soldaten scheinen etwas (moechtegern) perfekt
 - Die Beschreibung des Sprechers ist nicht klar - die Personen sind zu Klein
 - Unwichtig bzw uninteressant in welcher Reihenfolge die Begrueßung stattfindet
 - alle Maenner grau in grau
 - es fehlt die Perfektion alles trampelt ueber den roten Teppich
 - die Kamerafuehrung ist unprofessionell, man sieht entweder nur Hosen oder erkennt nicht einmal die Gesichter
 - Taenze sind passend zum Anlass
 - es zieht sich alles so lang hin - wird langweilig
 - Man erkennt eine ehrliche Freude in den Gesichtern der Menschen
 - Die roten Haare stechen fast unangenehm hervor
 - Die Frau in gruen/grau wirkt zu unauffaellig
 - besser ist der rote Blazer sticht besser raus
 - I assume and it seems that sollten von der Sprecherin nicht verwendet werden
 - Warum tragt der Chor T shirts und keine Hemden wirkt billig
 - es isst ein schoener grosser Chor
 - die Baenke des Stadions sind nicht erst voll
 - Sprechen ist unvorbereitet und unprofessionel
 - Die Jubelnde Menschenmasse reisst einen fast mit.
 - The Band looks good/ professionel.
 - The camera is too far away
 - koennen die mal die Kamera still halten?!?
 - one should see the man talking not only Nelson Mandela
 - Smile
 - but talk into the microphone
 - der redet zu lang!!
 - Ich wunder wer die Rede geschrieben hat.
 - der redet viel zu lang!!!
 - nur ein kleiner Teil des Stadions versteht ueberhaupt englisch
 - Gott sei dank die Rede ist vorbei!
 - Oh nein schon wieder eine Neue!
 - 2 Redner ist etwas ueberzeugender
 - das Afrikaans ist gut - er redet zum Volk
 - man koennte noch eine viel groessere Show daraus machen
 - professionelles hissen der Flage
 - Sami's beruehmter Smile immer gleich
 - Die "Uebergabe" sollte schon auswendig gelernt werden , oder hat Sami das nie in der Schule gelernt! hat ja nur Std 4!
 - Nevermind die Rede. Weiss der was der da sagt?
Woher weiss das Publikum wann es klatschen muss. Please note so Langweilig
 - Sam enjoys the cheering crowd
Wieviel geld wurde da in die Luft geschossen?
 - Her dress is nice
 - Warum ist das Auto nicht schwarz? oder weiss?
 - Freedom avenue??
 - Fuer was steht der Wurm
 - Die Siegerehrung wird zu lange
 - Schon schade das Witbooi nicht da ist
 - She's got a nice dress (stylish)
 - der haette Pfarrer werden sollen oder Lehrer

<p>2. <u>Free Association</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Much critique with respect to the details of the celebrations * Much personal opinion with regard to small, possibly irrelevant detail. * There is no articulation pertaining to the meaning of this event. * Appearances as in clothes, hairstyles are accorded importance. * The possible political, social and economic meanings of Independence are never addressed. * It is an a-historical account; no articulation of what led to this and what it spells for the future. * It is an account devoid of values, commitments and identifications. 	<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text. What is the discourse about?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence celebrations in terms of the organizational detail. * The viewing of the independence celebrations as boring now. * Independence celebrations as a show.
<p>4. <u>Talking about the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Talking about independence celebrations in an evaluating manner, with the evaluations pertaining to the detail of the celebrations. * Talking in a critical manner, whereby the criticism amounts mainly to fault-finding, complaining, ie. there is nothing radical about it. * Some tension between being swept along by what is viewed and maintaining a distance by means of constant criticism. * Talking about the independence celebrations in terms of the shortcomings, the inadequacies thereof. * Speaking of independence celebrations without ever naming these. 	<p>5. <u>Specifying the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The self as almost getting involved in the activities, but mainly as bored. * Participants in the independence celebrations, mainly in terms of the roles they play eg. cameraman, presenters, soldiers. * The President as an object of criticism and derogation. * Speakers as boring and as speaking a language which can or cannot be understood by the audience.
<p>6. <u>Speaking for the subjects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * This discourse invites people to be highly critical with respect to appearances, basically nit-picking. * One might step into the discourse as one who is irreverent in respect of authority figures. * One can speak into the discourse as one who keeps a distance from the celebration, who remains coolly rational and critical, and who is not swept along. 	<p>7. <u>Picture of the world presented by discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a world in which, what things look like, makes a big difference, is important. * It is a world in which competence is extremely important, and professionalism. It is a world in which the 'proper' doing of things is what matters.

<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The critical terminology might be objected to by pointing out that all this nit-picking misses the point. Respondent might reply by saying that all this talk about the meaning of independence is in any case just cliches and point out that few of the meanings such as 'empowerment of the people' have been actualized since independence. 	<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Independence might have been spoken of in terms of its political significance. * Could have been posited as the culmination of a long struggle for self-rule. * Independence might have been named. * Independence might have been posited in terms of what it has meant for the respondent. * Independence celebrations might have been articulated in terms of what the dignitaries say and do. * Independence may have been painted as the start of a new era, or epoch.
<p>11. <u>Elaborating the discourse (implicit meanings)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Implicit in the very 1st statement "Typisch: Frau weiss, mann schwarz", is a criticism of the phoneyess of much so-called reconciliation. It is presenting a 'proper' picture which is not convincing. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the assumption that presenting white and black in cooperation is a public relations exercise. * Strong consciousness of race is implicit and a mistrust regarding the genuineness of working together as a team. * By writing "transfer" (Uebergabe) of Namibia, in inverted commas, doubt is cast on the validity thereof and the 'readiness' for the change that is involved. * Implying that the independence celebrations are really a form of triumphalism, showing off who won. 	

**STAGE 2 OF ANALYSIS OF STUDENT RESPONSES:
COMMON THEMES**

2. Free Association

- * An account marked by impotent rage
- * Angry teenager discourse
- * 'I want to escape' (integrated with Point 7 "world constituted in terms of criticisms and rejections").
- * Inability to transform events of past so these can be significant in present; a-historical account {II}
 - thus past remains stagnant, does not inform future.
- * Verbs are often turned into nouns (integrated with Point 4: "formal account").
- * Little room for subjects except in terms of whether they perform well/badly (coded as Point 7: "behaviour circumscribed by many 'oughts', roles").
- * Possible meanings of independence for Namibians then and now not articulated. {III}
- * Former colonizer articulates possible future in linking past and present.
- * Criticism of Namibian President at personal level, not in terms of what he represents.
- * Account is silent in respect of that which much could be said about; in this sense, extreme withdrawal into private sphere and an impoverished account.
- * Discourse is completely unexpected in its silence; it is also highly conservative in that it is about petty order.
- * To identify with does not preclude being critical of (coded in First Reduction as Point 4: "self: as involved and critical").
- * An account devoid of commitments, values, identifications (integrated with Point 4: "distantiated talk, nothing personal in account")
- * Emphasis on what dignitaries say and do (coded in 1st Reduction as Point 7: "world constituted in terms of 'important' people").
- * Dignitaries are never named.
- * Telling an integrated story.
- * Association between equal rights and disorder with disorder arising from ignorance (integrated in 1st Reduction with Point 7: "world constructed as in transition").
- * Namibians as ingroup, 'us', but discourse makes room for difference.
- * Equal rights made synonymous with going where one likes (integrated with 1st Reduction Point 7: "world constructed as in transition").
- * Concern with who and whose culture are representative of Namibia.

3. Describe the discourses in the text. What is the discourse about?

- * Independence celebrations (IC) as joyful, festive {II}
 - dignified occasion
- * IC in terms of the organizational aspects thereof {III}
 - well organized, orderly {I}
 - disorganized.
- * IC in terms of in/adequacy of participants (coded as Point 7: "world constituted in terms of whether and how things might be done right").
- * IC as calling for proper behaviour from participants (integrated in Point 7: "behaviour circumscribed by many 'oughts', roles).
 - in terms of the role players making up IC.
- * IC in terms of feeling tone thereof, atmosphere {I} (integrated with First reduction Point 2: "Independence: valuation")
- * IC as boring, as something one has to get over with.
- * IC (Independence?) as no longer relevant, belonging in past.
- * Independence as ushering in a different future. {II}
 - Negative future; threatening, risky, dangerous {II}
 - opening the future {I}
- * Independence as marking a change in Namibia's position in the world.
 - negative as in being thrown into a harsh world
 - positive as lending the country significance in a regional and global context.
- * Independence as marking a break from the past. {I}
 - end of colonial rule; end of violence/peace.
- * Independence is hard won / Independence as achievement/ Independence as victory (coded in 1st Reduction Point 2 as "Independence: valuation: desirable/good")
- * Independence as highly desirable
 - long awaited (coded as "Independence: desirable/good")
 - as great occasion (coded in 1st Reduction Point 2 as "Independence: valuation: desirable/good").
- * Freedom - in terms of national sovereignty
- * Independence as highly significant, on national, regional, international level. {II}
- * Independence as marking a change in the relationship between SA and Namibia. {I}
 - orderly take over of power by Namibia from SA {II}
 - return of land to rightful owners
- * Independence as instituting formal structures of government eg. executive, judiciary.

2. Free Association Continued

- * Articulation in public domain is rendered sinister, untrustworthy (Integrated with First reduction: Point 8: "sceptical account").
- * A standard/ template is needed so things may be done properly. (integrated with Point 3: "Namibia as not quite ready for independence").
- * 'We Africans insist on doing as we see fit, but are also scared'.
- * Past as difficult, but also nostalgia for past
- * Namibia as vulnerable.
- * Connections made between the present (of respondent) and past, as 'represented' by Independence celebrations (IC).
- * Many connections made between past, present, future. {}
- * Account marked by strong ambiguities concerning race (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "self: highly conscious of race, struggling with own racism")
- * Many links made between personal life and event of independence; private and public inform each other.
- * No links made between independence and own life (coded as Point 4: "Distantiated talk: no connections made").
- * In articulating a sense of place pre-independence language (Kaiser Strasse) is drawn on (coded as "Past as difficult, but ... nostalgia).
- * No connections made between present (of respondent, Namibia), and independence. {}
- * Self-sanctioning in respect of critical opinions articulated regarding the President.
- * Activities and emotions of people directed in relation to dignitaries, especially President.
- * Complex telling of event.
- * Contrast/tension between excitement, exuberance on one hand, and restraint on the other.
- * Force of subjectivity absent from account {} (integrated with Point 4: "Distantiated talk: nothing personal in account").
- * Victory is already won, nothing further needs to be done eg. struggle for psychological liberation (coded with 1st Reduction as Point 3: "Independence as end-point").
- * Importance of control over land (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 2: "Independence as return of land to rightful owners").
- * Articulating what Namibians say and do in derogatory terms (coded in 1st Reduction as Point 4: "Namibians: chaotic, in-competent").

3. Describe the discourses in the text. What is the discourse about? Continued

- * Independence as empowerment of the people.
- * Independence as mixed blessing (coded as Point 4: "questioning account").
- * Independence as event where race relations are played on (integrated with Point 4 of First reduction: "self: as conscious of race")
- * Namibia
 - as precious possession
 - as not quite ready for independence (celebrations)
 - as new, developing country.
- * Independence as birth of the Namibian nation
 - independence as inaugurating nation building.
- * IC in terms of formalities thereof {} (integrated with 1st Reduction Point 7: "world constructed in terms of pomp, ceremony).
 - in terms of what is said and done as part of IC {} (integrated with 1st Reduction Point 4: "factual account").
- * IC as a show.
- * Viewing of video of IC
 - as boring now (coded in 1st Reduction as Point : "Independence as no longer relevant...")
 - as something that should have been watched.
- * Video recording of IC {}
 - as poorly put together.
- * Welcoming of guests to the independence celebration.
- * Namibian nation
 - as coming into being as if by magic (coded in 1st Reduction as Point 3: "Independence as end-point; no conceptualization of future beyond that").
- * Independence as event which should be constituted more broadly than in terms of SWAPO rhetoric (coded as Point 4: "questioning account").
- * The term "independence" is never used. {}
- * Independence in terms of several possible meanings thereof (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 8: "complex telling of event").
- * Significance of IC is never talked about

4. Talking about the talk

- * Pejorative language (must, should, ought)
Language of regimentation. (Integrated in Point 7:
"behaviour circumscribed by many 'oughts'").
- * Talking in deprecating way
 - hypercritical
 - fault - finding.
- * Rebellious teenager talk; oppositional talk closing possibilities for debate (integrated with "Account marked by impotent rage").
- * Critical account (integrated in First reduction Point 4: "Self - as involved and critical").
- * Evaluative account constructed of personal opinions. {IIIIIIII}
- * Questioning account, meanings of independence articulated as questions, possibilities. {I}
- * Engaged account {II}
 - spontaneous, expressive {II}
- * Distantiated talk - nothing personal in account. {III}
- * "Factual" account of the detail of celebrations {III}
- * An account in polite terms, understatements (coded as First reduction Point 8: "clichéd account").
- * Distancing by placing IC in the past (integrated in "distantiated talk").
- * Formal account eg. titles
- * Talk of IC in terms of shortcomings thereof (integrated with "Account marked by impotent rage").
- * "Stating the obvious" talk (integrated with "factual account").
- * Account marked by ambivalence (integrated with "questioning account").

5. Specifying the subjects

- * We, us, ours
 - as Africans
 - as whites
 - as Namibians (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "Subjects: Namibians -as in group, us").
- * Speakers
 - as boring
 - speaking a language which cannot be understood by audience.
- * Participants in IC
 - in terms of roles they play eg. soldiers {}
(integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 7:
"behaviour circumscribed by many 'oughts'").
- * SA government officials.
- * Journalists - as disrespectful.
- * Africans - as those who live in Africa.
- * Americans - as imposing.
- * Namibians
 - as victorious
 - as chaotic, incompetent
 - as united at one level, but differentiated at another
 - Namibian politicians as largely incompetent (coded in 1st Reduction as Point 4: "Namibians as chaotic, incompetent")
- * White people as hypocrites
 - as "the last survivors"
 - as racist, but only SA whites
 - uncertain about what to do with black people's freedom (coded as First reduction Point 4: "White people as highly ambivalent in respect of black people").
- * Black people
 - incompetent {}
 - of doubtful intellectual ability (coded as "incompetent")
 - as other
 - possible victims of white racism
 - spectators of the President
 - Namibian blacks as uncertain about what to do with their freedom.
- * Decision makers who are behind the scenes as those who are actually in control (integrated with First reduction: Point 8: "sceptical account").
- * President de Klerk
 - as effective {}
 - as reaching audience (coded as "effective")
 - being a person, having feelings.
- * Self
 - as white person (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "self: highly conscious of race").
 - as in some ways identified with Namibia, but not in others.
 - as bored
 - as African (integrated with "We: as African")
 - as enthusiastic participant in IC {}
(integrated in and coded as Point 4 : "engaged account"),

4. Talking about the talk Continued

- * Talking about independence as momentous (coded as Point 3: "Independence: desirable/good").
- * Talk is aggressive (coded as "Account marked by impotent rage").
- * Independence is talked about approvingly { I} (integrated with 1st Reduction Point 1: Independence: desirable / good").
- * Official account, in line with party rhetoric, is never rendered problematic (coded as First reduction Point 8: "clichéd account").
 - talk in terms of clichés
- * Emotive language used in account of independence celebrations {} (integrated with "engaged account - spontaneous, expressive").
- * Talk of video of IC in terms of technical detail thereof (coded with 1st Reduction Point 8 as "evaluative account in terms of quality / technical detail").
- * Tension between being swept along by what is viewed and maintaining distance through constant criticism (coded as First reduction Point 4: "Self: involved and critical").
- * Fragmented - impressions do not hang together.
- * Many different positions are taken; multi-faceted account.
- * Metaphors of destruction in talk about future (Integrated in 1st Reduction Point 2: "Independence: Ushering in new future").
- * Talking of IC without ever naming these.
- * IC talked about as event in the past; no links made between the event then and the respondent now or in the future. {II}
- * "Everything is right and fine" talk (coded with 1st Reduction Point 7: "harmonious world running smoothly according to plan").
- * Talking of IC in terms of the emotional tone thereof (integrated with First reduction Point 2: "Independence: valuation").
- * Speaking with surprise that IC could have been pulled off (because people are ignorant) (coded with 1st Reduction Point 6: "Namibia as new and developing country").

5. Specifying the subjects Continued

- * Self Continued
 - as almost getting involved in IC
 - as former racist (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "Self: struggling with own racism").
 - as white person
 - as unable to overcome own racism (integrated with "struggling with own racism").
 - articulated in relation to IC in terms of personal likes/dislikes (integrated with Point 4: "Evaluative account constructed of personal opinions").
- * Political leaders
 - as readers of speeches (integrated with 1st Reduction Point 5: "Politicians saying meaningless things expected of them").
 - in terms of their affective states (Integrated with 1st Reduction Point 5 "Politicians: simply human").
 - as saying meaningless, official things
 - as connecting past and future
 - as in/effective creators
 - in terms of in/competence
 - respectfully, as dignitaries.
- * The President
 - as "keeper" of history
 - as someone to be revered
 - as spectacle (coded with 1st Reduction as Point 5: "revered")
 - omnipotent (coded as "revered")
 - benevolent father who will deliver to his people
 - as the voice of the Namibian people {I}
 - as chosen ruler of the people (coded as "voice of Namibian people")
 - as embodying hopes and wishes of the people (coded as "voice of Namibian people")
 - as protector of country's freedom (coded as "guarantor of future")
 - guarantor of future
 - as human being
 - as presentable, but not realizing the gravity of what he says (coded as "object of criticism")
 - someone to be wary of {II}
 - object of criticism and derogation {III}
- * The people
 - in terms of their affective states(integrated in Point 7: "world in terms of individual emotional states").
 - creating spaces for dignitaries to come into view
 - as welcoming guests {I} (coded as First reduction Point 7: "activities and emotions of people directed to dignitaries")
 - active participants in celebrations {I}
 - witnesses to change in power in the country
 - as somewhat ignorant, but also powerful as a group and requiring leadership
 - as undifferentiated, as monolithic block {I}
 - guardians and masters of the land
 - jubilant (integrated with Point 3:"IC as joyful").

6. Speaking for the subjects

- * The President of Namibia could speak
 - as one of the common people (integrated in First reduction Point 5: "President as human")
 - as representative of the people, as one who speaks for the people (integrated in Point 5: "President as voice of the Namibian people"). {}
 - As a sort of superman who can keep the country out of harm's way (integrated in Point 5: "President: guarantor of the future").
 - as ruler
 - as one who does not make mistakes (integrated in 1st Reduction Point 5: "President: as revered")
 - about what independence means to him
 - into the discourse by saying that he is being judged along typically racist lines, in terms of 'their' criteria, not his own, (integrated in Point 5: "President: as object of criticism").
 - into the discourse by saying that, to brand him as incompetent is part of the "sour grapes" phenomenon (integrated in Point 5: "President: as object of criticism").
 - as one who is victorious in respect of the former SA president.
 - as not quite knowing what he is doing; who, on the face of it, might do and say the right thing, but there is no depth (integrated in 1st Reduction Point 5: "President as incompetent").
 - as hero, almost as a god (integrated in 1st Reduction Point 5: "President as revered")
 - as one who articulates for Namibians visions of the future springing from his strong sense of the past (integrated in 1st Reduction Point 5: "President: keeper of history")
 - as a 'man of the people' in the sense of "they all love me (integrated in 1st Reduction as Point 5: "President: as revered, as benevolent father").
- * The people can participate
 - as patriots (integrated in First reduction point 1: "nationalist talk").
 - as ones who have long expected / awaited independence (integrated with
 - as enthusiastically involved in the in the celebrations
 - as ones who have long expected/awaited independence (integrated with Point 3: "independence as desirable/ good").
 - as acting as a mass, a block, and threateningly so; blindly (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "the people as somewhat ignorant, but also powerful as a group").
 - as swept along by the spirit of the IC (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "active participants in celebrations").
 - as happy joyous, participating in the spirit of the moment (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 3: " independence celebrations as joyful"). {}

7. Picture of the world presented by discourse

- * World constructed in terms of international politics
 - Where political events are foregrounded
- * World in which important political events amount to so much nonsense (coded as First reduction Point 8: "Talking about the talk: cynical").
- * Picture of world in which behaviour is circumscribed by many "oughts"
 - sponteneity is impossible (coded as First reduction Point 7: "behaviour circumscribed by many oughts").
- * World constituted in terms of roles
- * World constrained by trifling detail and regulations, disallowing visions for the future.
 - World constructed in terms of sense of foreboding, "ill omens" (integrated in First reduction Point 2: "independence: ushering in new future").
 - picture of world not to be trusted (integrated in First reduction Point 2: "Independence ushering in new future: negative").
- * A world in which there are (implied) possibilities, in which the future is open.
 - world suffused with hope for the future {}
 - world as moving into uncertain future
- * A world suffused with sense of agency
 - people taking future into own hands
 - sense of achievement
 - agency constituted in terms of co-operation, solidarity, friendship;
 - in terms of guarding one's space (integrated in First reduction Point 7: "people taking future into own hands").
- * World constructed as "new"
 - picture of world as in transition and therefore at times chaotic.
 - fundamentally new interpersonal relations, roles (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "Namibians: having structured interpersonal relations...").
- * World constituted in terms of individual emotional states and affective behaviours {}
- * World constituted in terms of individual emotional states & affective behaviours. {}
- * World in which political power is of paramount importance; socio-economic, psychological aspects ignored.
- * African world (integrated with First reduction Point 4: " 'we': as Africans").
- * Picture of world devoid of process; things happen as if by magic (coded as "Independence as end-point; no conceptualization of a future beyond that.")
- * World constructed in terms of multitude of voices both reverent and irreverent (integrated in First reduction Point 8: "complex telling of event ...").

6. Speaking for the subjects Continued

- * *The people can participate continued*
 - by talking about the dignitaries who they had seen. I (integrated in First reduction Point 7: "world constituted in terms of important people"). {}
 - in terms of specific roles they have adopted eg. choir member and this would restrict what they can say and do (integrated in Point 7: "behaviour circumscribed may oughts").
 - in the sense of speaking as one, as a crowd. (Integrated with First reduction Point 4: "undifferentiated, monolithic block").
 - by shouting, singing mainly in response to what dignitaries say and do (integrated in Point 7: "world constituted in terms of important people").
 - as ones who ask of the President (integrated with Point 5: "president as benevolent father")
 - as witnesses to independence, not as agents (integrated with "It would not be possible ... to participate in terms of reflecting, articulating")
- * de Klerk can participate
 - as having achieved something and as having lost something (integrated with First reduction Point 5: de Klerk - human being ... mixed").
 - as someone who is assertive, powerful
 - as being concerned about organizational aspects of IC and as doubtful whether 'they' can pull it off (integrated with Point 3: "IC as disorganized").
- * It would not be possible
 - for black people to speak as ones who have been let down by their leaders
 - for people to participate in IC in terms of reflecting how these are meaningful to them (integrated with Point 2: "possible meanings of independence not articulated").
 - for people to participate in the sense of reflecting, speaking
 - for people to participate in IC as differentiated individuals. {}
 - to participate as political actors (unless one is a politician). {}
 - to participate as sceptic (integrated with "... for 'the people' to participate in the sense of reflecting"). {}
 - to participate as critic of the President (integrated in Point 5: "president as revered").
 - to participate as ones who are uncertain of the future (integrated with First Reduction Point 2: "future as open: hopeful in respect of future").
 - to participate as having one's own beliefs, values, feelings (coded as Point 8: "distantiated talk: nothing personal in account").

7. Picture of the world presented by discourse

- * Single perspective world, not coloured by concerns of others.
- * Where people are prominently constructed in terms of race (integrated in First reduction Point 4: "self: highly conscious of race").
- * World of 'us', 'them'; Africans, Americans constructed in terms of dominated - dominator (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "We as Africans ...").
- * World constituted in terms of nationhood (integrated with First reduction Point 1: "nationalist talk").
- * World constructed in terms of appearances {} {} {} {} coded as First reduction Point 7: "appearances are important").
- * A world constituted in terms of big names - title and position
- * Picture of world in terms of pomp, ceremony, formalities
- * Impressions are important; evaluations done in terms thereof (integrated with First Reduction Point 7: "appearances are important").
- * Emphasis on polite, socially acceptable behaviour (integrated with First reduction Point 7: "behaviour circumscribed by many "oughts").
- * 'Tea-party' world i.e. who behaved how? (integrated with "world constructed in terms of appearances").
- * Picture of world as cluttered with unnecessary, useless actions (integrated with First reduction Point 8: "Talking about the talk: cynical").
- * Much of what is significant happens behind the scenes (integrated as First reduction Point 8: "sceptical account").
- * Harmonious world where people are united in common cause. {}
 - running smoothly according to plan.
- * World constituted in terms of rejections and criticisms.

6. Speaking for the subjects Continued

- * Non-specific participants in the discourse are invited by the discourse to
 - be highly sceptical in terms of appearances (integrated with First reduction Point 8: "sceptical account: disbelief regarding said of political leaders").
 - be irreverent in respect of authority figures (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "self: critical in respect of politicians").
 - remain coolly rational and critical in respect of IC, thus keeping a distance (integrated with First reduction Point 8: "sceptical account").
 - talk about how the proceedings went and who said what (integrated with Point 7: "world constructed in terms of appearances").
 - talk about what IC meant for them on a personal level (integrated as First reduction Point 3: "Time: connections made between present").
 - participate very politely, formally, dispassionately (integrated in First reduction Point 8: "formal account").
 - be highly conscious of their race group (integrated in "subjects")
- * Self
 - as critical in respect of that which is being participated in
 - as highly critical in respect of what politicians say
 - as participant in important happenings (integrated in First reduction Point 8: "engaged account").
 - as articulator of personal likes/dislikes, personal opinions (integrated with First reduction Point 8: "Evaluative account) in respect of whether things look good or not
 - articulated in terms of "small talk", gossip
 - trying to stand in shoes of politicians
 - as highly conscious of race
 - as struggling to deal with own racism e.g. by being defensive, blaming (integrated with First reduction Point :4 "self: struggling with own racism")
 - as highly ambivalent in respect of other race groups
 - as alternatively conscious and unconscious of own racism (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "self: struggling with own racism").
- * Namibians
 - as justifiably angry with South Africa
 - as not knowing how to deal with one another in the light of political change
 - as having structured interpersonal relations along racial lines and being at a loss as to what to do now
 - as "us" as ingroup.
- * Black people
 - as legitimate heirs of independence {}

6. Speaking for the subjects Continued

- * White people
 - as highly ambivalent in respect of black people
 - as having become marginalized in respect of public roles
 - as feeling somewhat guilty about effects of apartheid practices (integrated in First reduction Point 4: "black people as victims").
- * Politicians
 - can say what is expected eg that Namibia is now a democracy {}
 - as simply human, eating, feeling nervous etc.
 - as those who articulate for others (integrated with Point 5: "President: voice of the Namibian people").
 - as catalysts for other people's responses (integrated with First reduction Point 7: "world constituted in terms of important people").
- * Foreign VIP's
 - as sceptical about Namibia's future (coded as First reduction Point 2: "Independence opening up a new future: negative").
 - as bored (coded as First reduction Point 8: "cynical account").
 - distancing themselves from ordinary people
- 7. Picture of the world presented by discourse Continued
- * World constituted as apart from oneself, where one has no responsibility for its construction
 - constructed in terms of how one is not in it.
- * Constituted in terms of whether and how things are/might be done 'right'. {}
- * World where competence is important (coded with First reduction Point 7: "World in terms of things done right"). {}
- * World 'out there' as threatening; world 'in here' as shaky.
- * Dichotomized world i.e. 'good bad'; lacking complex differentiations.
- * World constituted in terms of clichés (integrated with First reduction Point 8: "Clichéd account"). {}
- * World in which 'talk is cheap' (integrated as First reduction Point 8: "sceptical account").

11. Elaborating the discourse. Implicit meanings

- * Patriarchy in African society discourse
- * Discourse of fairness, justice
- * Equal rights in terms of gender. {}
- * Discourse of empowerment (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 3: "Independence as empowerment").
- * Change in power (integrated with Point 3: "Independence as orderly take-over of power..."). {}
- * Discourse of victimization, down troddeness (integrated with First reduction Point 4: "We - as African (dominated)").
- * "Development" discourse (integrated in Point 3: "Namibia as new, developing ...").
- * Namibia as underdeveloped
- * Discourse of identity: African constituted as other of American (integrated First reduction Point 4: "We: ...").
- * Assertion of identity discourse locks in with discourse of down - troddeness and inadequacy.
- * Discourse of patronage: 'they', Namibian people don't know any better (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 5: "Namibians: chaotic; incompetent")
- * Discourse of exclusion associated with "who is representative" discourse.
- * Nationalist discourse (integrated with First Reduction Point 1: "Nationalist talk").
- * National sovereignty, with drawing of boundaries and exclusions entailed by this.
- * Nationalism sanctioned at high level by Secretary General of UN (integrated with First Reduction Point 1: "nationalist talk").
- * Patriotism
- * Discourse of change implied in "New era" (integrated with 1st Reduction as Point 7: "World constructed as in transition").
- * Discourse of intolerance; conflict as something of {} the past, but still near
- * By stopping the war all will be good discourse (integrated with First reduction Point 3: "Independence as end point").
- * The past can be wiped out and we can start with a clean slate.
- * Something else will naturally take the place of the independence struggle as a goal (integrated with First reduction Point 3: "Independence as end point").

11. Elaborating the discourse. Implicit meanings Continued

- * The president does not discriminate (integrated with Point 5: "President as benevolent father, revered").
- * Unification discourse (or unity) and this is vested in the President
- * Unity as in "the people of Namibia" but differentiations made in terms of who fought for independence, who suffered under apartheid.
- * Difference in Namibian context not acknowledged - everyone is happy.
- * Phoneyess of much so-called reconciliation; that it is simply a public relations exercise.
- * Discourse of race - awareness of own racism
- * Mistrusting the genuineness of different race groups working as team.
- * All black people are united on the basis of their colour.
- * Possibility of articulating struggle for independence in terms of moral dilemmas this raises (this connects with "wall of silence" discourse).
- * Discourse of liberation/freedom from colonial oppression
- * Discourse of liberation critically opened
- * Party political discourse
- * Discourse of responsibility and self-discipline
- * Potential for chaos and disintegration interlocking with discourse of order, discipline
- * "Order" discourse {}
- * Discourse of human agency
- * Apartheid years of Namibia's history
- * Discourse of apartheid (keeping things neatly apart)
- * Namibian inferiority - South African superiority discourse.
- * Negation of significance of independence ('if I do not name it, it will not exist').
- * IC as triumphalism, showing off 'who won'
- * Discourse of victory (SWAPO's)
- * Absence of people - in-the-street, by implication independence is not theirs.
- * Political processes steered form 'above' (no subjects present).
- * Violence is synonymous with political violence and is imposed from outside

**STAGE 2 OF ANALYSIS OF STUDENT RESPONSES:
FIRST REDUCTION**

<p>1. Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Equal rights in terms of race, in terms of gender * Discourse of fairness, justice. * Nationalist talk <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - independence as inaugurating nation building - freedom in terms of national sovereignty. * Concern with who and whose culture are representative of Namibia. Thus discourse of exclusion. * Intolerance, conflict as something of the past, but it is still near. 	<p>2. Independence (Event)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Marking break from past {I} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - nostalgia - break from negative past ie. break positively constituted eg. end of violence {II} * Ushering in new future {II} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - negative eg. threatening {III} - opening future {I} - uncertain * Independence as no longer relevant, as belonging to the past {III} * Independence (valuation) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as desirable/good eg as victory {IIII} - celebrations as joyful and dignified occasion {II} * Independence celebrations as party, show * Independence celebrations in terms of the organizational aspects thereof {III} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - well organized, orderly {I} - disorganized (integrated with Point 7: "World constituted in terms of whether and how things are done 'right'"). * Independence as marking change in relations between Namibia and S.A. {I} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - orderly take over of power by Namibia from SA {II} * Independence as empowerment of the people (coded with "independence as desirable"). * Independence as return of land to rightful owners (coded with "independence as desirable"). * Independence as instituting formal structures of government (integrated with "orderly take over of power by Namibia from S.A.").
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3. Time

- * Inability to transform events of past so these can be significant in present {IIII}
- * Past does not inform future
 - Past can be wiped out and we can start with clean slate
- * Connections made between present (of respondent), past (as represented by IC) and future.
- * Future is open; hopeful in respect of future {II} (integrated and coded with Point 2: "independence: opening future").
- * Independence as end-point
 - no conceptualization of a future beyond that of future efforts required {}

4. Subjects (Identity)

- * Namibians
 - as chaotic, incompetent {}
 - as victorious (integrated with Point 2: "Independence evaluated as desirable").
 - ingroup 'us' united at one level but differentiated at another; differentiations made in terms of who fought for independence, who suffered under apartheid.
 - having structured interpersonal relations along racial lines and not knowing how to deal with each other in light of political change.
- * "We"
 - as Africans
 - as Africans (dominated) in relation to Americans (dominators)
 - As Africans who want to do our own thing; but are also scared
 - as whites.
- * 'The people'
 - showing respect to dignitaries (integrated with Point 7: "Activities and emotions of people ...").
 - as undifferentiated, as monolithic block {}
 - as somewhat ignorant, but also as powerful as group and therefore requiring leadership {}
 - active participants in celebrations {}
 - tolerant (integrated with Point 1: "issues: intolerance and conflict")
 - guardians and masters of land (integrated with Point 2: "Independence: positive valuations).
- * No room for "the people" to participate in terms of reflecting, articulating.

4. Subjects (Identity) Continued

- * Self
 - as in some ways identified with Namibia, but not in others
 - as critical eg. in respect of what politicians say {}
 - Self-sanctioning in respect of critical opinions articulated regarding President
 - as involved and critical {} (integrated with "Self as critical" and with Point 8: "engaged account")
 - highly conscious of race
 - struggling with own racism (integrated with "whites: ambivalent in respect of blacks")
 - ambivalent in respect of other race groups (integrated with "whites: ambivalent in respect of blacks")
 - bored (integrated with Point 8: "account ... cynical").
- * Black people {}
 - incompetent {}
 - other
 - possible victims of white racism
 - spectators of President (integrated with Point 7: "world constituted in terms of important people")
 - Namibian blacks as uncertain what to do with their freedom
 - as legitimate heirs of independence
 - no room for black people as having been disappointed by political leaders

[Important note: all this material came from only three response sets]

- * White people
 - as last survivors
 - as highly ambivalent in respect of black people {}
 - as racist, but only SA whites! (integrated with "highly ambivalent in respect of blacks")
 - as having become marginalized in public roles
 - hypocrites

[Important note: all this material came from only two response sets]

- * Assertion of identity discourse locks in with discourse of down-troddenness.
- * Difference in Namibian context not acknowledged; everyone is happy (integrated with Point 7: "harmonious world").
- * Factual account: re detail of celebrations (integrated with Point 8: "distantiated talk")
- * Possible meanings, of Independence for Namibians then and now not articulated

<p>5. <u>Representative figures</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * President as <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - revered {II} - voice of Namibian People {III} - guarantor of future {I} - benevolent father who will deliver to his people - human - object of criticism II and derogation {II} - someone to be wary of {I} - keeper of history - as ruler * De Klerk <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as effective {I} - human being with mixed feelings regarding independence * Politicians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as incompetent/ineffective - saying meaningless things expected of them {II} - as 'simply human' eg. feeling nervous - as linking past and future 	<p>6. <u>Place</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Namibia's position in the world changed by independence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - negatively: being thrown into a harsh world - positively: lending country significance in regional and global context {III} * Namibia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as precious possession - as not quite ready for independence {1} - as new, developing country - as shaky, vulnerable * In articulating a sense of space pre-independence language is drawn on (Kaiser Strasse) (coded with "independence marking break from past: nostalgia")
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7. <u>Picture of the World</u>	8. <u>Talking about the talk</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World suffused with sense of agency. {I} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - people taking future into own hands - agency constituted in terms of solidarity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Account marked by impotent rage thus closing possibilities for debate. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deprecating, hypercritical {II} - cynical {I}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constricted by trifling detail and regulations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - behaviour circumscribed by many "oughts", roles. {II} 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Evaluative account constructed of personal opinions, likes and dislikes {IIIIIIII}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constructed in terms of appearances {IIIIII} (appearances are important eg. what people wear, hairstyles). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - picture of world in terms of pomp, ceremony 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Questioning account: meanings of independence articulated as possibilities {III}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constructed as in transition. {I} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - transition includes people gaining equal rights which may lead to chaos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Complex telling of event; articulated in many voices; multi-faceted account (integrated with "questioning account").
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constituted in terms of rejections and criticisms (integrated with Point 8: "deprecating, hypercritical") <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - one has no responsibility for the world as is, stands apart (integrated with Point 8: "cynical") 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Sceptical account: disbelief in respect of political leaders (integrated with "self: as critical").
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Single- perspective world not coloured by concerns of others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Engaged account. {III} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - spontaneous, expressive. {II}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Harmonious world where people are united in common cause (pertaining to Namibia) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - running smoothly according to plan. {I} 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Distantiated talk: nothing personal in account {IIII} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no connections made between present of respondent and independence II (integrated with "distantiated talk" & with "possible meanings of independence ...").
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constituted in terms of "important" people {II} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - title and position 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Factual account of the detail of the celebrations {III} (integrated with "distantiated talk").
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Activities and emotions of people directed in relation to dignitaries, especially Namibian President. {III} 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Cliched account. {II}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constituted in terms of political events, political power; socio- economic and psychological aspects ignored (integrated with Point 3: "Independence as end point, no conceptualization of future efforts ..."). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Possible meanings of independence for Namibians now and then not articulated. {III}
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constituted in terms of whether and how things might be done "right" {IIIIII} (integrated with Point 2: "independence celebrations in terms of organizational aspects..."). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Formal account eg. in terms of titles (integrated with "distantiated talk").
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Dichotomized world eg good-bad, lacking in complex differentiations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Silent account: practically nothing is said about that which presumably much could have been said about.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * World constituted in terms of individual emotional states and affective behaviours. {I} 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Evaluative account in terms of quality technical detail of video recording

**STAGE 2 OF ANALYSIS OF STUDENT RESPONSES:
SECOND REDUCTION**

Summary analysis of responses of students to viewing of Independence video.

During the first quarter of 1995 senior students (final two classes) at four secondary schools in Namibia and students at the University of Namibia were requested to write down everything that came to mind while viewing a video recording of the Namibian independence celebrations of 21 March 1990. Sixty students participated, all on a voluntary basis. The responses of eighteen students were analysed qualitatively. The results of the analysis are presented in terms of a number of themes. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of times a sub-theme occurred in the protocols.

1. How Namibia's independence is conceptualized

- 1.1. Marking a break from the past (2).
This break is positively constituted (3) for instance as the end of violence. However the past is also regarded with nostalgia (2).
- 1.2. Ushering in a new future (3).
This future is constituted negatively (4) for instance as threatening, as well as uncertain (1). On the other hand Independence is also seen as opening the future (3) which can then be regarded hopefully.
- 1.3. Independence is evaluated as desirable/good (8) for instance as victory or as the "return of the land to its rightful owners" or "empowerment of the people".
- 1.4. The independence celebrations are described as joyful (3) and as dignified occasion (1).
- 1.5. Independence is regarded as marking a change in relations between Namibia and South Africa (2).
- 1.6. Independence is constituted as the orderly take-over of power by Namibia from South Africa (3).

2. How time is dealt with in the accounts

- 2.1. In several of the accounts no attempts were made to render an event of the past (Independence) significant in the present - for instance Independence was described as no longer topical/relevant - or to re-evaluate this event 'of the past' in accordance with experience gained since (8), for instance whether and how the gaining of Independence has entailed "the return of the land to the rightful owners" and/or "the empowerment of the people" was not reflected on.

Thus, Independence is regarded as end-point or clean start (2) with no conceptualization of efforts required to realize the promises of Independence (1) [for instance the respondents did not consider the

socio-economic or psychological changes required to realize these promises.]

- 2.2. Connections are made between present (of respondent), past (as represented by Independence) and future (1).
- 3. Pictures of the world 'painted' by the protocols or the sorts of worlds ("weltbilder") which emerge from the responses.**
- 3.1. World suffused with sense that it is possible to do and to achieve things (3) eg people taking their future into their own hands. In one (1) of the responses this agency is constituted in terms of solidarity.
- 3.2. World constricted by trifling detail and regulations (1) and behaviour is circumscribed by many prescriptions, roles (3).
- 3.3. World constructed in terms of appearances; what things look like is important (6) eg clothes people wear, hairstyles.
- 3.4. World as in transition (2). Transition includes people gaining equal rights which may lead to chaos (1).
- 3.5. Pictures of the world lacking in complex differentiations eg single perspective world (1), dichotomized (divided into two extremes eg good-evil) world (1).
- 3.6. Harmonious world where Namibians are united in a common cause; difference is not acknowledged (1). Running smoothly according to plan (1).
- 3.7. A picture of the world as being made up of the activities, the said and done of important people (3): a world in which title and position are highly important (1). Activities and emotions of people directed towards dignitaries, especially Namibian president (4).
- 3.8. In the picture constructed of the world much importance is given to whether and how things eg the independence celebrations are done 'right', 'properly', 'in an orderly manner' (5).
- 4. Place (space)**
- 4.1. Namibia's position in the world changed by independence, eg lending the country significance in a regional and global context (4), throwing the country into a harsh world (1).
- 4.2. Namibia - as new, developing country (2), and as shaky and vulnerable (1)
- as not quite ready for Independence (1)
 - as precious possession (1)

- 5. How the accounts/stories were 'told'. How students wrote about that which they viewed.**
- 5.1. Evaluative accounts constructed of personal opinions, likes and dislikes (9).
Evaluative accounts pertaining to quality, technical detail of video recording (3).
- 5.2. Nothing personal/subjective/'own' in account (5) for instance providing a run-down of the detail of the celebrations as viewed, i.e. simply describing what is seen in the video without reflecting on this.
- 5.3. Possible meanings of Independence 'then' and 'now' not articulated (4).
- 5.4. Engaged accounts (4) eg links made between respondent's life and Independence.
Spontaneous, expressive (2).
- 5.5. Questioning account; meanings of Independence articulated as questions, possibilities (4).
- 5.6. Accounts marked by impotent rage eg deprecating, hypercritical (3) or cynical (2).
- 5.7. Silent account: practically nothing is said about an event which presumably much could be said about (1).
- 6. Subjects (Identity) [Note that the respondents referred to 'Namibians' or 'blacks' in general, i.e. reference is not only made to how these categories of people appear on the video]**
- 6.1. Namibians regarded as
 - chaotic, incompetent (3)
 - 'ingroup', 'us', united at one level, but differentiated at another (2); one (1) of these two accounts differentiated Namibians in terms of who fought for Independence and who suffered under apartheid, and those who did not
 - not knowing how to deal with one another in the light of political change (1)
- 6.2. 'We' regarded as
 - Africans (dominated) in relation to Americans (dominators) (1)
 - Africans who want to 'do our own thing', but are also scared (1)
 - as whites (1)
- 6.3. 'Self' regarded as

- in some ways identified with Namibia, but not in others (1)
- highly conscious of race (1)
- critical (2) eg in respect of what politicians say
- self-sanctioning in respect of criticisms articulated regarding Namibian president (1).

6.4. Black people regarded as

- incompetent (2)
- legitimate heirs of independence (1)
- not knowing how to handle their freedom (1)
- possible victims of white racism (1)

6.5. Whites people regarded as

- highly ambivalent in respect of blacks (2)
- hypocrites (1)
- having become marginalized in public roles (1).

6.6. President Nujoma depicted as

- revered (4)
- voice of the Namibian people (4)
- guarantor of the future (2)
- 'simply' human (1)
- object of criticism (3) and derogation (3)
- someone to be wary of (2)

6.7. Former South African president de Klerk

- effective (2)
- having mixed feelings regarding Namibian independence (1)

7. Issues

7.1. Intolerance and conflict are constructed as being something of the past, and yet these are still 'near', close to consciousness (2).

7.2. Concern with who and whose culture are representative of Namibia (1)

7.3. Freedom is closely associated with national sovereignty (1).

APPENDIX B

DATA GENERATION: PHASE II

[Please note that in both questionnaires the spaces which were in fact provided for answers have been reduced in order to decrease the bulk of this piece of work]

BIOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Gender: _____

Age: _____

Home Language: _____

Other Languages: _____

Highest level of education: _____

Raised in rural/urban area?: _____

Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: _____

For how long?: _____

Why?: _____

Occupation: _____

BIOGRAPHIC DETAIL

The norm originators are "named" by the first letter of their name.

K

Gender: Female
Age: 30 years
Home Language: Otjiherero
Other Languages: English, Afrikaans, German
Highest level of education: B.A. - first degree
Raised in rural/urban area?: Both rural and then moved to urban area
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: yes
For how long?: 4 years
Why?: Studies - I completed my studies there
Occupation: Researcher

Vi

Gender: Female
Age: 22 years
Home Language: Oshindonga
Other Languages: English, Afrikaans, Herero
Highest level of education: Grade 12 & 2 years (tertiary level)
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban area
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: yes
For how long?: 2 months
Why?: Went on tour and just visited different countries
Occupation: student teacher

P

Gender: male
Age: 24 years
Home Language: Oshiwambo
Other Languages: German, English
Highest level of education: COTAC certificate
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban/rural
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: Germany/South Africa
For how long?: 11 years/1 year
Why?: exile/study
Occupation: travel agent

V

Gender: Male
Age: 54 years
Home Language: Oshiwambo, Herero, English
Other Languages: German, Afrikaans, Kiswahili & Nama-Damara
Highest level of education: Diploma in Journalism
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban area
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: yes
For how long?: 27 years
Why?: for political reason
Occupation: journalist

M

Gender: female
Age: 34 years
Home Language: Herero
Other Languages: English, Afrikaans, Damara/Nama, Oshiwambo
Highest level of education: Post M.Sc Counselling psychology
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: yes
For how long?: 9 years
Why?: for studies
Occupation: psychologist

A

Gender: female
Age: 30 years
Home Language: Otjiherero
Other Languages: English, Afrikaans, German
Highest level of education: B.A in Social Work
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: no
Occupation: Programme Officer

S

Gender: male
Age: 32 years
Home Language: English
Other Languages: Afrikaans
Highest level of education: matric
Raised in rural/urban area?: urban
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?: yes
For how long?: 20 years
Why?: lived with parents in S.A
Occupation: filmmaker

J

Gender:	male
Age:	51 years
Home Language:	German
Other Languages:	English, Afrikaans
Highest level of education:	B.A. (hons)
Raised in rural/urban area?:	both/ mainly urban
Have you ever lived outside Namibia?:	yes
For how long?:	11 years
Why?:	study
Occupation:	journalist/author

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIRST NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

Please respond to the following questions pertaining to the material you have just read.

1) Of that which you have just read,
- what touches a raw nerve for you?

- what moves you?

2) Is there anything in what you have read that you would want to
- protect

- defend

- fight for?

3) Is there anything in relation to what you have just read that makes you fearful/scared?

4) Which of this material leaves you cold; which of this has little meaning for you?

5) What does the material you have just read tell you about your own past?

6) Which possibilities do you see opening up for you as you read this information?

- What are your hopes for the future?

7) Which possibilities do you see as closing down for you in relation to the material you have just read?

8) From that which you have just read please select what for you is most typically Namibian,
-of the past

-of the present

-of the future.

9) Is there anything in what you have read for which you feel an affinity, or have an interest in, but where you know that this will probably never be part of your life or where you feel that it would be phoney appropriating this for yourself?

TRANSCRIPTION OF FIRST NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

Transcription rules

The following transcription rules were followed:

- * Each of the participants is denoted by the first letter of the first name, except in the case of Vi.
- * Everything the participants said has been transcribed, including the hmm's. This also means that the transcribed text is not necessarily grammatically correct.
- * When the participants mention a name only the first letter of the name is typed.
- * At times all the participants spoke at once; this is noted in brackets.
- * Laughter is indicated in the text as (laughs), coughing as (coughs). When several people are laughing at once, this is indicated as (laughter).
- * When there are pauses these are indicated with - for less than one half minute, -- for one half minute, --- for long pauses, more than a minute.
- * In cases where it was impossible to understand the spoken word this was indicated with ... for one word, between two and five words, for six words or more.
- * When there is an overlap between two speakers this is indicated with a square bracket,]. When] appears behind what a speaker said this means that there is an overlap between what s/he said and what the next speaker said.

- G.01 I think uhm while people were completing this stuff there's already been the talk about the video and how it might relate to reality and also the age of the people and how that influenced possibly their responses. Uhm apart from those uhm ideas ja what were your what are your ideas about the responses that you have been reading?
- V.01 You know its to an extent a little bit unfair to ask young person about something that's fundamental as independence and freedom - for instance if they had interviewed me on the 10 December 1959 when the shooting took place here in Hochland Park and so on I would have given a different picture altogether even five years afterwards living say in Katutura. I would give a different picture altogether therefore I feel that maybe those young ones should have been combined with adults, the adult view point as to what independence meant whatever that is to them. For instance, in one aspect independence meant I could go back to the former residential area of my people because my father is buried there, I bought a house there I feel spiritually at home there. That is only one aspect of it and you know it sparks off so many answers and at times questions, too.
- S.01 But I think just because it's a different opinion, it doesn't at all, it means it is just another relevant opinion]
- V.02 Amm
- S.02 So what if it is younger or older
- V.03 Yeah, Yeah
- M.01 It would have been nicer to have a control group isn't it like to in terms of the age groups
- V.04 hmm
- M.02 that would reflect the different attitudes about independence based on the age groups. The people might have had experiences in the past might view independence very different whereas the fifteen or sixteen year olds might have just started half way through when certain things stopped or whatever and they might have different]
- V.05 ja]
- M.03 experience altogether and view independence very differently. Certain people might have started going to mixed schools who are sixteen or eighteen then so their perception of the racist in Namibia might be very different from people who just went to single schools because of uhm the history of that time.

- G.02 What do you imagine? What sort of differences would have come out if one had interviewed people or had gotten responses from people, say older, maybe your age or.
- M.04 I don't know whether one would have hmmm seen whether the older groups are much more negative about independence or more positive or whether the younger ones because of less experiences of the apartheid system might be looking forward to sharing or whatever because that's what the experience where had access to other groups in the society whatever that could be the other thing is uhm some of my age groups might have been abroad away from home and they could bring different experiences altogether]
- V.06 Yeah]
- M.05 to the situation as well, how they view independence.
- G.03 Hmhm
- J.01 There is a very fascinating study done by a German institute, a uhm sociologist, who was here three times. He did a very interesting thing in '89 six months before independence. He did a very exhaustive survey of fifteen hundred people through the whole country cross-section many opinions on the church, politics, freedom, race.]
- M.06 Hm]
- J.02 it was an extensive question. He managed to also run it in the north, luckily with the support of the bishops I think and the CCN backed him and in fact on the basis of that he predicted the election result nearly hundred percent and then what made it more interesting he came back in 1991 I think and then again in 1994 and 1995 and he re-did them and it is very interesting to see]
- M.07 the trends]
- J.03 shifts in the trends and there you also have an age cross-section it's actually he put a book out about it. It's fascinating stuff. We had a - after the first election result we had a seminar with a lot of - very interesting people like mixtures of the bishop and John Pandeni and and Karakul farmers from the south and - it was to analyse and discuss the results some of them were very strange some of the results - some and some very interesting things came out for example the massive religious involvement of Namibia massive ... eighty percent of which sixty percent regularly read the bible. It is actually very interesting in conglomeration of in Namibian attitudes some of them are very contradictory it was very interesting uhm I think it gave quite a good background.

G.04 Let me just ask one of the questions that is part of your questionnaire, namely was there anything about the stuff that you read that moved you or that touched a raw nerve for you.

V.07 Ah, I was coming to that the thing is I think the children who watched that movie were fundamentally from around here because if you had a child say from northern Namibia that child will think of independence as the end of the war or the end of violence because as little they were some of the children they watched how the South African Caspirs would come and flatten! the mahango field and even destroy the houses and then they have to move to an uncle's house or so on so. These were some of the things that were, not experiences in parts of the country like in Windhoek for instance so they give you a different picture not only children from the north but any children from various parts of the country you know to view that you will get different answers but if it's just a bunch of kids within the urban area you know you don't - know now whether there was anything that touched a raw nerve. I mean to me I've been so hardened by events I've seen, talked to people like those that survived Cassinga and so on that and explain or tell other people what happened at Cassinga and many other events during the war so - I've answered that in my paper but hmm there is not much, there is not a single question that I would say really touched a raw nerve but touched me different ways you know .

G.05 And what about the others?

A.01 Yes, I would just add to that issue of what he mentioned because what touches me is that people some of the people hmm regard the past as you know with nostalgia whereas really when you look at the people in the north, no-one will have nostalgia for the situation which was there or what they have experienced]

V.08 hmm]

A.02 so that really touches me and one can also see that these are most central people who were watching this video people in other areas wouldn't see it you know.

G.06 Perhaps I should just correct what I think is a big misconception,]

V.09 hmm]

G.07 many of the kids who answered, who responded to the video were either university people who come from the Omusati Region who grew up in Ondangwa, grew up in Oshakati and many of the people at the Augustineum for example are people who come from different areas many of them are hostel kids]

V.10 (coughs)]

- G.08 so I think it is a misconception to think that it is]
- V.11 ah]
- G.09 central people it is just important to remember that (interrupted) -]
- P.01 With nostalgia I would say maybe, okay lets say something bad happened in the past okay maybe let's say you are conscious you are aware that something is bad but time passes and so if you think back you will still have some memory saying for instance now despite all there were still some things which were good now I would say that because I grew up in East Germany uhm where how should I say Socialism was the order of the day. The people tried, a certain ruling class tried to, to how should I say they tried to, not manipulize but get a get a certain
- V.12 Sag das auf Deutsch
- P.02 Na, dann verstehen die anderen ...
- V.13 dann uebersetzen wir
- P.03 uh, let me try in English where they tried to, to put a certain ideology into a whole nation ja, as I see it now it wasn't good but I would still say yes there were certain things that were good ja also a kind of society which maybe is equal to this one.
- A.03 And also the part that maybe what gives them that nostalgia is that many things were provided for them whereas now after independence they have to work hard you know and they see their parents working and they don't like it so they see the situation in the past is better than now, so that ...
- J.04 If they're whites nostalgia would not be surprising
- A.04 Ja.
- J.05 One does not I didn't know the response whether it was a white or black person. If it was a white person it would be quite obvious.]
- M.08 Hm]
- S.03 Do you reckon?
- J.06 Ja,
- S.04 They'd feel guilt.

not so much affected by apartheid as uh for eg. the northern part which was like the war zone and students have of course different views and opinions.

G.10 ah, ha

J.12 ... parts of the east

V.16 ja, that's right other people would say they can only feel superior when they are in the company of some other people when they are alone of course they don't feel superior and you are talking here about the students in the North will were generally under oppression and some of them probably completed their secondary education without having seen the practice of apartheid in reality without having been direct victims of apartheid. Some have never carried the past. They only read about this past system because they were so far away and there were very few whites there that they came into contact ... they didn't suffer the direct physical contact of apartheid.

K.01 I tend to disagree with that, I think people around the country felt oppression in different ways, even though they were not whites in certain villages like in the east people still suffered

V.17 no I ...

G.11 Sorry, I'm going to interrupt you. In what sense?

K.02 For example, it's not that the only people who suffered were in the north. For instance I remember the Banderu and the Herero... .. it's another way of oppression. Not directly but ...

V.18 But I'm not saying that. I said that physical for those that felt apartheid

K.03 oh physically oh okay

V.19 they had generally but the entire country was under apartheid regime but there are people went to school in the North and the little contact that they had with a priest or this principal (interruption)

G.12 Sorry, I'm going to interrupt you. In what sense?

K.04 For example, it's not that the only people who suffered were in the north.

V.20 and so on but they have never carried a pass. For instance we were carrying a part (?) before the... came into being. They have never gone to a restaurant and being told you sit there but don't sit there are people who have gone through school without experiencing that and never... .. into Tsumeb. Never visit any urban area.

J.13 For instance women I mean I don't before independence there were practically no Oshiwambo women in the whole country you know.]

V.21 Ja and some people even went abroad without having seen Tsumeb. (interrupted)]

J.14 They never came out you see under the contract labour system. The only Owambo (interrupted)]

V.22 the women were only nurses and teachers and the wives of priests and the rest of the woman were prohibited from crossing in the urban area And then such people even went abroad without having seen an urban area of Namibia, they went abroad and the first major town they saw was Angola, so they too had a different picture of Namibia for which they were fighting for.

J.15 So was Caprivi ninety five percent of Caprivians never came south of Tsumeb I noticed it now in the street because I grew up here. I am used to only seeing Oshihero, Damara or Nama women only and I notice and we talk about it that's why specially the Owambo, especially the GDR kids and they're so different

V.23 ja (interruption)

J.16 from the type of women one used to see in Windhoek in the streets for instance Damara, Nama, Coloured, Baster. No Oshiwambo, no Kavangos. Only men came down.

G.13 But what is it like for you seeing now these different people?

V.24 Hmm Hmm

J.17 It's much improved you know it's suddenly Windhoek used to be incredibly dead it's probably the deadest capital in Africa. Now its got interesting you sit, you see somebody sitting and you think maybe she Oshiwambo, but she speaks French you think: where does she come from, where did she spend exile Zaire or Gabon and it makes for a suddenly - very alive its not typical of the country at all ... Windhoek was always an Island, it was always untypical. There was always much more wealth here, Windhoek compared to Keetmanshoop ...]

(BREAK IN RECORDING)

V.25 I came when she was just about to finish her introduction ... second paragraph and I looked and I told her that "you are not qualified to write about Katutura". After a while I said look when you left Namibia you have never been south. You went to Tsumeb. To you anything made of bricks is beautiful. There are people in Katutura who have

built beautiful houses just like the one's one sees in Klein Windhoek or places like that. But that's not the only story of Katutura and then she has to stop there. A few years later this person was made an ambassador.

S.08 Yeah, we all know who she is now.

M.12 I had a different experience 'cos I was sharing a flat in London with someone who just went straight from the north into exile

V.26 hm hm

M.13 and she had an eight year old girl who was in school there. The British system makes a good very good university level but when it comes to like primary schools. I think they are worse off than here. I mean the kids can't read her eight year old couldn't read

J.18 sjoe in England

M.14 it is bad but, for her she had this fantasy about the education system is very good, I came home one holiday and I found an eight year old here who could read who was just in an ordinary blacks schools here

V.27 ahah ahah (interruption)

M.15 they could read English far much better then her daughter, who was in England going to an English school spending most of the times speaking English and she had these fantasies about how the worst was ... Namibia in so many ways because the only thing she knew she left the north, went to Angola

V.28 saw Luanda. You know this applies to a great percentage of people who were in exile, I have to know the fact that SWAPO for instance was lucky in one aspect that a greater percentage of the people who went abroad were from rural areas where they had discipline, in a traditional African manner, but if we had city slickers like the people of the ANC. Had who came from town we would have been having the problems that they had mutinies, strikes, demonstrations but the northerners were easily disciplined because discipline was already instilled in them. That was one advantage we had

J.19 I actually worked with the PLAN guys

M.16 It's not an advantage (laughs)

V.29 I am referring to the war situation.

S.09 I noticed that from the questionnaire that there's this desire to want to have someone to follow to respect the way they revere the president

and things like that. It's without any basis and the only way we know him is through TV. How many people of these kids have actually sat down have him speak to you this close just TV.

V.30 no

S.10 That's the desire that the people have for this. It seems like that there's this - whole other thing, this disciplinarian thing that's quite happily followed as you are saying because of the which I actually find quite frightening but anyway.

V.31 no, no

G.14 Sorry, so are you in a sense saying that if one were to ask you what is there about these responses that frighten you and you would say that's one of the things.

S.11 The problem, I do not know how much you, know about the theory of validation. It's a television has when they watched the video and they see the President and they see F.W no-one of us have ever seen F.W. de Klerk live, you've seen him on television. Television and film have an uncanny ability to validate the person we see, to put them or a perspective where we can't where they are ... heroes. ... America culture film figures is because they got this unnatural respect, i.e. validation and the judging by the video and what I ask you about - a lot of the people watching it were commenting on what the people look like and how their parents were and how they came across why they wearing this, and why has she got that on and he is chatting to her. This whole hero figure because Namibia does not have a there are no personalities. I think there's one runner and one beauty queen and that is it. They are quite happy to follow somebody they do not really know that well as a revered figure. That's what I saw from]

M.17 but that is not just a Namibian phenomenon, isn't it]

S.12 without questioning. No, its television]

V.32 Let me, from what I have noticed, even of Sam Nujoma abroad some soldiers who have never met him or shaken hands with him. They didn't just follow him blindly. The thing that makes Sam to be followed was just the idea that SWAPO had that they followed. It could have been someone else in his position. They'd give him that respect so he was not generating something special that Nujoma magic or something.

S.13 Well you know you look at the Nujoma magic you look at the photograph of the president we have in our rooms.

V.33 hmm

- S.14 He is wearing a Rolex watch which isn't his. You can see it. That's all image created by the camera. These kids, most of them have probably only ever seen him on television and they are quite quite ... I see nothing in there is very little criticism where "let's first see and let's see his curriculum vitae and let's go through his political history. We do not do that here, we're not taught to do that.]
- V.34 Now we are talking about Nujoma in an independent Namibia Nujoma in a situation where he could have been replaced by anyone else.]
- S.15 Anyone... Nujoma. That's what I'm saying. But this person, it just happens to be him at the moment that is quite happily, there's a desire from what I see here is for people to want to have someone desperate-to follow who they can believe and trust in.]
- V.35 hm
- S.16 It comes from seeing a wonderful picture of a person in a lovely suit with wonderful sound quality.
- P.04 Okay I would disagree with S. in this case. I would just say that our pictures made that. I mean it's actually the way certain people are let's say taught. I am speaking out of experience in East Germany - we had some SWAPO how should I say people from the SWAPO who were actually who were there to make us not to lose the characters of the culture.
- V.36 One man and one woman
- P.05 Ja, and the way they. During the course of the time we memories of the Heimat motherland faded as Mr. [V] mentioned it. Actually faded and they were actually there to keep reminding us saying "you are from Namibia" "you are from Namibia". But eventually, I would say the influences from the outside field were stronger they overtook us. We actually didn't care anymore, specially those SWAPO representatives they were the one's who were trying very desperately for instance they - made us say these salutations "viva Sam Nujoma" and this I thought it was kind of brain wash, trying to lead us in a certain way
- S.17 marketing
- V.37 They had a youth officer and they had one man and one woman. I must say that the man and the woman could have been good with kids until they were two years but as the kids grew older, they became wiser than the people who were suppose to indoctrinate them it never worked.
- G.15 I think you had something burning to say

- M.18 I lost it. I was thinking about, critical thinking that you were saying and when I looked at point 2.1 [of the analysis] - when you said that it seems like they were all concentrating on certain aspects but they were not relating the event to them now. I was also thinking about the educational background with people that you were dealing with. These were hard core Augustinian whatever schools, I mean the teaching there never taught people to think critically and I mean look at the writing of a lot of students around here. When they are writing something they just repeat what is taught to them and they don't develop to think critically that's one thing. The other thing is maybe partly the culture also does not allow certain people to like criticise elders and Sam Nujoma to most of the black black kids would be like this fantasy figure who is flawless and he cannot do any ... That's the same mentality that a lot of the people who were in exile, not with all of them I found SWAPO members or people went straight from home who were like NANSO members or who studied in South Africa or whatever. Much more critical thinking than the people who were in exile and went straight from Angola and went to the other places you talked to one person it seemed like you talked to all of them. They just had this narrow I don't know whether there was the survival for them or it was fear or whatever it was. I remember once -- like Dr K... wrote this history book. We were in Oxford and all the SWAPO students were told not to read that book because at that time they had problems with Dr. K for whatever reasons and I am telling you, none of those students read that book. If you ask them "Why don't you read the book for yourselves and find out what is in the book? Do you know what is in the book?" "No". "Have you read the book?" "No." "So when are you going to read the book?" "No, he's a puppet." You know what I am saying. You go to everybody the importance is it was working
- V.38 N. [Minister of Higher Education] wrote a review, a nasty review about that book. I have a copy
- M.19 Just what I am saying and I mean a lot of these things carried on in Namibia at the moment. We have to survive, so you have to like now there is so much to lose.
- S.18 But I do find they were critical when it came to the video. In 2.1. [of the analysis] where they did actually say, hey why didn't we look at the past of the land issue the video didn't deal with that, they didn't actually deal with any real issues in the video, they dealt with the momentary excitement of hundreds of dignities and things happening and taking down of flags. I do say they did look critically into the past whether why didn't they deal with the land issue but when it came to leadership or something as important in leadership I felt it wasn't critical. But ja I do feel they were critical on the other hand about land.
- M.20 Hmm

- J.20 About the past I think you putting in that's a typical , that's a European attitude towards the politician
- S.19 Is it wrong though?
- J.21 Nujoma like Kenyatta like Mandela like Nyerere is not a politician is not a ... prime minister like in Britain, Germany, Italy or Spain who come and go every four to five years who are pretty boring pretty mediocre people. The one is a lawyer, the other is a teacher. Nujoma like Nyerere is the founding father of the liberation party seeing it now from the kids point of view which their parents grew up with who in their home was the leader of the liberation against evil apartheid.
- M.21 Hmm
- J.22 a totally different figure to a politician. He is not a de Klerk or as John Major or Helmut Kohl. He is about an equivalent if you are a Catholic to the Pope. He is the man who led the struggle to the liberation Namibia and he actually achieved it. Only those close to him saw his imperfections the kids here in the street or in the bush or wherever he was a far distant mythological and charismatic figure. The fact that the Polit Bureau and you guys in the Central Committee were aware of his imperfections]
- V.39 ja,]
- J.23 didn't mean that he could be seen as a human being. These people even the people in the camps in the struggle were very far removed from him. He most of the time he was all over the world or in Lusaka or in Luanda, but he wasn't, he didn't live in the camps
- V.40 Yeah ·
- J.24 and you cannot, I don't think you can assess people's attitude towards a figure like Nujoma like you can assess the attitudes of English kids for John Major or Margaret Thatcher or anything else.
- V.41 no, no,
- J.25 as you were saying that they saw him criticised the fact that they saw him as some great hero figure ... they don't seem critical about him. I don't think you can expect that.
- S.20 I do not know, I think in most of our societies we've had non political ... going for centuries in this country which we can call it non-political, political or whatever I am talking about the something as a respect for some part of the struggle whatever.

[All talking at once]

J.26 What about Kutako, do you think the people react or relate to Kutako like they relate to a Minister or Prime Minister?

V.42 Do you know that Seretse Khama, Seretse Khama photos with his wife Ruth which is widely used, used to be sold commercially and they almost were in every house in Windhoek here and in other places in Southern Africa and that was long before independence simply because he was regarded as someone who defy you know white, or white rules and things like that and went and married this white woman and brought her to Africa. You could order his photo from a South African company and actually frame it.

S.21 Ja, Nelson Mandela, I am sure he is qualified as a politician.

V.43 (laughs)

J.27 No he's not a politician. Hes' unique. The first one and the only one and will probably be the last one.

S.22 I don't know

[All talking at once]

J.28 No, no this applies to the same as the Titos and the Maos]

V.44 Come only once,]

J.29 an entirely different animal even. Fidel Castro will never be a politician,]

V.45 Ja

J.30 or a prime minister or president. Fidel Castro is like Mao Tse Tung or Kenyatta or Nyere. He is unique. Mandela will be like that too. He will go down in history. He is that type of person. They are not even though they were elected - even though Sam Nujoma was elected. He is not elected like Helmuth Kohl was elected in Germany.

G.16 Let me then just ask you if you really have different opinions of this but - in terms of your future's here in Namibia, if you now think about these matters. What do you see for yourselves?

V.46 ... a part of that future so you do not divorce yourself from something that's part of you. You are making the future, you're a part of a future in the making, so it is very difficult to kind of isolate yourself from what is happening and say this without you being involved.

G.17 But how do people here see themselves as part of the future in the making?

V.47 Then the question becomes, which future? A future without Nujoma, a future without SWAPO and another future where you have people who have either run away from DTA run away from SWAPO, run away from UDF, DCN and formed a coalition and ... you know it becomes tricky.

M.22 That's heavy!

(laughter)

V.48 Sure. We are part of the future right now. We are part of a future in the making

J.31 You know the, the I think, well I mean when I see the responses I get quite depressed because

M.23 ja, same ... here

J.32 I think these are the kids sixteen, twenty years or ten years time, these are going to be important or decision makers or they're in jail I do not know, but it could be anything and I noticed that - to somebody I think. I do not know at what age it starts where you can start getting shocked about the fact that people younger than you don't know essential slices of history which were an essential part of your life. It's actually scary. I can tell SWAPO kids that I meet in the street. Sometimes for hours

V.49 You mean GDR kids

J.33 They do not know about it]

V.50 ... SWAPO kids or GDR kids?]

J.34 Well, actually both.]

V.51 laughs]

J.35 It gets very interesting. And everybody of course one shouldn't get worried about that because that is part of the amnesia of society. Kids grow up and they grow up with a different history. It's like when my mother talks about the second world war. I think you know, okay I know something but I talked to a Zambian who was twenty six years old where I knew more about Zambian history than he did.

V.52 ja

S.23 Did you learn something from that or did he?

J.36 He did not take it very seriously. In a way I was sort of relieved, I thought okay his not going to rattle on, that's the impression I got.

V.53 That is probably not shocking enough. I met a Zimbabwean soldier with the rank of captain who was visiting here and he asked me who was the president before Nujoma. A Zimbabwean soldier! and Zimbabwe got its independence in 1980 and he's a captain asking who was the president of Namibia before Nujoma.

M.24 But don't you find that certain things were excluded from the Education system,

V.54 Hm Hm

M.25 the history (people all talking at once) for instance and geography that we did in black schools was far removed from ... I mean we went and learnt our history]

V.55 ja, ja]

M.26 when we were abroad more than we did when we were in this country.

J.37 Ja okay that was before. (interrupted). That was deliberately. I would think that as somebody in SWAPO would through living I don't know somewhere in Zambia or Angola absorbed from his environment but we're talking obviously there was a stronger confined history which was being preached. But - what scares the hell out of me is somebody who can look at this video and just comment about the clothes and stuff like that. How people looked, that means there was no understanding about the historical significance of the event but they missed it completely to look and say, look at Winnie Mandela's dresses is to completely misunderstand the event. The dress was totally irrelevant, this was independence. What was relevant was Pik Botha standing there and de Klerk standing there while their flag after how many years? - say sixty years was being pulled down and were giving away. And Mandela witnessing that. And I watched those three faces. I was very close to them. Pik Botha and De Klerk were close and Mandela was a bit more to the side and I watched those faces because the history was being written not in who shake hands with or some because this was and you would think. I mean it scares the hell out of me is no response or trivial response about dresses or what whether the soldiers marching

S.24 But what do we learn from that?

M.27 Trivial from whose perspective?

S.25 Exactly

K.05 Ja

M.28 Because to them they were only identifying what was important to them, I mean maybe depending on the fantasies about whatever. I mean look at the Namibian kids today. They want to be as Americanised as possible. They're into all these designers stuff Nike and whatever.

J.38 That's scary

S.26 That's not scary

M.29 These are just the things that they maybe didn't have, now they starting to see more and they starting acquire maybe having all those nice clothes and these are the things that they like are more important than knowing anything about politics for all we know.

S.27 But why does that happen because there is no Namibian identity which is suitable. We ask about the future. This is my whole profession is about creating heroes that aren't politically or financially -- exalted. They -- poets ... now I find out you're [V] a journalist again! (laughter)

V.56 No

S.28 Because this was a television thing I did not know it was based on that. Very interesting, just in the last couple of weeks there was a television first drama series made by a Namibian. It was so successful that the guys who acted in it had become celebrities and they followed around everywhere and there's a whole new focus on being looking up to a Namibian instead of having to look up to Malcolm X, Spike Lee or whoever it is. We do not have a Namibian identity. You see the war is over and there no heroes left who aren't politically or military based and that is where the future is challenging is to develop a Namibia identity or personality which does not have to make us look to the America's or whatever for that identity.

P06 I agree to a certain extent to S. Colleagues of mine, I am working at a travel agency. Okay we are having actually a sub-section and a section a little bit lower I should say. Now the subsection is so to say the creme de la creme in the company. I am the only black sitting out there and I remember Frankie Fredericks it was during the Olympics in Atlanta uhm, and everybody uhm remarked because most of them are I am the only male (laughter) and they were all coming to me saying : "Frankie Fredericks this and that". And I wonder how come everybody is coming to me and telling me that and I see maybe he is the kind of let me call it There is something even in the white Namibians, I mean they are also trying to get some identity something which they identify with (agreement murmured). I think Frankie Fredericks is

something like that making everybody proud that look at Namibia they got something.

S.29 Definitely

M.30 You see the reality of Namibia is that there was something that divided Namibians according to colour lines.

P07 I agree

M.31 That is reality. That is our history. That is something we cannot just wipe off our minds. And to a white child a Namibian hero might be someone totally different to a black child who comes from that history. Maharero whoever whoever might be their hero you know what I am saying I mean, I don't think we could say, lets forget about that. Let's not have those heroes and start off with other heroes. That is a bit tricky because - what criteria do you use to determine who is your hero?

S.30 It does not matter, as long as they are living. Lets get a couple of living ones, that is all I am saying. Let's at least be dynamic]

J.39 We cannot forget about the history either]

M.32 We cannot forget about the other too. We cannot forget about the other too.]

V.57 No if if]

S.31 ... is about]

V.58 for instance a Namibian actor or actress and this person portrays a Namibian hero - now he or she is seen on television portraying another Hosea Kutako and lived as a teacher up to that time when he became a petitioner of the United Nations. You know the child will identify not only with the actor but with the person being portrayed. So I do believe we should not forget about yesteryear our heroes from the past. We can then create our own heroes and not become like America Micky Mouse is an American hero.

S.32 We can't even do that]

V.59 Do we want something like Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck and Spider as our hero.]

S.33 The point is they can even, they could even turn something so silly into a hero. We struggle even to turn our heroes into heroes.

V.60 Ja but that is America.

- S.34 That is a spin off, nonsense that is not America. America is not even as big as India or Brazil when it comes to creating visual heroes from a visual consumer. We all consume visually nowadays. It is so fast spreading through the society that your way of storytelling. I think I met an old friend of yours the other day.]
- V.61 telling a story]
- S.35 Ja, ... storyteller think he was with you on the executive with the Polit Bureau M. Nangolo, and all this stuff.
- V.62 Yes he's a school mate of mine.
- S.36 He now travels around the world telling Namibian folk tales.
- V.63 Hm
- S.37 He cannot make a living here]
- V.64 He cannot settle here because we haven't got room for him anymore.]
- S.38 It is disgusting, but my point is soon we just finished a documentary on him where he actually does his old thing but - to get back to relating say Tauna to Mickey Mouse the only difference that Mickey mouse can be ... if so many people saw him. So Mickey Mouse although it was a silly thing represented, a lot of amazing things to a lot of people dignity, self-respect even in a mouse good over evil the whole thing ... a mouse if you're a cat whatever.
- M.33 But partly isn't that the media's fault though, I mean I have never seen so many American sitcoms (laughs) you know what I am saying you see in portraying this culture and the kids are aspiring to what is being portrayed. Most of them are and that is taking away valuing the Namibian identity that's taking away valuing whatever we have around here, when we have so much to show. I was in Britain a few weeks ago. You know what they were showing some guy came over here and he was the desert or whatever going through and it was such a big thing there but we hardly have such programs and I am sure there are people in Namibia who could go and have all these documentaries and show them, there.
- S.39 They do and sell it in Britain because Namibia cannot pay for it. That is why.
- M.34 You know but this is the conflicts that we have, we don't appreciate and value what we have from the top I mean the Ministry or who whatever he is, or whatever he is doing. I mean these are the cultures that we should promote in our own country before we frustrate people

who have the skills and abilities to do this for us to the point where they have to leave the country to sell them elsewhere they making money. I mean it's such a waste.]

- J.40 That it is, I think it is also quantitative like look we like Botswana Chad, Mali these places tiny societies. We have not got the cultural mass, first of all, secondly I was with Management at NBC and I saw the budget figures. You know why all these Americans because they cost something like nine hundred smackers an hour, four hundred whereas a production here will cost a thousand Namibian dollars a minute or something. The NBC cannot afford. Its cheaper to buy like three months worth of American soap than to make one half ...
- S.40 There is an international way, if I can just give a little bit of background, so you pay per television licence holders in your country. Britain buys the same program for two million, we pay four hundred
- J.41 because we only have thirty thousand viewers. We got international soccer, I think it's for something miserable like fifteen hundred US\$ dollars where other TV stations were paying about eight hundred thousand dollars an hour.
- S.41 but to actually make it yourself, to go out and take a couple of actors and say you are this person in history, you are that person, your conflict is this, it just costs so much money they'd rather go and buy fifty Americans so at the moment]
- M.35 So are you say it's justified in a way?]
- J.42 it's mainly ...
- S.42 it's not justified. It's sad. It's just
- V.65 ja
- J.43 the government ... only buy American programs, that's the problem 'cos those are the cheapest, in fact the government will have to give the NBC at least ten to twenty million extra.
- M.36 Surely there are some African west African countries.
- S.43 They too expensive]
- M.37 Are they?
- S.44 They are approximately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds
- M.38 Why is that?

- S.45 because they are so highly rated. They are bought for that price in America in Europe and these places. The head of television]
- J.44 It's also a failure of There is an African organisation which is subsidized by a German Stiftung they're supposed to supply all the stuff for free to all the African ... it's failed horribly.
- M.39 Let me get this right? Are you saying it's expensive and hence it's justified for, (interrupted) no whoever is suppose to pay not to pay the amount of money or if they made an effort to put more money into these we could improve things.
- J.45 The government should be aware, I do not know why they aren't and when I was there it was frustrating how I couldn't, it was a matter of, the NBC should have spoken to Hamutenya. Hamutenya should have convinced the cabinet because he was then Minister of Information. The communication between the NBC and Hamutenya was very bad. It was the fault of the director of the NBC
- M.40 Would it make any difference if there were viewers that were a bit critical. Do you think so?
- J.46 What do the viewers do instead (interruptions). They switch Hage [Prime Minister] says to me. I say what do you watch? MNet ... the NBC, ja and he just wants to see I think three quarters of the SWAPO leadership just wants to see sport. And when they sit at home they don't watch NBC, they just watch the news bulletin. Then they switch over.
- V.66 Yea, ja
- J.47 Satellite bulletin (interruptions).
- S.46 The Namibian oral tradition project at the moment is doing has just finished is busy with an eighteen part drama series called Kuka shop. There's a ... series that has just finished its a modern myth setting dreams and stuff that is all sponsored by the Norwegian Government.]
- M.41 Ja, hmmm]
- Vi02 Ja
- S.47 I mean it's such ... terrible.
- J.48 Or the Germans or the Fins. Who paid for ... the land for the films? The Danes.

- S.48 But I actually think it will change. All we have to do is convince society that we need Namibians.]
- V.67 Use Namibian channels like Open Line to complain.
- A.05 Ja, but I also think that we viewers should come up very strong because we complain on the National Chat Show but then there is a whole society of people who are more laid back.
- M.42 Something like not paying TV licences]
- A.06 Ja, also that ...]
- J.49 Radio licences were abolished which was a major source of income for the NBC.
- A.07 ja]
- G.18 I want to come back to what A. said, you said we are so laid back.
- A.08 ja, very laid back, we don't create these pressure groups within the society. We just complain individually. There's nowhere where people come together and say, lets take this issue up and you know, have a demonstration even to the Minister Hamutenya or whoever.]
- V.68 You know but that's not apply like someone from New Era told me one day. I was telling you know, this AGM is taking place of the Geographic Society of this or the other group and so on and then tomorrow they read in the newspaper, they say J.'s the president, G. is this and this and they say these whites and K. said no, our people complain but it's like taking a candle you lit it in a dark room and, put it underneath the bank so who is going to see the light? That is exactly what you are saying that we must form these pressure groups to really.]
- A.09 I think things have changed since independence because I think it's now the people are more on an individual basis. Before it used to be as group as people like and you go for your own salary or for your own well being is like I don't care.
- M.43 People are actually afraid If I can afford to have M-Net I don't care about NBC.]
- S.49 Terrible. I don't know.
- K.06 Can I just add to what you just said because I feel what people are not doing they afraid they just coming out of a war situation so they rather keep peace and not complain to keep the peace because they can complain and then comes another situation which is back to war and they do not want to go back to that square one where will be.

- V.69 We ... Angola of a different kind (laughter)]
- J.50 If somebody criticises then somebody says don't criticise.]
- M.44 I feel like it's. I wouldn't say people are laid back, but I find Namibians now after independence to have adopted this learned helplessness attitude towards everything. I don't know whether its survival strategy because. I mean you talk especially in the work environment. It is very difficult to survive in this you can't criticize you can't say anything. Once you start criticizing you're isolated and once you isolated it's like instigation and all sorts of things, so I think in the end for your own survival people just decide oh I just have to withdraw.]
- K.07 Ja, exactly what I was talking about like ...
- M.45 Unless you identify a few people if you are lucky enough within in same setting or go out and have like minded people elsewhere. It is like it is this learned helplessness. There's nothing we can do about it I mean I know somebody that he went to Britain and he was telling me that he is in a field he did not even study for. He hasn't read a book that is related to his field there's so much apathy its just dead, nobody questions anything. I mean it's intellectually not stimulating anymore and you can't like confront issues or do whatever then you're labelled and when you are labelled it affects you because it is very difficult to go from one job to another. It is just a phone call away
- K08 specially in the government
- M.46 well not even in the government because some of these people, even the private sector or whatever know one another from some place ... it's just like]
- S.50 That's mis-information, that is mis-information.
- M.47 What?
- S.51 You can bitch and shout and scream and protest as much as you like anywhere, and no-one is going to do anything to you. That is my opinion.]
- M.48 Ohh Ohh, excuse me,
- S.52 I don't even, I
- M.49 I know people who haven't been employed for three years and when you look at what was happening it was just phone calls. Don't take

him, don't take him, don't take him. I mean seriously. We are not talking about

- K.09 That's bad]
- S.53 ... I am a great follower of lawyers, legal systems]
- M.50 Ja, but ... You have to have the money, you have to have the money. You have to have money to go for lawyers knowing things like that I mean I am talking about people very close to me who went through, don't take him. Don't take him, don't take him, and he has been unemployed for three years. In the end you have to suck up to somebody to get something that is like you. You know what I am saying?]
- K.10 People are more concerned about their own will wealth because if we speak.]
- J.51 I think there is also a reaction to this. I saw it often, a reaction to this whole struggle and war and apartheid and all that. When all this was over, people sort of said "shoo".
- M.51 I don't want to.
- J.52 No more fights, arguments and people then and now they also, they had a rough time whether in exile or here and now they think it's time to reward themselves. I was in the struggle. This was a terrible time now I want a house, I want a car
- M.52 Hmm Hmm
- J.53 then I am not going to criticize my boss. I got a nice salary and pension. I got to pay off the car. I got to pay off the house.
- S.54 What percentage of people are you talking about?]
- V.70 You know
- J.54 Serious number of people in the government. That's your whole black middle class.
- K.11 It's also political.
- V.71 Talking about criticism, I do not know how many of you read The Mail and Guardian? About three or four weeks ago there was a story about Dolphin International, having acquired the right to Opumalanga's national park and so on. Now these people came to Namibia a couple of months ago and they were introduced to Hage by the people and a

couple of days later I got information from Kenya that this guy is actually wanted in Kenya.

J.55 Ah, another one like that.

V.72 It was like another ... so I wrote the story and I showed it to Hidipo the New Era were waiting to have it, front page you see and Hidipo got cold feet said no, no. So I telephoned the guy in Dubai so I just abandoned the whole thing and now there it is in S.A. They're raising hell about the man.]

S.55 Ah, they got your scoop now. All these (laughter)]

V.73 You know I was sitting here on the story now I telephoned Hidipo he could not even talk to me he said. Oh, he was just having a shower forgetting that he is married to my cousin (laughter) and I met her the other day and I asked her "was he having a shower". She said no it's not true. She said he couldn't talk to you (laughter)

S.56 What would he have done. What would have happened if you published that story?

V.74 No, if I had published, without him]

S.57 You the feature editor aren't you?

V.75 Yes, I am and I was the author of the story, so I wanted to send it to New Era, so the guy at New Era seeing Hidipo's name there telephoned Hidipo and then the editor in chief of NAMPA is a nephew of Hidipo so they talk and said hold V's story first.

S.58 Is this theory we are talking about?

M53 This is the reality.

V.76 I am not talking about theory I am talking about the truth. I still have the story in mind.]

S.59 What would have happened if you published the story?

V.77 Of course, guys like Chris Coetzee would jump on it and then they blow it and then they start]

J.56 split in SWAPO (laughter)]

V.78 talking about Pediko and Hidipo and all this (laughter).

S.60 You mean it wasn't valid.

- V.79 It was valid!]
- S.61 So you backed out?]
- M.54 Yeah (laughter)
- V.80 I just had to
- S.62 loser! (laughter)
- V.81 because I received some threatening call from Dubai from the tycoon there.
- J.57 You must not forget he works for a news agency which is not a newspaper.
- M.55 Yeah
- V.82 Yeah
- J.58 No, but also you know there's a serious well wabenzie syndrome in this town.
- S.63 What is wabenzies?]
- V.83 Benz, is Mercedes Benz owners.]
- J.59 It comes from Kenya. Ruling class
- V.84 Kiswahili word for a Benz.]
- J.60 ... security houses cars. I have worked now with the government through all the ministries, I had a project to do for Trade and Industry and I had to do with almost and all people in the ministries and middle one under Permanent Secretary under and people talk to me quite openly because I know a lot of the guys. S. - and I mean our papers are useless, it doesn't get reported. You know the pressure there to you know, these jobs are. I mean a lot of these people for twenty years but never had a cheque book or any money.
- M.56 Tell me about it.
- J.61 I think they were practically economically barefoot, now they have sixty seven thousand or seventy two or seventy, or eighty thousand, one hundred and ten thousand a year. The day they got the first cheque they got into one hundred percent debt,
- V.85 Yeah

J.62 buy a car, furniture, Weyland, house, car. The whole family from Epukiru to Okakakara everywhere, they come and they say the whole family comes, everybody from Tses, Khorixas cousins, everybody comes, now they are important people, now they have to help the family. Everybody takes their money especially Herero.

M.57 They have to make sure they remain there.

J.63 You cannot say sorry you have not money. They say but now you are a big guy you could help me here. I need a horse and he needs a cattle ... he must pay for the grandfather's funeral. Who's going to pay for the coffin? Within six months they bankrupt.

M.58 Where do you live?

S.64 Okay that is the situation

M.59 Do you live in Namibia? I mean like you live here.

S.65 mm

M.60 because you seem I mean it's very nice to meet people who are -

S.66 Part of the blame is the newspapers, who is reporting this reality,
Who's describing this?]

M.61 Ja, but I mean newspapers as well. I mean]

S.67 What is the step ahead, we all know what is happening?]

M.62 It is sticking your neck out.]

S.68 Exactly.]

J.64 ... stick your neck out then. You are earning a hundred and ten thousand you got two hundred and fifty thousand debt.

M.63 This is ridiculous. (laughter)

S.69 What is he going to do

J.65 He going to transfer to Youth and Sport or something. Make you a deputy.

K.12 Exactly.]

S.70 There is so much fear of authority and it's something we all have.

J.66 ... don't ...

S.71 fear... stomp on us.

J.67 There's a reason to have fear.

M.64 Listen fear comes especially for those who have experienced it closer, you know some of us have been far removed from this realities, you know what I am saying. Other people have been very close to what could actually happen.

S.72 Fear,

M.65 ja.

S.73 I've got fears.

J.68 ... a different type of fear

M.66 I am trying to talk about. I am talking about this type of fear (laughs) I mean we are talking about (laughs) different types of groups here. Certain people (laughs)

J.69 Say it, white and black you must say it.

M.67 What I am saying is for instance, if you have been.]

J.70 He is a European liberal. (laughter)]

S.74 Yes, I'm an European liberal]

M.68 Have you been some place where if you open your mouth you, certain things would happen to you when you come back to this situation

S.75 Sure

M.69 Where there's so much paranoia and there is a lot of paranoia]

V.86 You can have a car accident You can have an unexpected car accident, I mean all sorts of things could happen to you. These are the...]

S.76 Wait a minute, you have just given me a clue here. Are we talking about sort of political in Hitler's thing and things like this, and taking care of.

J.71 Not necessary being shot or anything but you know you lose your life.

P.08 Psycho terror

- M.70 Ja, I mean
- V.87 People will pick up the phone and say, don't employ him and another will say. (talking together)]
- J.72 You know he is his forty-eight years old or forty-nine years old,
- V.88 Ja
- J.73 is he going to start all over again.
- K.13 The most important thing is employment.
- M.71 Study.
- S.77 That is the past, that is the present. The future is self-employment.
- J.74 With what.
- V.89 But how many people can employ themselves?]
- K.14 Exactly, because]
- S.78 I think a hell of a lot more than we do at the moment.]
- A.10 Ja, but apart from that also there is another group where you find in our society that some class they do not even have the power to go to the law or approach the law so they scared of these things because they do not know to start with they do not know what their rights are.
- S.79 That is an information problem.
- J.75 Look people tell me ...]
- M.72 Who is going to give information?
- J.76 Well, it's a real problem.
- M.73 To question them ... tell me.]
- J.77 No its a real problem.]
- S.80 Okay]
- M.74 The media is controlled in such a way anyway that I mean who would give the information.
- J.78 You employed, S. you must.

- S.81 The legal assistant centre doesn't do any public relations.
- J.79 Those are abstract, those are abstract and entirely, look when a senior SWAPO guy comes to me from the north and tells me I am employing too many people lets say put it mildly from the east or I am trying to put some Herero faction in there or why have I got these two Tswana guys there.
- V.90 Did you read the Kasutu story?
- J.80 Put it diplomatically, but they don't want]
- V.91 Did you read the Kasutu story in the press about the Ombudsman suing the government because they appointed Bience. It's a NAMPA story. Do you know how long we kept it in the incubator. (laughter) About ten days.
- S.82 Our future is people with self respect dignity where they have the courage to stand up for what they ... like in the struggle, I mean hell the war
- J.81 S., those are abstractions. If you put it
- S.83 Agh
- J.82 I worked with ...
- S.84 Why would they only country?
- J.83 No, no its like universally. What suddenly happens in Zaire, under Mobuto or whatever happens.
- S.85 You talking repeating all this negativity and badness and African thing always.
- J.84 No its the same in Italy or Yugoslavia.
- P.09 Ja, but in Italy so far, how many governments so far have governed Italy since the second world war?
- J.85 But who can resign,
- M.75 hm
- J.86 tell me a permanent secretary or minister who can resign and set up a business on and live at the same standard he is living now.
- V.92 It's only people like Damaseb.

- S.86 Has he got an agricultural degree has he worked with the bank or what does he do. A lawyer or what? No. What does a guy like Hishongwa do if ...
- V.93 He can go to single quarters and sell wood (laughter)
- G.19 Ja, The question was about the future, and S's question is are we talking about short term, medium term, long term. Whatever. It does not matter what we are talking about. I think it depends on how you define it for yourselves.
- M.76 hmm. okay
- S.87 Well you got to talk about before and after 1991. That is the crucial one.
- G.20 In what sense do you ask that question S.?
- S.88 Well if we are talking about in the next three years, very few of Namibians will be empowered to go out and say look I can run my own nursery, I can do my own agriculture, I can do what or open my own practice or whatever. Ten years, with the right strategy and everything from whoever it is who needs to strategize and inform the people a bit more. Twenty years a bit more. What percentage of the employ of people getting salaries in the country are government?.
- J.87 Seventy eight, seventy six.
- S.89 Okay lets say how much of the Namibians earning money.
- V.94 Government is the biggest employer.
- S.90 Lets take people just getting salaries, being employed no matter by whom.
- J.88 About two hundred thousand, in the modern economy tax paying and salary cheque receiving.]
- S.91 Two hundred thousand ?]
- J.89 One hundred and sixty to two hundred thousand people.
- S.92 And the rest?
- J.90 The rest are informal.
- S.93 Wow, but who's pressurising them to shut up and keep quiet, no-one.

- J.91 No, they are so busy with the struggle of surviving and they ... no time for that
- M.77 They are not empowered to talk for themselves.
- S.94 No but who do they have to talk against in that sense if they self empowered?
- K.15 That is an issue of survival but you know once the person is there, then he feels I have got what I have got. There is no way to fight with the law or if they]
- J.92 They are very vulnerable.
- A.11 They might feel the need but they will be afraid to approach or to talk you know to the higher people. They might feel it .
- J.93 You have never experienced that sort of vulnerability nor have I. Most whites have never experienced it.
- S.95 That is clearly what I am getting from this.
- M.78 Yes
- S.96 I come from a different fears being growing up as a young white boy being told what you have to fear and why you have to be so aggressive as a young white boy. millions and millions of black people.
- M.79 (laughs)]
- S.97 All they want to do is kill you you know. That is a different kind of fear. It is also fear though, because of this misinformation.
- M.80 Ja, it is, ja. But you see you are dealing with a situation where mm the government employs most people and that some of the people got into this post, not because of the qualifications or the skills.
- V.95 ahah, ahah
- M.81 I am not saying it's true for everybody, mm but they might have got in there through different means and connections and so its very difficult for them then to turn around against the very same people, you know what I am saying ?
- S.98 Sure.
- M.82 So it makes it very hard and the other thing is mm I think partly age comes into this as well because if you think. I am not only talking about people that were in exile but if for instance you were in exile up

to fifty something and you come in now and soon you were to retire. Do you really think they going to sit and bother about bla, bla.

V.96 Are you talking about me.

M.83 You are going to get ... (laughs). Ja, I mean seriously your main issue is to get what you could get in the short space that you have and to get out. Most of the people were in government in higher levels are mostly the older ones so I think if you really thinking about the future and a positive future for Namibia we have to really make a very conscious effort to start re-training people in so many ways. Its about our identity, dignity I mean stand for the truth and what it would mean and the risk you have to face, I mean its like re-training from scratch like they used to conscientize people mm people to value themselves, I think we really need to that.]

S.99 So that is just happening with the survey. The kids were not interested in the political issues. They were interested in how they come across what they appear like

J.94 That's what scares me.]

S.100 But that shouldn't scare you.]

J.95 No they should worry like hell about the fact that the country was handed over indiscriminately to the previous Polit Bureau Central Committee. What qualified the people to be in there, lack of criticism of the President uncritical acception.

S.101 That goes right through society

V.97 Do you know what it was? Do you know? For instance in exile, if you are qualified in a certain field and you occupy a political position. You have got a double and the other guys don't necessary like you, because they know you are appointed. You are a politic appointee but you can function even without that appointment and if you don't salute them at every corner, they were not going to like you very much. Because at least you could you had a future!.

M.84. Well that sounds like a challenge.

A.12 But also I think everybody needs training, even people who been in exile, with due respect needs training. The survival strategies and disciplines mechanisms that were practically appropriate when in exile seriously are not appropriate in this context anymore. You know what I am saying. The paranoia that was there that forced people to go around and instigate against everybody so you could feel safe. We do not need that today]

- V.98 Maybe, it's a
- M.85 You know what happens, even those people have to go through some training because I think as a psychologist I look around and I think, some people are still holding onto old survival strategies. That are not appropriate anymore.
- A.13 As a psychologist they need therapy]
- V.99 Ja, ja, ja]
- M.86 Ja, the whole of Namibia needs therapy.
- V.100 National therapy
- S.102 We just need knowledge. Info.
- V.101 National therapy
- S.103 Look. I am sure we all need a bit of therapy, you know.
- J.96 Look the people one thing that struck me I talk when exiles tell me about the shock they get - me the settler shock they get when they got to Katutura and find all these people they fighting for in exile twenty years ago. When they Katutura these guys are highly critical and they do not take shit from exiles. To their disgust, because in fact the people in Katutura were used to thinking more critically than a lot of the people in the camps because they were exposed to all kinds of SWANU, NPF, and everything. All these years, you know I covered all these meetings you know everybody except for the HNP were holding meetings, in Katutura and people were discussing. There was TV. warra! warra! This was a hotbed of political dissention and discussion and I mean their were fifty-seven parties, fifty-eight parties.
- V.102 Well in exile who were the people making statements, only the leaders. Only the leaders were making statements. They come to a camp okay the President is coming and then one political commissar address then and introduces the President. The President talks about the one thing and finish and they go away.
- G.21 For me the question is then what is then happened to that hot bed of political discussion?
- J.97 When people, I noticed this because I covered, you know you could see it, you could see it on Cassinga day and all these days. You could see it in the meetings. I covered political meetings in Katutura from 1978 - 1991 and not just in Katutura in Olympia and everywhere and in the north also and you could see you know towards independence like attendance going up like this and after independence it just sucked,

gone. People were sick of hearing, all these political problem struggles, the boere used to chase them around with tear gas. I used to be sick of going there because you always look around. Are the cops putting the masks on or something, you have to run for your car or something. You know and you standing there as the only whitey against five thousand people and they saying "power, power, black power" and you were enjoying this nothing ever happened but it makes you sort of nervous if somebody something goes wrong you going to be the first victim I go to HNP meetings so they say "bleskop skryf jou bliksim". They want to moer me. The boere. I go to Katutura you know but then I also felt after independence hhh, now lets get on.

S.104 There's no war, it's over, it's done. }

J.98 Let's worry about this and that, fix up the car you know and people have kids and family and then Nora once said to me. I had a hell of a fight with her. She went to Walvis Bay and covered some events and came back with a seventy-eight dollar bill for a breakfast. And I said "Nora, no way! What's this". It was like lobster and champaign for breakfast and I said "Nora no this is unacceptable". "How can you criticise me?! I was in the struggle and now its time to reward myself".

V.103 Everyone was in the struggle and

J.99 these guys said and Sakkie, "Nora you were never in and the struggle" they said. (laughter). But this symbolised this but what made me angry because I once worked with a driver who had left in '72 Tsumeb, he had been working on the mine. He left in that big exodus in the seventies. He had no real schooling. He went out he was a driver in PLAN, and when he came back he was. He had learnt nothing SWAPO hadn't sent him to school ... nothing he sacrificed the most valuable part of his life from the age of twenty something until the age of forty- four. He came back, he knew nothing the party had no job for him. He ended up working for the boere as a security guard at four hundred and forty rand a month. He had a wife. Him and his wife had to live off four hundred and forty. He was working for a du Plessis or du Toit or something and there he was and the party did not care about him. Now the interesting thing about this guy was I mean that was not how he imagined it in exile. That's not how he imagined liberation. The interesting thing about it we were together long enough that he talked quite openly the interesting thing was, none of the criticism was aimed at the President, but at the advisers of the President, the people around the President. This is why this thing we do not understand about the President. The President was not a politician he said why do not people tell him the President to do like this and what about me.

A.14 Even with the BWS [Breaking the Wall of Silence] one can see that there's no-one from the people who have been in exile it really just some of the people, a group of people but most of them are still, even

though they know that was wrong there is not a big pressure group who is against the BWS I mean they are not against the President they are against.

V.104 Ja, the thing is when they are pressurised in the east. Say for instance the detainees and some will say ... the people around the President. And they know very well too that the First Lady was detained as well.

S.105 So what's the story then, I mean ...]

J.100 The diplomat of an unnamed African country had to negotiate with the return to the President of K. [First Lady]. She didn't want to go back. They had to like persuade her and the President he wanted ...

V.105 And the President's brother was detained, M. was detained, the President's or she was ... sister another sister was detained.

M.87 But don't you think. At times I think people don't want to deal with the traumas because they don't know how they going to react if they like relive the situation and they find a different way of dealing with the... And I think that is why maybe we have this high rate of alcohol abuse, hardly, in this country because if you see certain people drinking

V.106 Friday, and Saturday.

M.88 When you know their past too and the kind of things that they come up with when they really drunk you could like see them reliving the situation but at a conscious level they don't want to deal but when they like a bit tipsy that is when you start talking about so maybe it's like their survival.

J.101 Post traumatic denial. I don't know I just on a national scale.

S.106 The Namibian entire ninety I don't what percentages - vast. I just get the impression that overall that people are not made aware of what the actual basic human rights are. Never ever have been. People thought basic human rights was no-one was supposed to shoot you or treat you differently because of your skin colour. But surely six years later we people should be - given the option to know what exists in the sense of what is dignified.

A.15 But we are also talking about highly educated people who went through this, I mean some of them could be lawyers themselves for all I know, you know who just choose, I mean there's this nice thing of you we have done this to you and you ... tricky we will give you that position and then you keep your mouth shut.

J.102 Look at B [ombudsman].

S.107 She was a detainee. Ja look I cannot get a job in this country. Who is gonna want to employ me? But the point is that if the people are empowered.

M.89 By who?

S.108 By us.

M.90 Who are us?

S.109 The journalist people who can inform people. Psychologists]

M.91 We are not marginalized in this country aren't we. I would say so.

J.103 In that case rational therapy would work. I have a neurosis, what you say I have a neurosis and you going to tell me it's stupid to have a neurosis let me inform you that you can't suffocate in a lift or in a bed or something. So don't worry don't be claustrophobic. Let me inform you it's a total illusion in fact relax you are not claustrophobic then I walk out of there and I am cured.

S.110 c... millions of ways of doing the therapy that lasted ten or twenty years.

A.16 The danger here is most psychologists in is this country are white. Do they.

J.104 Handing them a brochure about which is very nice brochure.]

S.111 So you trying to tell me they cannot be informed?]

J.105 They can be informed but the pure information of the fact. Somebody comes to me a says don't worry you are free or you okay, that's not going to help me much.

S.112 What is step one]

J.106 Look at that]

S.113 telling and that. The war is over, step one. Step two, go through to step five hundred you know, we always seem to see the first step as not curing the entire problem so we don't seem to go ahead.

J.107 But I go to a lot of these Swapo guys. They talk to me, they tell me all the problems of the ministry.

S.114 You're out of touch

J.108 I'm in touch.

S.115 Do you know any German people? (laughter)

J.109 If I tell and I tell SWAPO its no point in me telling a deputy director and whose just about the problems he's got with the permanent secretary or deputy permanent secretary he's got in his Ministry. If I tell him don't worry. There's the Ombudsman, here's the Constitution. Those are your rights. Screw that permanent secretary take him to the Ombudsman ... he will look at me like I'm mad.

S.116 Why, why, who are you mixing with? The people I know, I more or less are the age of P. Actors, film makers]

J.110 How significant are they?]

S.117 They are hundred percent as significant as]

V.107 How often do you visit Katutura, not ... I mean Katutura? ... Club Thriller.

J.111 How many of the government people, how many of the Benzies. The new ruling class, the black bourgeoisie (interruptions),

S.118 a couple, my actors are permanent secretaries and teachers and ex-presidents of NANSO, or whatever.

J.112 And then comes another question what do they tell you?

S.119 We don't get into issues about disempowerment

J.113 No we talking about ...]

S.120 Its quite strange when we get together and we talking about where we are dealing with issues that are touching two hundred and fifty thousand people a night who watch television just on ... I am basing because this is something, people watch the television program and relate it to some kind of reality. When you got quarter of a million people watching something and you are step by step chipping away at disinformation, prejudices, all kinds of xenophobias favours and whatever, surely that is a step. You not trying to tell the people not to be white any more.

J.114 You do that with the youth]

S.121 But the youth is the future.

J.115 Important here

? Ja. But you try to do that with a forty year old member of the ... but they charge]

S.122 Ja, for the next ten years]

G.22 But then what do the two of you, I think you are the youngest what do you say?

P.10 Regarding?

V.108 Everything, we are talking about your damn future.

P.11 Are we talking about the future?

G.23 Let me relate it back to V.'s question. V. said about an hour ago that mm the future is in the making and we are a part of that making and how do you two see it?.

P.12 Honestly spoken I myself ahm -- still can't. I have difficulties to identify myself with this country with the culture and ah the mentality of all the how should I say of all the races across the board. I really can't ahm honestly spoken I am not how should I say planning to have a future here. That's a fact.

V.109 It's a very sad story]

M.92 I've heard that from that ...

V.110 GDR kids

P.13 Look I grew up I grew up somewhere else I -- mm its quite difficult to explain.

V.111 How old were you when you were there?

P.14 I was seven.

V.112 You were seven, ... was four.

S.123 Where did you leave from? Where did you leave from?

P.15 Okay, I first left here Namibia when I was...]

S.124 Were you in the south, north east?

P.16 No. No I was in Owamboland, Inana, war zone so to say and went to Angola and from Angola I went to Germany. and as I say mm certain values, certain fixtures, excites me. How should I say?]

S.125 You had the expectations? What do you mean

[BREAK IN RECORDING]

K.16 The culture you are talking about]

P.17 It's primarily the culture I should say the culture people live. In Germany I grew up into a certain type of living in a certain, okay I know exactly with my skin colour I can never be a German, that's a fact ja, it's a natural fact, now mm I would I do not intend to to to take over the German citizenship. I really don't, but what I can imagine is that living there where I grew up where I you know --]

V.113 Can identify.

P.18 Ja, identify with, but here I can't.

J.116 Actually that group is probably more between]

V.114 It's a very sad]

J.117 a rock and

M.93 but its a very common thing

J.118 a half place in a way, inside he's a German.

P.19 No, I'm not a German, no, no, no

V.115 Ja, but my kid is different, maybe because I am allowed in the culture.

S.126 Where do your parents and family live?

P.20 Inana.

S.127 Do you have any family in Windhoek?

P.21 Mm, I have got a cousin.

S.128 But what is the whole cultural thing that I am missing?

K.17 Ja, - the culture, can you explain it like I know what differences. I just want to get the way people live or the way people had to get their kids. I am trying to get.

S.129 Respect, expectation what

K.18 norms and values.

- P22 It's more the mentality. Mentality. How people react to certain things, how people are sometimes okay I have got some colleagues, mm. it's a Damara colleague in fact and okay just to give you an example, mm um, lets say for instance, their's an Owambo guy umm there's also an Owambo guy, he's a kind of messenger, and mm the way they are treating or talking to each other it makes you so how should I say, it's actually disgusting. You know. She says for instance, in front of the white colleagues, mm. This Owambo guy, you know Wambos are shit. I am Owambo, I am a born Owambo but if somebody says Owambo are bad, they are dirty, stinking, I will say no its not true, you cannot just now generalise something mm.]
- V.116 Are they ... on the street]
- S.130 We got this terrible racial background to overcome]
- P.23 It's that racial racial thinking people primarily race, race and its just I don't know.]
- M.94 Okay, everything is race?]
- P.24 Ja, look in Germany I have problems I have racial problems, but um I should not say, I grew up into that society and as the way I see Germany. Germans are very liberal people. You can say what ever you want but Germans are]
- V.117 What you are trying to say in the GDR then]
- P.25 No, not only even West Germany. West Germans are even more liberal than East Germans.]
- V.118 No, no]
- P.26 it's true]
- V.119 Let me tell you, you could say it in the GDR, I studied in the GDR and I know exactly how the GDR was and the place where you had your school in the former Mecklinburg they had a number of racists then I was attacked that I was attacked in Rostock in 1965. Just a few kilometres from their school.
- P.27 Ja, racial, I haven't said]
- K.19 Probably you don't want to deal with racism here but deal it with there outside ... and you get used to is.
- S.131 Everywhere in the world you

G.24 I did not get that, what did you say?

? No she said maybe he doesn't want to deal with racism here, in Namibia because he already dealt with racism in Germany and in a way he gets used to that racism and made peace with that and for him it's not really it's not a big deal. The fact that he is black he is there even though people]

P.28 I am sorry for interrupting now. Germany how should I say, its actually funny to categorise. When a German lets say for instance comes to you he regards you as a human being. You know you have got your dignity, okay he would make his remark saying for instance saying "ja Schwartze" or whatever he says now here if I see racism it actually goes down to the dignity of people you' re de-humanising someone]

S.132 Namibians don't have any, there's no identity and self respect]

P.29 no dignity]

V.120 You know the very things that you are saying didn't happen in Germany happened. You know the problem is that some of you lived most of the time in a hostel, you went to school, came back to the hostel. You went out for a weekend and then you ... back to the hostel. You never lived independently all the years with the family and so on. When I was a student I was twenty years old and I lived on my own with the family. I could remember instances where I went to a night club Saturday and someone would come and say "what's this black thing doing here?" It belongs to the gas chamber that was your GDR!

P.30 Ja, but am not saying it did not exist.]

V.121 But the question, the answer is you are you can deal with racism in Germany but you do not want to deal with racism here!.

J.119 Because it is very different. You've never had.

K.20 Because I remember when I was in a the States and I went to a all white school and it was different, it was like racism you could say it. Now coming here I met somebody at work who was from South Africa a boer from South Africa and when she joined [K's workplace] she did not want to talk to everybody like she was like scared of black people. And I don't have to deal with that. I told whoever I don't have to deal with that. I dealt with racism before independence. I dealt with it in the States I don't have to I am sorry, if she is scared of me I'm sorry if she can't deal with it. I don't have to deal with it. I think is most probably what he]

V.122 Ja, and you know when I was young and I went abroad and arrived in Tanzania I sat one exam to go study in the US and then I also applied

to go and study in Germany, now the German scholarship came earlier and then later the Americans came and said just wait for a week or two your scholarship will come and in my mind I said, no, I don't want to go to the US and deal with racism or hate.

M.95 (laughs)

K.21 I think this is what he is going through.]

S.133 How big is racism here in Namibia at the moment between the black community?]

K.22 I think tribalism is bigger than racism.]

S.134 Ja, tribalism, racism, whatever. Prejudice, bigotry that's what I'm basically getting at.

A.17 Because I find that amongst the blacks themselves, we are more tribalistic, than the white and black thing really if you look at we are supposed to be one but the way we are divided]

S135 Isn't it changing though.? Isn't it changing?]

K.23 I don't think it's changing very much because as a Herero one still refers to a Damara as Omutakume or whatever, which is not a good word when I am saying it in my vernacular but I am still say it because the people feel that some groups feel that they superior than the others and the others feel you know.]

P.31 Okay, how come are you saying?]

M.96 I think that's a regional thing. I grew up in Grootfontein which is very different from, it's very very different from here. I mean my grandfather is from the north, my mom is a Herero and when you look around Grootfontein most kids who came from that side their parents were mixed so you have never thought of yourself as a Herero or Owambo or whatever. If you look at ... it's Omaruru, Otjiwarongo, Gobabis they are more mixed. They were not divided as they were divided in Windhoek..

V.123 It's also a generation thing, you know I think it is a generation thing. I lived in Windhoek from an early age I attended the Herero school. I have got many friends and when there are funerals or weddings I go there and we have these reunions and so on, and when I say this Herero chap, or he says this Owambo chap it is not meant to be racism, (interruptions hmhm) so it depends on how people do it and what generation we are talking about but it does exist, (interruptions) for instance we may say Omutukame, which simply means someone who speaks a language

- A.18 that is different from yours other than yours but if you say omuzorotwa it means a black and a slave at the same time. (everybody talking at once)
- S.136 ... conflict situation
- K.24 I feel people from this generation especially from those old location were more together than now.
- V.124 Ja, ja, ja ... those ... were more together than now, because started to be divided.
- S.137 Because I mean a white black thing in Namibia isn't hardly an issue now any more, is it I mean]
- M.97 Oh. Oh
- K.25 It depends where you go.(everybody talking at once)
- V.125 A week ago I was in Baines Centre. One week ago, on Saturday I was at Baines Centre and we were in a small bar there attached to a restaurant, and we drank, and you know after one hour, one younger Afrikaner he got drunk, and he picking out words, "you black kaffirs you what what", and we just ignored him because the fellow I was with was from Ghana and he didn't understand (laughter) Afrikaans, and we just sat there and when we went out we told "you are fond of going there alone. Don't go there any more."
- P.32 I think it's the press thing, something which is suppressed in the white minds,
- Vi.03 Ja, ja that racism. I mean it still exists but suppressed somehow and it comes out as Mr V said you know maybe if it's alcohol, that it comes out.
- S.138 But that kind of person is racist towards white English people.
- J.120 Also visa versa Just a week ago, just a week ago everybody talking at once,
- K.26 It depends where you go (everybody speaking at once) Also ... It's the racial sensitivity
- J.121 the best way to, I remember from independence I knew quite a lot of guys at UNTAG, a lot of Nigerians,
- V.126 hmm, hmm

J.122 Kenyans Ghanians, we had a press centre and we spent a a lot of time with the Nigerians and then ah this Nkwame this Ghanian who was by Athisari. We spent a lot time with, a very interesting guy from Ghana, mm and it was very interesting what these people said , Zambians, and we had three Tanzanians staying and eventually I remember this one Zambian woman who later stayed and a Burundean guy who stayed

V.127 hm

J.123 eventually the parties they said: What is it with this country! Everything is race!.

M.98 hmm

J.124 And the Zambian woman said: "I am sick of this"!

V.128 ah,

J.125 Its race, every issue boils down to race. The Nigerian said, what's the matter with you guys?

S.139 When was this?]

J.126 This is all the way from 1989 'till 1994 when the last Nigeria left and the last Burundean left and they were sick of this country.

V.129 Ja, but then for a Zambian to say that, they are very few whites in Zambia,(ja, yeah) but then you also have racism in Zambia,

J.127 tribalism

V.130 No, racism from that small group because you have got a few Afrikaners. For instance when I lived in Zambia my wife was English (interruptions) and that when we went to parties, the only black guys were there were the waiters so those waiters were wondering. Now how did my brother get to ... (laughter). You know they were there now and one day went to a party of farmers and so on. The Afrikaners didn't know that I could speak Afrikaans. They just thought, its a black Zambian and he is married to a white and so on so they started talking about me in Afrikaans. They talked and talked after they finished then I replied back. They were so ashamed that they left the party earlier. So these places have got very few whites.(laughter)

J.128 The Nigerians too, also you know Nigerians are not very there so few whites there.

V.131 Ja,

M.99 Yeah

J.129 We also, for us whites it was a very interesting experience for me as a white, to be amongst these black Nigerians, Ghaneans was like a holiday. Just talk to the guy there was no racism.

V.132 Ja

S.140 You know that's how ...

V.133 Is it most of the whites that we met were colonial settlers and a few worked for companies. You see so they did not have the same situation as we had say in Zimbabwe followed by Namibia, South Africa. The, ja I you know.

P.33 Sorry, I have to raise what is your name again?

A.19 [says her name]

P.34 okay, you said hm somebody referring to Damara ... did you say that? Now you say we as blacks must actually be one. How come are you saying we blacks?. What happened to the whites?.

M.100 (Laughing slightly)

A20 No, what I was saying I was referring to how deep you know we are tribalistic among us.

P.35 Ja, actually, surely...

K.27 I think that it will take some time.

A.21 We should all be one, I agree with you, blacks and whites, but you know the thing is to cross the line to the other one we should start like starting at home and move to another one.

P.36 Okay there it actually comes where I actually have my difficulties that mm okay maybe I should say I am use to the whites more. I tend to to how should I say

M.101 relate to

P.37 relate to white a little more easier

M.102 Because you grew up with them.

P.38 Ja, that's, that may be ...

A.22 Because people here have to move from the one point to the other one because of their past.

S.141 How do we do? Isn't that

K.28 Because this thing of Oshihherero, Owambo, it was brought in by South Africa,

A.23 Ja! divide and rule and it was strong. For sixty years if I am not wrong. So it will take some time. It will it will take some time.

S.142 But how do we do it. How do we break it

J.130 South I mean if I could quote a conversation, obviously not mentioning any names

S.143 We'll pick it up

J.131 where I sat with. No you won't pick it up. I sit with three senior SWAPO guys

M.103 hmm

J.132 and who talk about the animal kingdom and I come into this conversation a bit late. We sitting around eating and I say what you talking about? They say "Owamboland". I say well, they're not Owambos obviously, I say how come. They say "only animals live there". Black, SWAPO guys

V.134 hmm

J.133 and they laugh, they find this very funny. I have to laugh too and others come in there. They also SWAPO, ex-SWAPO and they chatting, and they vloeking the Owambo

V.135 (little laugh)

J.134 but really. This one guy and I also know a very hm prominent and politically conscious, highly educated in the States, Herero who at one stage was advocating that the Owambo in this country have to be seriously reduced in numbers because you know physically because you know we the Hereros, there is so few of us and the reason why the Owambo

[Note: the last approximately five pages were not used in the analysis or in the interpretation and are not included here]

APPENDIX C

DATA ANALYSIS: PHASE II: FIRST NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

**FULL ANALYSIS OF FIRST NORM ORIGINATOR
DISCUSSION**

INDEPENDENCE

Who may legitimately articulate the meanings of independence? Who may legitimately talk about independence?

Those who have suffered under the system before independence, i.e. those who experienced apartheid and concomitant racism.

- those who suffered personally and directly
- suffering directly is constituted as having your property destroyed in the war and as being confined spatially on the basis of one's race.

Any articulation is valid; anyone can 'say'; we need to recognize other valid accounts.

The possible significance of independence.

An imperative: independence must be articulated as meaningful

- the historical significance of event must be articulated;
this can happen by, amongst other things, bringing personal experience to independence.

It is the history of racial oppression which renders independence meaningful.

Independence is not allowed to be seen as in any way negative, in other words, independence must be seen in the light of a negative past.

Independence is about 'fending for ourselves' and here the discourse of independence intersects with that of a Calvinist work ethic.

Independence is constituted in terms of gaining material wealth

- language of entitlement; rewards of independence are material and how this displaces other possible rewards, ie. freedom of expression.

Independence constituted as goal, endpoint, and with that having been achieved, passion dissipates and life is ruled by petty, private concerns

- independence leaves a political vacuum.

'With independence I become immune to racism directed against me; I will no longer be a victim of racism in post-independence Namibia.'

A vital question raised in this connection: whose independence is it and whose freedom?

TEXTS OF IDENTITY

How independence is highly significant on a personal level

- a new appropriation of space, a re-appropriation, a homecoming
- the Namibian space after independence is constituted as one where racism need not be dealt with anymore
- 'I stand in this reconstituted place as one who will not be defined by the racism of another'
- 'in this space where I belong I need not put up with racism'
- in this space the former oppressor is constituted as the one who is fearful
- constituting oneself as someone who has become thick-skinned in respect of racism
- 'I refuse to be constructed in racist terms'
- The extent to which identity is constituted in the process of rejecting the meaningfulness of the research results.

TEXTS OF IDENTITY Continued

Identity constituted in terms of a discourse of suffering. This includes having been a witness to the suffering of others

- it also includes carrying the burden of the past
- it includes being prevented from freely inhabiting different spaces, being rebuffed in one's adventurousness to go beyond obscure, 'backward' places.

Constituting oneself as observer, as one who watches with interest the fruits of exile and enjoys the richness thereof

- as one who closely watched the political activity leading up to independence, from all angles.

Constituting oneself in terms of holding a complex, differentiated picture of events, places (including Namibia before independence)

- 'I was in exile, but I was not one of those who simply accepted what the superiors said, who did not question'
- self is constituted as other than traditional African which also means rural, naive, unquestioning; instead self is constituted as informed.

Constituting identity in terms of how it is not constructed on the basis of discourses of being Namibian, being a SWAPO product and supporter.

Constituting oneself in terms of experiences in exile.

TEXT OF IDENTITY

Being critical is constituted as a value.

Constituting oneself in terms of knowing what members of the ruling party are saying and experiencing, being engaged with those who are part of the ruling party.

Identity constructed in terms of having been exposed to many different views and having had the courage to expose oneself to those views, even in the face of danger.

'I felt alive in the fact of all this political conflict and opposition' (and now?)

Identity is constituted in terms of being marginal.

- in the sense of not being politically correct.

DISCOURSE OF SEGREGATION

As highly important discourse in terms of which people's experiences are constructed.

- Constituting race and racism as the overriding characteristic of the societies one has been part of.

DISCOURSE OF RACE

The racial group of a person is constructed as determinative of what she/he will think.

Understanding people requires that their racial group be known.

- the groups 'white' and 'black' are constituted as monolithic and there is no room for difference within these groupings.

DISCOURSE OF RACE Continued

How discourse of race is drawn on to stifle disagreement and to negate a 'common humanity' discourse

- are whites, even now, aware of the system of apartheid?
- for whites apartheid is still like water is for a fish
- apartheid awareness is coupled with guilt
- how discourse of shared race is drawn on in speaking on behalf of another
- people rendered predictable on basis of race.

TEXT OF IDENTITY

There is a strong underlying assumption throughout the text that identity is constituted in terms of being Namibian, of being identified with and committed to Namibia.

- this becomes clear in the way P. justifies, explains his non-identification with Namibia, the way his story is constituted as regrettable and the way his justifications are rejected.

Ironically P draws on the discourse of race and racial segregation in explaining his non-identification with Namibia, even as he tries to avoid being sucked into this discourse.

Constituting identity as being neither black nor white, ie. constituting identity in terms of not being a member of any race group.

- (That attempt is immediately undermined, negated and his experiences are reconstituted for him in terms of a discourse of race).

Constituting identity in terms of not belonging to any nationality.

As long as people can assume of one another that they are Namibian, no questions are asked about the person of the other, but when somebody turns out not to fit with that assumption, his details must be established, and identification tags, definitions must be found. When there is uncertainty, certainty must be gained, words must be found, naming be done.

- to not be a full member of any national grouping, to not be clearly identified in terms of nationality is constituted as 'normal'.

'If you constitute my identity as a Namibian in terms of being racist, I can show you that racism is rampant everywhere, (rather than, perhaps, showing you that I am many other things as a Namibian)'.

Identity is very powerfully constituted in terms of experiences with racism.

Constituting identity as being 'mixed', as not belonging to a specific ethnic group.

Identity constituted in racial terms and as such 'I must be one with my black brothers and sisters'.

Race as basis for association, colour becomes the basis for belonging.

Constituting whites as 'closet' racists

- how that is contested
- 'racism is something which I as white person would like a break from, ie. I, too must suffer racism in my country and am constrained by racism'.

Identity is constituted very powerfully in terms of being knowledgeable about history, especially the history of one's region, including that of the liberation struggle.

TEXT OF IDENTITY cont.

How Namibian identity is constituted in terms of living under threat, from material want, from memories of the past, and how this incapacitates Namibians; reason cannot change this.

ARTICULATION OF THE PAST

Forgetfulness, amnesia is acceptable.

To be nostalgic about the past is not 'natural'; 'it must be explained'; it goes contrary to expectations.

The past is so strongly constituted in terms of the suffering brought by apartheid that it becomes basically impossible to imagine, to conceive of, any other versions

- what is very much 'there' in the text, but unsaid because taken for granted, is that there are certain legitimate ways of constituting the past, ie. in terms of the discourses of suffering, oppression, apartheid, the war of liberation; thus, a monolithic past.

The 'white' past and the 'black' past are very far apart and they remain very far apart

- for whites the apartheid system is still good, even having experienced post- independence for some years.

Whites can constitute the past in terms of nostalgia and guilt.

Forgetfulness may help to explain a dearth of meaning being articulated in respect of independence

- to forget in this way is bad
- the failure to remember renders some voices less legitimate
- by implication there is an injunction that 'we should never forget'
- but the past is also constituted as something people want to both remember and forget.

The past is constituted as burden, but carrying that burden serves to legitimize one's voice.

The past, specifically struggle and war, is evoked as a reason for apathy in the present and becomes, not just a reason, but also an excuse for apathy and for selfishness.

Past is constituted in terms of the problematic of exile, eg. the paranoia, jealousies, instigation, narrow-mindedness.

Articulating the history of the struggle against oppression in broader terms than just the history of exile: in terms of internal dissent

- articulating this past of resistance in terms of a plurality of voices.

The past is articulated as having left very deep emotional scars

- people are victims of the past in many different ways and not even the powerful could escape being victimized and wounded; the blight of the past persists in our fears now, in our nightmares.

ARTICULATION OF THE FUTURE

In terms of new representative figures; the making of the future is articulated in terms of creating new representative figures, different from those of the past and one's who are 'our own'.

ARTICULATION OF THE FUTURE Continued

Ambivalence about constituting the future in terms other than the terms of the past

- it seems that one is inevitably an agent in shaping the future but if that future is to be different to the past, what form shall it take?
- the future can be articulated in terms of abstractions or in terms of an old, party political discourse.

'If people do not know the past - as I have known it - how can they make anything meaningful of the future?'

- that which is part of my history is history and if that no longer shapes lives there is sure to be trouble
- but there is also an ability to reflect on this, ie. it is natural to forget the past
- the future ought to be imagined in terms / on the basis of history and politics.

Drawing on articulation of the future to break out of discourse of helplessness / powerlessness in the present.

Articulating the future in terms of a psychological discourse, specifically identity as self-respect, dignity

- contestation of this discourse, labelling it as abstractions.

Articulating the future based on a 'recognition' that the experience of exile does not absolve people from being wrong now, in the present

- it does not absolve people from being inadequate in dealing with the situation now.

The articulation of a future as something that can be rationally constituted through awareness becomes a way of denying or escaping from a past which is painful and threatens to be suffocating

- to articulate a future without taking account of the wounds of the past does not work
- how this is contested; pushing a new genre which is completely unrelated to what has been, does not work.

"POLITICS IN AFRICA" DISCOURSE

- * Politics in Africa is about resistance to apartheid and about those who resisted racism and oppression.
- Politics in Africa is 'about' charismatic leaders.
This raises the following questions:
- Can politics in Africa be something other than that which has to do with liberation struggle, and should it be something other?
- If politics and politicians in Africa are about resistance to apartheid, is it then possible to be critical of these leaders and escape being called pro - apartheid?
- If politics in Africa is about charismatic figures, then how can people ever become political actors except as followers or non-followers of political figures].
- Constituting political action in terms of exerting one's influence in matters important to oneself, making one's voice heard (and how to do this in context of macro-forces that seem overriding).

DISCOURSE OF EXILE

If the discourse is that of exile, then what of those Namibians who were not in exile, ie. did not in this way actively resist the system?. What stories can those Namibians tell?

- Exile is constituted as creating uncertainty about the identity of people (in terms of ethnicity) and as such lends interest to a situation, making for 'aliveness'.
- Exile is constituted as a time of paranoia, jealousy, feeling threatened.

"HERO" OR "REPRESENTATIVE FIGURES" DISCOURSE.

- Imperative that the old representative figures should be criticized, that people should not be blinded by the image.
- However, the old heroes need to be recognized, made known to the public and - perhaps - constructed as artists, and definitely not as political, financial or military heroes.

DISCOURSE OF MIS-EDUCATION

How this discourse is drawn on even now so many years after independence, to explain ignorance but this is also challenged.

DISCOURSE OF IDENTITY

- Independence has opened up new possibilities for being, new images to try on, also in the sense of creating new heroes to emulate, heroes other than political and military heroes, constituted as other than American.
- The importance of creating 'own', in the sense of national heroes.
- Connection with discourse of self-creation where previous examples are no longer relied upon.
- The importance of recognizing and valuing 'our own'.
- Assumption that Namibians are lacking in dignity and self-respect and that this consists, at least in part, in an inability to recognize and appreciate local qualities.

How the discourse of neo-colonialism intersects with a discourse of identity.

DISCOURSE OF 'NEO-COLONIALISM'

It is in the arena of identity where neo-colonialism takes place, identity has become a battleground where influence is sought, exerted.

- However this colonialism is not simply imposed from the outside; it is also the result of not recognizing one's own qualities, not so much as personal qualities, but on a national scale.
- This also creates a new sort of exile with people seeking out other places to practice their skills.
- Refusing to accept a role as victim of neo-colonialism; challenging the victim attitude in this relationship.

DISCOURSE OF SOLIDARITY

Calling for a new type of solidarity, constituted in terms other than that of solidarity in the struggle against the oppression of apartheid and for independence.

- The attainment of solidarity is constituted as being highly problematic in the absence of an outside repressive force and concomitant unifying goal of independence.

POLITICAL POWER DISCOURSE

The political power discourse intersects with that of race.

- Whites know how to get themselves seen and heard; blacks should stop complaining and do the same.
- Agency is constituted as being impossible where there is no solidarity; agency in sense of exerting political influence.

POWERLESSNESS / HELPLESSNESS DISCOURSE

- This discourse of 'lack', of inability feeds on itself and spirals.
- This discourse intersects with survival discourse.
- Interestingly, helplessness is not constituted as an effect of the previous system, but in terms of the present system.
- 'We keep being subjugated, first by our lack (of freedom etc), then by what we have (in material terms, status) and are afraid to lose'.
- How a discourse of fear intersects with that of powerlessness, and irony in this case falls on deaf ears.
- Solidarity is replaced by the pressure to conform; loyalty means keeping quiet, not confronting. Thus, there is increasing withdrawal into a private sphere; ideas are not contested publicly and the private sphere becomes a place people retreat to.

'There is an enemy who will do me harm; this enemy is ill-defined, faceless, but is everywhere.'

- 'Solidarity' in the sense of material support.

DISCOURSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- Specifically, freedom of expression (as a counter to helplessness discourse).
- Information / knowledge as empowerment.
- Expression critical ideas, informing critically constituted as moral duty.

MATERIALIST DISCOURSE

The material reality becomes the measure for reality.

COMMON HUMANITY DISCOURSE

- Employing this discourse in an effort to move beyond race and beyond the past.
- Having fear in common; 'I have to deal with my fears, why can those who keep the present system intact because they are fearful not overcome their fears?'

How Discourse of Ethnicity intersects with that of entitlement to preserve the status quo.

- These discourses are constituted as 'reality'.

DISCOURSE OF SELF-RELIANCE

- Employed to counter powerlessness discourse

DISCOURSE OF CHANGE, TRANSFORMATION, RENEWAL

How this intersects with discourse of awareness, consciousness and of identity.

- What seems to be implicit in this discourse, is that Namibians have a problem and something must be done to change this.
- This problem is constituted as people's prejudice, xenophobia, people being misinformed.

HOW LEGITIMACY IS CLAIMED

Legitimizing what is said by showing that one is informed, and has access to many opinions

- specifically being informed about the history of Southern Africa.

Legitimizing what is said on the basis that one has been 'around', that one has been exposed to different places and therefore is anything but naive.

Legitimacy is claimed on the basis of having contact (as a white person?) with members of the ruling party

- being trusted by them
- being able to educate the children of the ruling party, but this claim is contested.

'My voice (in respect of independence) is legitimate because I was a witness to history being made'.

De-legitimizing what is said by drawing on a discourse of race

- 'It is not legitimate for you as a white man to talk of sticking one's neck out because you're never had to face the consequences of doing so'.

Drawing on discourse of common humanity to legitimate one's voice, in an attempt to counter a race discourse which is drawn on by others to confine / restrict one.

Drawing on discourse of European liberalism to de-legitimize what another person says.

Claiming legitimacy on the basis of having been a witness, over a long period of time, to political activity and dissent in respect of the former regime.

Claiming legitimacy (as a white man?) on the basis of being knowledgeable about the history of apartheid.

Much contestation around what is 'real'.

- the new black ruling class, by implication members of SWAPO are constituted as 'real'
- actors, film-makers are constructed as real
- the reality created by these people has the power to change people positively
- creating new realities also involves getting people to accept 'who they are' in racial terms.

Discourse of race intersecting with discourse of unity

- unity amongst black people is constituted as imperative, 'unity' is obligatory
- how that is challenged
- 'in the name of the discourse of unity I can take it upon myself to speak for everybody else without even thinking about it'
- discourse of unity is also one of exclusion.

Irony in respect of discourse of ethnicity.

3 Describing the objects in the text

- * Research results, specifically an analysis of the responses of young people to a video of the independence celebrations of Namibia in 1990.
- * The past of Namibia articulated as a history of oppression, racism, resistance to that, including exile.
- * Politics, political action in Africa (as well as politicians).
- * Future possible solutions to Namibia's problems.
- * Namibian identity in the sense of self-respect, dignity, identity more generally.
- * Local, Namibian as opposed to foreign, especially American, abilities, skills, identity and the recognition, promotion, development of the former.
- * Political activism, what that might entail.
- * The state of Namibia since independence, Namibia in the present as pervaded by a sense of helplessness, fear and a lack of solidarity, Namibia's problems now.
- * Human rights, specifically freedom of expression in connection with empowerment.
- * Race and racism.
- * Namibia's 'problems' and possible solutions.
- * Namibian independence.

4 Talking about the talk

- * The research results, specifically the responses of the young people are constituted as trivial and therefore worrisome, but they are also constructed as relevant, as simply different from what adults might say.
- * The results are talked about very sceptically eg. as not representative and as not accounting for the experiences of the norm originators; furthermore, they are talked of as if there is something fundamentally wrong with them, which must be explained.
- * There is a great deal of emotional involvement in what is said, the issues raised in the text clearly are of importance to the participants.
 - people are drawing on personal experiences when arguing points.
- * Namibian identity is spoken of as 'defective', there is a lack.
- * Local, Namibian is posited as desirable, as having to be recognized, promoted.
- * What is pervasive in the talk about 'Namibia since independence' is a sense of helplessness powerlessness.

5 Specifying the subjects

* Namibians are differentiated in several ways:

- a) in terms of the extent to which they suffered under apartheid
- b) along racial lines i.e. black, white,
- c) in terms of being urban or rural,
- d) in accordance with geographic 'origins' specifically from the north or elsewhere,
- e) along ethnic lines,
- f) in terms of thinking critically or not,
- g) in terms of age.

* 'The people' as ones who desperately want somebody to follow and follow blindly.

* Role models / representative figures / heroes in Namibia.

* Namibians after independence

- a) as being fearful
- b) concerned about their own survival
- c) lacking in solidarity
- d) unwilling to criticize and to accept criticism.

* Government employee's :

* black middle class

* Members of SWAPO

* Working class people

* Exiles

* Leaders

* Young people

* Political leaders

* GDR kids

* Rural people

* People who took part in the 'struggle'

6 Speaking for the subjects

* The discourse calls upon participants to stare existing 'realities' eg. the way material resources are divided in the face

* As a black Namibian it is certainly possible to take part in this discourse as a victim of racism and, to a much lesser extent, as perpetrator thereof. For white Namibians this is reversed.

* As a Namibian it is possible to participate in this discourse as one who is worried and pessimistic about the present situation in Namibia.

* The discourse calls on participants to recognize and analyze Namibia's problems, the way in which Namibia is lacking and what could be done about it.

* Participants are called upon to situate themselves, in whatever way, with respect to Namibia's history, specifically oppression and resistance to oppression. They are also called on to participate as ones who are knowledgeable about this history.

* Participants can step into this discourse as ones who are white or black i.e. they are called upon to situate themselves in terms of racial group.

* People are called upon to take part as ones who take Namibia's past, specifically as constructed in terms of the grand themes of oppression and resistance to oppression, very seriously. But people can also articulate critically in respect of these themes.

7 Picture of the world as presented by the discourse

- * A world in which different 'realities', specifically material and ideal realities come into conflict; psychological and political realities are also juxtaposed.
- * Phenomena e.g. heroes are judged in terms of whether they are local or not, whether they are locally created.
- * Namibia is constituted as having something wrong with it, as being problematic.
- * A world which is worse than it could be because people fail to recognize their own potential.
- * A world shaped by macro forces which makes it difficult to assert and to give recognition to the local.
- * People are strongly evaluated in terms of whether they have been exposed to a range of different experiences, worlds and whether, as a result, they are able to be critical, especially in respect of authority figures and able to make up their own minds.
- * A world in which agency, including a willingness to confront and speak out, is undermined by a lack of solidarity, by fear and by concerns about survival. Thus, the world becomes restrictive, also because of the language of entitlement becoming pervasive.
- * World constituted in terms of a language of empowerment; agency is seen to be based on self-reliance and knowledge becomes power and frees us.

6 Speaking for the subjects continued

- * Participants are called upon to be critical and questioning, even as this is constituted as a very risky, even dangerous activity. This includes being critical of and challenging one another, but there are definite limitations.
- * People can participate as Namibians but, at the same time, as ones who are highly critical of Namibians, seeing them as somehow defective.
- * People can participate as ones who regard change in Namibia as being desirable.
- * While the discourse calls on participants to be creative, to imagine new avenues for doing things in the Namibian context, the 'self-criticism' and analysis of present problems is also stifling.

12 Reflection on how the discourse is described

- * There seems to be an assumption that the past should be differently constituted than 'just' in terms of oppression and resistance to that.
- * There is a powerful implication that the past should be re-membered and that 'it' may be re-membered in different ways, not just in terms of oppression, suffering, resistance. This stems from the author's own history and not having suffered in possibly the most pernicious ways because of being white, and of not having actively resisted.
- * Not raising one's voice, criticizing is referred to as 'apathy', a rather negative connotation; the rampant entitlement / accumulation of material wealth amongst the new middle class is referred to as 'selfish'.
- * There seems to be an imperative, that people should distance themselves from the discourses of fear and the helplessness this induces, eg. through irony.
- * What is implied is that the focus on the material eg. on material obligation as a 'basis' for solidarity is problematic because the status quo is thus reinforced.
- * The 'use' of the discourse of race is constituted by the researcher as highly problematic in that it serves to render groups monolithic on the basis of race, and disallow disagreement.
- * There is a challenge to the discourse of unity, in that it is constituted by the researcher as leading to exclusions.
- * Scepticism regarding a nationalist discourse; seeing it as being used in a way that is restrictive.

13/14 Historical situatedness of the discourse.

- * Possibly the critique of the 'fruits' of independence must be seen against the background of the discourse of liberation which tended to entail an idealization of independence, but which constitutes independence, in terms of what would almost automatically be gained from it.
 - The critique of the present situation in Namibia and, more specifically, the discourse of helplessness may be seen
 - against the background of liberation struggles 'gone wrong' in the African context.
 - The focus on identity ie. the psychological as an arena from which solutions may develop may stem from the failure of politics eg. in the sense that multi-party democracy appears to be a sham. This discourse must also be seen against the background of a highly divisive past where people were situated on a continuum of for-against the liberation struggle.
 - The insistence on remembering the past and on history as basis for the future must be understood in terms of individual histories profoundly shaped in terms of these discourses.
 - The nationalist discourse to be regarded against the background of colonialization.
- * How is it possible to explain forgetfulness of the past resistance against overwhelming odds in the construction of helplessness in the present. Was it because the agenda and basis for solidarity were so clear?

7 Picture of the world as presented by the discourse

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- * Phenomena e.g. heroes are judged in terms of whether they are local or not, whether they are locally created.
- * Namibia is constituted as having something wrong with it, as being problematic.
- * A world which is worse than it could be because people fail to recognize their own potential.
- * A world shaped by macro forces which makes it difficult to assert and to give recognition to the local.
- * People are strongly evaluated in terms of whether they have been exposed to a range of different experiences, worlds and whether, as a result, they are able to be critical, especially in respect of authority figures and able to make up their own minds.
- * A world in which agency, including a willingness to confront and speak out, is undermined by a lack of solidarity, by fear and by concerns about survival. Thus, the world becomes restrictive, also because of the language of entitlement becoming pervasive.
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6 Speaking for the subjects continued

- * Participants are called upon to be critical and questioning, even as this is constituted as a very risky, even dangerous activity. This includes being critical of and challenging one another, but there are definite limitations.
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- * People can participate as ones who regard change in Namibia as being desirable.
- * While the discourse calls on participants to be creative, to imagine new avenues for doing things in the Namibian context, the 'self-criticism' and analysis of present problems is also stifling.

7 Picture of the world as presented by the discourse continued

- * A world fundamentally shaped by experiences with apartheid, and the suffering brought by that. A picture of the world which does not adequately include this is rejected.
- * World constructed in terms of groups which one does/does not belong to, is/is not identified with. Being on the margins is conceivable as far as ethnicity is concerned, but much less so in respect of race.
- * Strong reliance on historical processes to characterize, judge and explain situations now.
- * Often there is reliance on a relativist argument to counter somebody's judgement, eg. African politics must be judged according to different standards than European politics.
- * People are challenged to use standards other than their own and this is experienced as frightening.
- * People are judged according to whether they know their country's history (but this construction is contested).
- * The extent to which there is insistence that the world is manifested differently, that it is multi-faceted. (Specifically, 'my experience is different to that of your research subjects').

11 Elaborating the discourse.

- * A particular participant seems to be implicitly aware that he will not play such a cardinal role in the future as in the past: the way in which he comments on the discourse of change, specifically the call for the creation of new hero figures, seems to imply an idea that all these supposed changes required in the future would be problematic.
- * Questioning the morality of the 'survival' discourse by pointing out people's responsibility to express criticism.
- * The use of the phrase "he is a European liberal" to characterize a person's position implies that a liberalist discourse is irrelevant in an African context.
- * The discourse of helplessness and fear to is-implicitly criticized by pushing it to a possibly absurd extreme.
- * At certain points specific participants become acutely aware of engaging in a discourse of race, and that this is problematic.
- * What is implied in the idea that all people need to be retrained is that no specific experience prior to Independence automatically exalted anybody.
- * One of the participants is acutely aware that it is controversial to depict Germans, whom he identifies with, as 'liberal' group of people.
- * Reflectiveness about the difficulties involve in generalizing about a group of people.

15 Institution supported by the discourse.

- * Institutions which foster 'critical thinking', perhaps universities, are supported.
- * Discourse of survival would certainly support government institutions: survival is posited as being dependent on employment in government institutions.
- * The language of nationalism which is drawn on in the effort to create a new future, to get away from the stifling present is exactly the same language which keeps in place much of what is problematic in the context (which perhaps simply indicates that no discourse per se support institutions, but that it depends on how the discourse is employed).
- * The local discourse would presumably undermine 'institutions' which are global in nature, perhaps multi-nationals.
- * Institutions concerned with developing human potential, specifically skills, assertiveness would be supported; also institutions concerned with providing and disseminating information because of the strong emphasis on being critical, and of being exposed to many viewpoints.
- * Institutions associated with a free market economy would probably be supported by a discourse of self-reliance, autonomy.
- * At one level liberalism and specifically institutions in the service of that ideology would be supported.

16 Institutions subverted by the discourse

- * The 'local' discourse would presumably support institutions such as local tertiary educational institutions, local business institutions, local art.
- * In some way political institutions may be subverted by the strong focus on a psychological discourse (although this is only partly the case).
- * Traditional 'African' institutions may be undermined due to the close association between these and lack of criticism.
- * At one level all institutions centered on political activism may be undermined by the helplessness/powerlessness discourse.
- * The discourse of self-creation possibly undermines institutions that are remnants of colonialism

Comment: because there are so many conflicting discourses in this text, the same institutions which may be subverted by one are supported by another.

<p>17/18 <u>Power relations reproduced by the discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The discourse of helplessness / powerlessness, as it is informed by the discourses of fear and survival may reproduce skewed power relations between the government and, more specifically, the ruling political party, and whatever form opposition to the ruling party takes. * The 'politics in Africa' discourse may reproduce power relations in that it delegitimizes efforts to draw on other models outside Africa to criticize the practice of politics inside Africa. * The discourse of race may reproduce existing power relations because it disallows engagement and challenging across racial lines and because it may prevent new allegiances from being formed eg. White and black women. * Existing power relations may be undermined by a differentiated telling of 'the past' ie. not only in terms of the grand themes of oppression and resistance. * To some extent the focus on the past may reproduce power relations between the older and younger generation because of the manner in which the articulations of the latter, as summarized in the research results, are rendered less valid. * Existing power relations may be undermined by the 'new future, new heroes' discourse. * Power relations between middle class and working class may be reproduced as follows: * Presumably it is the former who have access to the means for being able to formulate a critical, differentiated view and thus, in terms of this discourse, have claims to legitimacy. * Power relations between oppressor and oppressed as defined in the context of the apartheid system are undermined in that the oppressed are constituted as having been able to do something about their positions, ie. they are not constituted simply as having been victims. * Power relations may be undermined by the confrontations that also constitute the text, ie. silence, discourses of race do not go unchallenged. 	<p>20 <u>How discourses enable dominant groups to tell their narratives of the past.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discourse of entitlement may allow those groups who were dominant under the previous system, and who still enjoy economic power to tell their stories of the past as follows: 'We have been accused of being oppressive, but see what 'they' do as soon as they attain to power; the very same thing!' * Members of the dominant political party can tell their narrative of the past as having been one of suffering; their voices would certainly be legitimated by the discourse * which constitutes the past in terms of suffering under racial oppression. * The way independence is rendered meaningful - in terms of a history of racial oppression - would certainly enable some dominant groups to tell their stories of the past. * Politics in Africa discourse may allow those who have retained power under the new system to tell their story of the past as follows: 'Our presence, our being in power prevented the sort of dictatorships so common in Africa'. * The importance attached to 'being informed' allows those who had access to information - by virtue of their education, mobility to tell their stories of the past. <p>Several discourses eg. those of the future, of the past as highly differentiated and that in terms of which all Namibians are 'leveled' and presented as being in need of psychotherapy would disallow dominant groups to tell their stories of the past.</p>
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**ANALYSIS OF FIRST NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION:
REDUCTION**

Analysis of first discussion with norm originators: Reduction

Whenever a point raised is preceded by the word "comment" this indicates an interpretation by the researcher which is further removed from the 'actual' data than the other points.

1. Articulating the past

- 1.1. There are certain legitimate ways of constituting the past namely in terms of the themes of apartheid, oppression, suffering and the war of liberation.
 - The past is constituted as burden, but to carry that burden, that is, to remember, serves to legitimate one's voice.
 - However, the past is also constituted as "something" that people want both to remember and to forget and amnesia is in order.
- 1.2. The past is articulated as having left very deep emotional scars and it persists in the fears of people; thus people are even now victims of the past.
- 1.3. The past in the sense of struggle and war is evoked as a reason and an excuse for apathy and for selfishness in the present.
- 1.4. Comment: the past constituted in terms of the grand themes of oppression and resistance to this may serve to legitimate the ruling political party.
- 1.5. A nuanced and differentiated version of the past is articulated, including the "struggle"; specifically the history of resistance against oppression is constituted in terms of a plurality of voices.
- 1.6. A differentiated story is told of exile: it included experiences with racism elsewhere and it was also characterized by jealousies, paranoia and narrow mindedness.

2. Articulating the future

- 2.1. Politics and history, specifically 'my' history are constituted as the necessary basis for imagining the future.
 - However, it is also possible to reflect on this and to regard forgetfulness in respect of the past as natural.
- 2.2. The making of the future consists in the creation of new role models/heroes or the recognition and re-creation of old ones, as something other than political, military or financial heroes.
 - These heroes must be local, 'our own' i.e. Namibian.
 - There is an imperative that the old heroes be critiqued.
 - Comment: the language of self creation may undermine institutions which are remnants of colonialism.
- 2.3. The future is articulated in terms of the psychological changes that all Namibians should go through. Thus the future is imagined on the basis of levelling the playing field for all Namibians, irrespective of where they stood in the past on the continuum of oppression - resistance to oppression.
 - Psychological changes which will be enabling of a new future are self respect and dignity, and greater awareness, that is, people must be conscientized. Furthermore, people need to come to

accept who they are in racial terms, and this applies especially to whites.

- 2.4. This 'psychological' discourse is contested and is criticized on the basis of being "abstractions".
- 2.5. Comment: the focus on the psychological, specifically identity as an arena from which solutions might develop may evolve from the failure of politics for instance in the sense that multi-party democracy is quite a sham.
- 2.6. The discourse of renewal and transformation which is closely tied up with the articulation of the future presupposes that there is something wrong or lacking as far as Namibia and Namibians are concerned, that there is a problem now.
 - The problem is constituted as people's prejudices, misinformation, and as a lack of dignity and self respect which includes an inability to recognize and appreciate local qualities.
 - Comment: while the discourse calls on participants to be creative and to imagine new ways of doing, the self criticism (and analysis of present problems) is stifling.
- 2.7. The articulation of the future as rationally constituted through the attainment of awareness becomes a way of escaping from a past that is all pervasive.
 - How this attempt is contested: to articulate a future without taking into account the wounds of the past does not work.

3 Independence

- 3.1. Who may legitimately articulate the possible meanings of independence?
 - Those who suffered (personally and directly) under the previous system.
 - Any articulation is valid.
- 3.2. Independence means that it is possible to refuse to be the victim of racism and to be defined by the racist attitudes of another.
- 3.3. Independence has opened up new ways of being.
- 3.4. Independence is constituted as goal, as end-point and with that having been achieved, passion dissipates and life is ruled by petty, private concerns.
 - Independence leaves a political vacuum.
 - However, independence is also constituted more complexly: both as a circle closing and as opening new questions.
- 3.5. Independence is constituted in terms of gaining material wealth and the language of entitlement becomes pervasive. The rewards of independence are material, and this displaces other possible values eg freedom of expression.
 - Comment: The language of entitlement may allow those groups who were dominant under the previous system and who still enjoy economic power to tell their stories of the past as follows: "We have been accused of being oppressive but see what 'they' do as soon as they get power - the very same thing!"
- 3.6. Independence as a re-appropriation of space, a homecoming.

4. Discourse of neo-colonialism

- 4.1. It is in the arena of identity where neo-colonialism becomes manifested; identity has become the battle-ground where influence is sought and exerted.

5. Local-global discourse

- 5.1. Self creation, that is, making one's 'own' stories without emulating others or 'going local' is constituted in nationalist terms.
- Comment: The local readily becomes monolithic and prescriptive - "a Namibian identity or personality" - as well as prototypical in that heroes, ones who may be emulated, must be created. This raises the question whether self creation should consist, less in the creation of new heroes, and more in the telling of new stories. This question is particularly important in the light of the concern that Namibians are not critical.

6. "Politics in Africa"

- 6.1. Politics in Africa is about the relationship between black and white, about resistance to apartheid, and charismatic political leaders who have their roots in that black-white relationship.
- Comment: If politics and politicians in Africa are about resistance to apartheid, is it then possible to be critical of these leaders without immediately being labelled reactionary and pro-apartheid? Furthermore, how can people ever become political actors in a sense other than being followers of or opposed to political leaders? Finally how is it possible to feel alive politically once apartheid is something of the past?
 - Comment: The strong differentiation between politics in Africa and elsewhere may make it impossible to draw on other models outside Africa to criticize political practice inside Africa.
- 6.2. Political action is constituted in terms of exerting one's influence in matters one deems important and making one's voice heard, and ideas are shared on how this might be done in the context of macro forces that seem overriding.
- This includes refusing to accept the role of victim of neo colonialism.
 - A new solidarity , different to the solidarity of the struggle, is called for, but the attainment thereof is seen to be highly problematic in the absence of an 'outside' oppressive force and the concomitant unifying goal of independence.

7. Discourse of powerlessness/helplessness

- 7.1. Helplessness is not constituted as an effect of the previous system, but in terms of the present system.
- 7.2. The discourse of helplessness is fed by talk of survival and of fear. Irony is not possible in this case.
- 7.3. Now people are oppressed by what they have (in material terms) and are afraid to lose.

- 7.4. Solidarity is replaced by the pressure to conform.
- Loyalty means keeping quiet.
 - 'Solidarity' becomes material obligation, that is, being obliged to provide material support and is constituted along ethnic lines.
- 7.5. Comment: All of the above are very pervasive in the construction of the present situation in Namibia. People are invited to participate in the talk as ones who are worried and pessimistic about the present situation in Namibia.
- The effect of the type of talk as elucidated above may be to undermine a sense of agency, to create a world that is restricting, and to reproduce skewed power relations between the ruling political party and opposition to that party.
 - In talking about the present in terms of the pervasiveness of fear, in painting a picture of the present as marked by an unwillingness to speak up and to be critical, participants seem to be forgetful of how, in the past, Namibians spoke up and were critical in the face of overwhelming odds. How can this be understood? Is it because the agenda and basis for solidarity were so clear in the past and are much more vague now?

8. Discourse of agency

- 8.1. Freedom of expression is posited as a counter to helplessness and powerlessness.
- Expressing critical ideas, informing critically is constructed as value, even as moral duty.
 - This includes challenging one another (even though there are definite limitations to this), challenging authority figures and making up one's own mind.
- 8.2. Information/knowledge is seen as empowerment and as freeing people.
- 8.3. Agency is seen to be based on self reliance.

9. Discourse of race

- 9.1. Race and racism are constituted as the overriding characteristics of the societies one has been part of; discourse of racial segregation plays a central role in the construction of people's experiences.
- 9.2. The racial group of a person is constructed as determinative of what s/he will think; understanding people requires that their racial group be known.
- 9.3. The discourse of race is drawn on in speaking for (on behalf of) another person, in other words: 'I can speak for you because I am of the same race group as you'.
- 9.4. Race is drawn on to stifle disagreement and to negate the discourse of 'common humanity', which is articulated as all people having fears, even as a discourse of common humanity is employed in an effort to move beyond the past and beyond race.

- 9.5. Comments: If black people and white people are constituted as speaking from opposite sides of a great divide, then can we ever hope to say things that the other person will find meaningful?
- Race could have been constructed less monolithically by considering how people are also different on the basis of eg gender or religion.
 - The emphasis on race may disallow engagement, including challenging of people across racial lines and the forming of allegiances across racial lines, and this may serve to reproduce existing power relations.
- 9.6. One of the participants draws on the moral wrongfulness of racism to justify and explain his identity as not Namibian, but in the process gets entrapped in the discourse of race. To what extent is his entrapment characteristic of what many Namibians experience?
- 10. Discourse of unity**
- 10.1. Unity amongst black people is constituted as imperative; and thus the discourse of unity becomes one of exclusion.
- This is challenged.
- 10.2. What seems to be articulated in this regard is the following: 'In the name of the discourse of unity I can take it upon myself to speak for everybody else without even thinking about it'.
- 11. Contestation of what is 'real'**
- 11.1. The new black ruling class and, by implication, influential members of the ruling party are constituted as 'real'.
- The black working class is constituted as 'real'.
 - Film makers, actors are constituted as real; specifically the realities they create have the power to effect change in people.
- 11.2. The world is manifested differently: there are multiple realities and acknowledgement of these is called for. There are material and 'ideal' realities, psychological and political realities and these are constituted as, at times, conflicting.
- 12. Identity**
- 12.1. Identity is constituted in terms of a discourse of suffering, which includes having been a witness to the suffering of others, and of - experiences with - racism.
- Comment: With identity thus constituted there is a strong emotional investment in the past of oppression and resistance to oppression.
- 12.2. Identity is constituted in terms of being knowledgeable about history, especially the history of one's region, including that of apartheid and the liberation struggle.
- Legitimacy is claimed on the basis of having been a witness to political activity and to history being made, specifically Namibian independence.
 - Self is constituted as observer.
 - Comment: Identity constructed in terms of knowing about seems to entail a story of vicarious living: while this construction of identity

involves strong engagement at one level, at another level there is disengagement, distancing.

- 12.3. Identity is constructed in terms of being aware of the thinking and experiencing of the ruling party members, being thus connected with them.
- Legitimacy is claimed on this basis.
 - However these claims, if pushed too far, are contested.
- 12.4. Identity is constituted in terms of holding a complex, differentiated view of events and places (including Namibia before Independence).
- Legitimacy is claimed for the said by showing that one has access to a diversity of opinions and views, and on the basis of having had the courage to expose oneself to those views and having faced the dangers involved.
- 12.5. Identity is constructed in terms of being marginal in respect of nationality and of race ; refusal to accept group identification as defining and drawing on the discourse of the individual in doing so.
- 12.6. There is a strong underlying assumption that identity is constituted in terms of being Namibian, of being identified with and committed to Namibia. This becomes clear in the way the one person who constitutes his identity in terms of how he is not Namibian feels it necessary to justify and explain his non-identification with Namibia, the way his story is constituted as regrettable and his justifications are rejected.
- Comment: Here a nationalist discourse becomes repressive in being taken for granted. Identity talk in this sense is problematic in that it presupposes 'belonging', identification and thus is restrictive.
 - As long as the participants can assume of one another that they are Namibian, no questions are asked about the other and there seems to be little curiosity about other persons, but when somebody turns out not to fit this assumption, his details must be established, and identification tags must be found.
 - Not to be a full member of any national grouping and not to be clearly defined in terms of nationality is seen as 'normal'.
- 12.7. Identity is constructed as being 'mixed', as not belonging to a specific ethnic group and it is possible to be ironic with the discourse of ethnicity.
- 12.8. Identity is posited as being marginal in the sense of not being politically correct.
- 12.9. Identity is constituted in terms of shaping the future, specifically creating cultural resources and there is a strong sense of agency in this.

APPENDIX D

DATA GENERATION: PHASE III

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECOND NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

Please answer the following questions in respect of the material you have just read.

1. What about this analysis surprises you?

2. Is there anything about this analysis where you feel: "this is nonsense!"

3. What about the analysis do you find fascinating?

4. Which part of the analysis gives you a sense that "This is me, I can see myself in this!" In what way?

5. Which part of the analysis leaves you with a sense that "This is not me, but I wish that I could be more like that." Why?

6. Which part of the analysis leaves you with a sense that "This is not me, and I would never want to be like this!" Why?

7. What is there in the analysis that inspires you?

8. What about this analysis irritates you? Why?

TRANSCRIPTION OF SECOND NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

- V.01 Well, - there are many issues that I can identify with, for instance the first issue here articulating the past. When I think about the past, it must be older than fifty years I can never leave out the coming into power of the nationalists in South Africa and what followed later on up to 1990 when we got our independence in all that period, you know when I was younger, when I became older I started understanding what happened as to when I was much younger, so I can put it into focus as an abandoned past or something like that could be condemned, forgotten and not something that should be condemned actually, so the past is very much alive - when you think about the present and the future you can't divorce the three.
- G.01 When you said "forgotten" now, was that just the slip of the tongue?
- V.02 No, no I was trying to say that ah when I was much younger, maybe three four or five years old, maybe I couldn't understand why why we did not live in houses like the houses in which the European lived.
- G.02 right
- V.03 Because I was too young to be able to analyse those things. But as I became older, I started understanding the past much better and then I reached a stage where I was critical
- G.03 ahah
- V.04 and then a stage where I started condemning the past for instance I had a personal vendetta against the colonial regime. My father was killed by a member of the South African police force when I was twelve years old and nothing happened because he is considered as someone who died for unknown reasons and there was an inquest and the thing was over and the policeman was never charged with anything, you know they just erased everything, so as I was growing older that thing in me also grew stronger so the desire to be able to do something about the regime was therefore charged from a very early age.
- G.04 So you had a very strong sense that justice was not done.
- V.05 ja
- G.05 This just stayed....
- V.06 Ja, and then I also met other people who felt the same way who had experienced - it from different angles.
- G.06 hmhm

- V.07 And those also who had just suffered from general oppression
- G.07 right
- V.08 you know they were not imprisoned or they were not really discriminated in such a big way, but they felt like leaving like for instance people who lived in the far north, who had very little contact with officials of the colonial regimes and who had very little contact with whites had said and yet they had that feeling that everything was not well and decided to leave the country just from the north into Angola not having visited Tsumeb or Windhoek, not knowing these places
- G.08 Hmhm
- V.09 not knowing much about the infrastructure of the country that they wanted to flee
- G.09 right
- V.10 so there issues like that, so I can actually identify myself for the number of points mentioned in this first point "articulating the past"
- G.10 ahah
- V.11 and I think I could give a chance to others to be able to discuss it much better.
- G.11 Just want to close that door
- S.01 Where did you live most of your life?
- V.12 I lived, my parents lived in Luderitz, my two brothers, one was born in Windhoek and one was born in Luderitz, but I was born in the north and then six months after my birth we came back with my parents to Luderitz so part of my youth I lived in Luderitz in Windhoek and Walvis Bay, I grew up in three places, but more so in Windhoek. When I was about six or seven years old I was in Windhoek and had a reputation as the most sought after black kid to play with ah age mates who were white, so I could from one week go to this family after school, play with so and so you know do homework with him and then the next to another I was getting paid for that.
- J.01 So this was still the old location
- V.13 Ja, old location just here nearby because our house was very near Louis Botha, just across the river, so I knew families who used to live in all these areas. So when I was - abroad you know I imagined,

maybe one day going to join the forces and fighting against schoolmates, I mean play mates, guys that I used to play with. I used to have that feeling that, you know I ... it could happen or it has happened to a number of people who who were probably fighting against the son of the man where his father or mother worked you know something of the sort, you know and there were also things that made us feel it doesn't mean that because SWAPO was fighting the colonial regime they had no human feelings. The thing was fast, you're fighting against the structure and you are fighting against those who are defending that structure. I remember a very sad story where twins of the SADF were killed in a landmine explosion. Now it's a rule of the war that you can't have two brothers in the same platoon, they have to be divided and these guys were divided, one was you know a different platoon and so on but as they were coming back from an engagement they decided to drive together in one vehicle and they went over a landmine and both died there. So I for instance remember when I was discussing it with other people and saying that now what about the family? How do they feel having lost two people at once? This is just a family, they probably not concerned as to whether the blacks would come and rule and so on and their children were just conscripted, now you have to think about this family that has lost two people now there are issues like that that we used to discuss and this is probably something that people on the other side of the what's name never thought of. Ja. It was a quite an experience.

J.02 I remember a situation when B [first name of cabinet minister], just after independence we were at a cocktail party hmmm he is fantastic telling stories, [surname of same cabinet minister], and he described how after independence he

V.14 hmmm

J.03 And he described how after independence - he grew up in Usakos -

V.15 ja

J.04 old man Berger had the shop there.

V.16 ja, I used to buy from there too, ja

J.05 and how he how he drove the first time he drove to the coast I drove drove through Usakos and then this is this element that you talk about this sort of human experience shared across this divide of being driven back and stop at the shop and he said he wanted to see old man Berger. Now he wasn't in the shop when they fetched him and they like fell into each others arms although

V.17 hmm

- J.06 Although B had been a little guy and he always remembered and in the values of the day old man Berger was relatively speaking a liberal. In other words he was known in the Usakos location to be a sort of fair "white man or something like that"
- V.18 ja
- J.07 And then they were like, specially after so much time had elapsed they like had this intense discussion about the past. Old man Berger couldn't really remember hmm because he was a little guy and I think B left there when he was twelve or something he left.
- V.19 I also spent some time, a year in Usakos I think 1950, I went to school there and I used to buy at Berger's shop. I have experiences of Usakos and after that I came to Windhoek, after having learnt Nama-Damara but I didn't use it very much in Windhoek but I can still speak Nama- Damara from those days. Ja it's interesting it's there is a poem that I wrote about about the old location now what was it, called "Contrast". It's a pity I don't have a copy of the poem here because the house was just the other side of the river bed I could see lights going on in the white neighbourhood and imagined those kids listening to the radio not all battery operated but connected to the current and I am using a radio that is battery operated and I can't use it for a long time because the battery would go flat, only when it's necessary, maybe the news or some ... program but then I can't switch on the electricity because there was none. I had to use a hurricane lamp, you know and then do my homework, you see, so in one point I described that feeling of living so next the white neighbourhood that what my age mates were doing because I knew in inside of some of those houses I've been in the bedroom of those boys you know, playing you know or drawing you know, you see so I know. I remember the time when I didn't have a bicycle of my own then I go there and we will be riding with the bicycles and you know and talking about films and the things that we had, now there was something that we read every week. I used to spend about something like either two shillings or one shilling and six-pence per week just buying magazines, I'll buy "Die Jongspan" produced in South Africa, not necessarily for black kids, I'll buy "Knockout" from Britain and I cannot remember what other comics, whatever there was, ... or whatever, so I read American comics British comics, and I read the newspaper meant for youth in South Africa as a kid, plus all the other magazines that I used to read in the white neighbourhood. God knows where they came from because I'd go to play and pick up all their old magazines that they have read, the entire family has read, and then take them home and sort them out, maybe some are on woman affairs and so on so I give it to my sister and I keep all the others and read them from time to time never threw them away. So that was an experience and it also shows you that when you are a kid you know you reason differently. You think those parents have so much money to buy so many magazines and newspapers and

your own parents can't even buy a daily newspaper, so you felt that unfairness in the system.

G.12 I was wondering about the other group that was here. Perhaps you have a general comment about the other questions or perhaps you also want to say something about something what you have read, that you feel I can see myself in this. Or I can identify myself in this. Or maybe you care to

J.08 I've got a complaint. In some ways it's to me I think in terms of the analysis it speaks generalized in an African sense. Hmm, ignoring to an extent some very interesting Namibian I think one of strongest Namibian features, which shapes all our experiences is the small number of people as opposed Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa and places like that. These things you talk about are also an element of scale.

G.13 ahah

J.09 I always notice, that whenever I go overseas and when I come back I mean you talk with South Africans and I remember we talked to a lot of other Africans in the independence, because we had the house full of Kenyans and Nigerians and people like that Ghanians and it is very interesting to see their reaction. To their eyes we were very different and then me talking with them I realised how vastly different they were from for example not only Namibia but its in Southern African. I think it's very dangerous to talk about the Namibian or the South African experience as a colonial experience in the sense of might it happen in the whole continent.

G.14 ahah

J.10 The rest of the continent were went independent usually twenty and more years earlier and although the colonialism was a de facto of apartheid they never had the sort of de jure apartheid which South Africa and this place had and then I think very much you would probably like to the experience of the old location, it's very different from the Soweto experience and the large part of that is the scale, the sheer scale of it. This country is more similar to Botswana, Chad, Mali, Central African Republic lets say small that's why, I think we are also more tolerant and less violent because the smaller the population, that's the difference between Mongolia and China, the smaller the population the more in proportion the people know each other

V.20 hmm

J.11 the more human it is. They grow up together you know. If you will remember twenty whites here it is very different from something like you remembering twenty whites in Jo'burg where there are like three

million of them or in Lagos where where there are eight or twelve million.

V.21 Like for instance I was looking for Edward Eggars and I saw a house that had his name on and every time I went there he wasn't there. I used to work for his father well they had the shop just near Louis Botha there and I used to be his playmate and there are many other German speaking boys that I remember some Jewish families like Goldblatt for instance, the owners of [name of shop] now at the moment. My father used to work for them and the other day I met Frau Goldblatt in town, at Kafee Schneider with other old ladies from that era. I knew her specifically because my father was working for her, I moved over greeted her in German and others were all surprised that "how could such a young man know such an old lady". (laughter) You know so the conversation started so "oh no this is the son of our friend" what, what, what, what and we greeted each other and I left, now things like that in Namibia are common.

J.12 It's very intimate.

V.22 ja

J.13 When I was staying, I am often staggered. I was now in Swakopmund. I sit at a bar and there were two black women sitting there and we're getting to chatting, it turns out they're both nurses. Then it turns out my father treated her mother and attended the birth of her sister which was all about twenty-five years ago and suddenly we talk, uh I so and so I bababa. And what happened to so and what happened to so and so and suddenly there's and for this to happen in Los Angeles or New York is a scarce thing. It is incredibly intimate as a result also I think in all countries where there's small numbers of people, each individual counts more there's more mutual respect, you're not just a number. If I go to Germany, there are eighty million Germans, just like an ant in an ant hill. In Namibia, you can't really be an ant in an ant hill, it's ah you know if I walk the street, every second face I've seen before

V23 Uhmmm, Uhmmm

S.02 Strange, that you don't recognize

]

J.14 Ja, it's a very important element and also then there's the second thing of course the experience I think of apartheid and that's one of my complaints is that it's strictly too much just simply as a colonial experience on par with say Nigeria or Kenya, which is not the case. Southern Africa and you get that when you talk to Ghanians and Ghanians come here and Zambians, Nigerians. They know the this in a short time and for a couple of days they keep on coming is essentially racist but nowhere else was it so clearly and juristically defined and it was for such a long time as in South Africa and

Namibia. It's clearly, it's quite a difference. I remember especially the west coast in Africa. I used to I remember once the legal advisor of Athisaari is a Ghanaian ... he once made quite a long analysis of this. He said you know I have been all over Africa you know he had been a professor in Ghana in the earlier days and he had been ... in the liberation struggle and he said "I have never seen any part of the world and I didn't know it existed that is so permeated by racial awareness." He says, never nowhere nowhere in Africa and when I later went out also you know as a white man you - like blacks are conscious of the white you know it's a mutual awareness, and me being in Adis Ababa or Brazaville as a white man there where there is like a handful of whites, I mean isiogo [?] and pango[?] and much much blacker than anything here, and still walking in the street alone as a white man I didn't feel a fraction of the racial awareness that I would feel in Soweto or here or Katutura

V.24 Ja

J.15 there they just say, it's a white man, they exotic. They just about come up to you and say "hi". They're very scarce and the evils perpetrated by colonialism are like twenty-five years in the past, in fact most of the people that you meet in the street didn't live under colonialism they just know it as a. So when they see a white man they say "hi" or they it's not a problem. The moment you get into Southern Africa there is intense awareness of your racial identity it doesn't matter whether you are white or whether you are black whether it is guilt or feelings of triumph or whatever. But it's there and I think it needs. And then the second difference. I think this I find to an extent missing there's too much generalized into the colonial ... and then the second thing which then distinguishes us from South Africa is the scale much more a country more intimate. Like there's this weird thing B [name of cabinet minister] tells a story about Berger. Berger was my uncle's best friend, so I said "ah Berger", and suddenly there's a triangular connection. Automatically just about, I was playing soccer with D [name of cabinet minister] when he was like eleven and I was twelve or whatever at Swakopmund, somewhere on the street.]

V.25 He used to wear these German pants, leather.

J.16 Like Vekuru, Vekuru comes comes, back from exile, I am at [workplace] he comes in then we get introduced to each other he was then in charge I forgotten what it was this was 1991. We introduce each other, I say J, he says Vekuru. He says, you are J, he says hey look, my ankle. I broke my ankle at the age of eleven, your father fixed my ankle (all agree), and this happens like all the time here, as where in China the chances would be zero. You go to another town in China, and nobody knows you, you're an attraction in Nigeria, a hundred million people.]

- S.03 That's why I find your. What you got out of the last meeting came across as so negative. That is really how it seems. I know that I would look at it and think because everybody, although everybody is more-or-less racially divided or socially or financially or whatever. Because we are so intimate there is so much hope. That didn't come out of the last meeting.]
- G.15 You didn't have that sense.
- S.04 I do but from what I read it seems that there was an overall cast of gloom and negativity that came out of the discussion and despite the fact that -- you know, you are not going to get lynched in Usakos you know, whereas it could happen in Soweto or Johannesburg, more likely that positive feeling or hope or whatever. I find it sad that it doesn't come through more clearly and maybe it's because we know it's there that we can sit and pick at the negative things.
- G.16 hmmm
- J.17 I am also, maybe because this is not a strange ... of course one never, comparison doesn't help anyway. In a way it's an abstraction to say that we are not better off purely because of the smallness of the country we are not better off than say Nigeria but then you, somebody sitting here and saying well I live here I do not live in Nigeria and so what, how does it help me, but I would also support this that I think one of the country's one thing which makes me optimistic about the country even if things go wrong is this intimacy, is the the human scale, I think it would be very difficult to have violence, internecine even between black groups like they say Herero, Owambo or so because everybody you know half of you or they are related, they went to school with the sister or know the father or the mother you know I think for this side of society to unravel like a Czechoslovakian, like a Yugoslavian thing. It is more difficult.]
- S.05 ... that's why you were saying is even when the war was happening the elements of compassion from both sides in this very quiet way here it's not the brutality and the cruelty in such large scales like Bosnia]
- J.18 or in Vietnam all these huge countries where]
- S.06 nobody knows anybody I mean]
- V.26 Something fascinated foreigners when they came to Namibia during the days of UNTAG. We were sitting at a cafe and someone passed, "hallo hallo, V., hallo. This guy asked me "what is she?" I say "no, she's a Rehoboth baster". Another one come "hallo, hallo, hallo", "and she is she a Rehoboth baster?" I say no that one is a coloured, then she passed and then another one comes, he said, ... "and this

one?". "No this one is a Herero." "But they all look the same, how could one be coloured, one be baster and one be Herero, and I said "it's in your eyes and it's a matter of upbringing whether you are brought up as a Oshiwambo speaking person and your culture is that of an Oshiwambo speaking person, or a Herero or a coloured or a baster, because a baster would only be from Rehoboth, a coloured could be from Keetmanshoop. Anyone who speaks Afrikaans and not Nama-Damara but being from parents who are either Herero, Damara things like that, and that thing still confuses people in Namibia, because they no longer know who is baster, who is Kleurling, who is Herero who is this. Look, if you are looking in the telephone book and you are looking for Linda Schulz and you drive to Linda Schulz house and she opens you won't expect to find a coloured woman or a gentleman who is as dark as I am. And yet she's Schulz, this kind of thing can only happen in Namibia.

G.17 T. what are you thinking about this analysis?

K.01 I don't know, let me just listen to the others.

G.18 And P., you have had half the day to look at it.

P.01 Ja, now what I think about the comparison, hmmm I would agree to S., what he said, it's a little bit too, how should I say I read a lot of negative things, and as he said, I really do ... see, how should I say a future, because I really don't know if we said all these things (laughter)

G.19 what is there where you felt "hell no we did not say that".

P.02 Hmmm [mumbled comments from others], no hmmm, --- it's hard to tell you.]

S.07 It's the whole racial thing. It's the whole racial thing but if we ever want to get away from it so we may as well turn the whole racial thing around and make an issue that would turn to our advantage, make it fashion. (Laughter)

K.02 It's becoming a fashion nowadays, don't you think.

S.08 I was working with these guys, four guys and because of the person who paid for the production wanted a demographically sound group of people identified so I had to ask, you know "what's your background", Herero [Tape no longer audible], from or Usakos, so I just don't get it. I would struggle with the German, Afrikaans, English speak to, anyway, so I ended up asking them and I don't think one of the guys actually was either, Herero, one guy's mother was a Nama, the father was an Herero and the other one's mother was from the north and his mother was from the east and eventually I just said, well that's fine,

I've got everybody, the whole country being four people. (laughter) It takes care of that, but yes I also got the negativity from everything being racial, I mean being white, you are so aware all the time for me that I am white and what it represents

V.27 Yeah, yeah

S.09 and what it comes from and what our folks did and what background regardless whether we believe or not.]

V.28 Ja, Cecile Tyson person, the American actress who acted in Kunta Kinte, ah in Roots as Kunta Kinte's mother once came to Zambia and then a reporter posed what I regarded as a stupid question but you may have a different view. This reporter that said Cecile Tyson is very famous, and this and this and yet no other black actress has been that famous. Does she feel black when she wakes up? Is she aware of her blackness every time? She said, "look in the absence of a mirror, in the absence of other people I just feel as a soul I don't even know my name until anyone would say 'Cecile'". Then I would

S.10 Well I just spent, we have just spent six months driving through America and we have been to New York and we drove about and everywhere it's black and white.

V.29 Hmm

S.11 It's just black and white and then we were in Texas and in New Mexico and then I said to S., we have not seen a single black person. We realized that it had been ten days previously that we actually, that I noticed wait a minute that everybody is white here and I hadn't noticed it so I don't if one would have noticed hmm. I often stand in a bank, and you know when you in a bank you are in a long queue and you stand around and you look around and without realizing I don't know J., being tall, I suppose sometimes you feel it as well you look and you realize because you looking often just above everybody else

V.30 Yeah

S.12 you the only white person

V.31 Yeah

S.13 there, and there's no it's just all of a sudden that you realize that your soul is a white soul]

V.32 ja, ja, that thing of moving being in motion not aware of anything, say for instance you are walking, your hands are not even in front of you, you see nothing black, the only thing that you can see are parts of your frame the frame of your sunglasses or spectacles and you will

- walk, you are just a soul, and somebody would say, "hey V." or pass a window and see your big tummy, (laughter)]
- S.14 That was not the problem in the, the individual soul was a famous trap, you know somebody's waking up out of your]
- V.33 It's something I am writing a poem about this particular feeling in my post-independence poetry]
- S.15 But anyway I was relating that bank thing as a positive thing]
- V.34 Ja, ja it happens I have also noticed standing in a queue and I look around and say oh there are only two whites here, one in front and one behind, because you have been made to become so aware of these things you know.
- S.16 I don't know how other people and more or less aware of it, it is just interesting that in Windhoek and often if you travel around the country you do become unaware of it. It is which is a great thing you know considering where things could be going. We could have been fleeing with the ... at the moment.
- V.35 You know it's strange. I am with P.s mate, my son doesn't know the distinction between a coloured and a white as such in Namibia not because his hair is more like mine so he can relate to that but then there are coloureds whose hair are not like his but like yours, you know I have got a way of telling who is coloured and who is not, even when they are supposed to pass for white or something like that, (interruption) what I have to do, if they are wearing glasses they must take off the glasses. Somewhere in this area tells I don't know how. I may look at them (interruptions) I can say this one is coloured, this one is white]
- J.19 Or baster (interruptions) And what fascinates me is the newspaper guys. They can all, and they are young see at a hundred metres see the difference between a Boer and a German (many interjections) they run around,
- S.17 they have never got me right.
- K.03 No it's true you can tell even when its a lady or a man, you can tell this is German, this is English and this Afrikaner (interuptions)
- J.20 They know (interruptions), Allgemeine Zeitung. They are hundreds of metres (many interjections)
- K.04 From a very young age they can tell.

- J.21 I said in South Africa why don't they sell the Allgemeine or the Republikein. You not a Boer. They won't hand the Boer Allgemeine Zeitung, no ways
- S.18 They will hand me the Republikein or the Allgemeine, they will never hand me the Namibian. I always have have them I think (interruptions)
- J.22 now obviously this well being me judges German or English or it make you physiologically close to Germans than to Afrikaans.
- S.19 It's just a little fraud in the (laughter)]
- V.36 No, no (many interjections) No, no you know this coloureds one can tell (interjections) no matter how. The eyes somewhere here either formation is this area that I identify them around here. I mean whether]
- P.03 As I see one's being how should I say, one's being is actually characterized by one's identity and the identity is formed by the way you grow up. Let's say for instance, somebody looks like for instance [V's son], he is light in colour, I don't know how is he the way, I grew up with them hmm, I regarded myself just as just like they would, I mean the mentality and everything. I don't know, maybe he changed I don't know.
- V.37 [My son], you can tell that he's not white.
- P.04 Ja okay, not white, okay somebody everybody else here would say he is a coloured or something]
- V.38 Ja, ja he is a coloured, they speak Afrikaans to them and he will tell them that, "ek praat nie Afrikaans nie, ek praat net Duits en Owambo taal".
- P.05 Ja, okay let's say if he is together with some coloured guys the skin is the same but I would not say the mentality.]
- V.39 No the mentality, this is something that I mentioned earlier. I don't know whether you were here that it depends how you were brought up when I was talking about coloureds, you know bastards]
- J.23 I can't see if you were brought up in Europe.]
- P.06 But if somebody was brought up you cannot see them, why]
- V.40 No but the coloureds and the whites, I can tell (interjections) around this area. It is like (interjections) the Chinese and the Japanese. They can differentiate and say he is Japanese, and not Chinese (interjections). But you can't because you are not from Asia ja, you

are not familiar with that so you cannot tell who is Japanese and who is Asian and who is Korean]

S.20 Sorry, the saterist Peter Dirk Uys I don't know if you've seen any of his stuff. He was here the other day and he read a thing that Helen Suzman was a liberal. She once a year she would ask for there reclassification in South Africa and they have to read it in Parliament and three hundred white people reclassified as coloured. Thirteen coloureds became white people, and every year they did this]

J.24 And you know what they had they got into trouble because this was a Transvaler. I was in CapeTown at the time when this happened. The Cape had always been more relaxed. There was no bus apartheid ... not housing apartheid I lived as a white, Malay neighbours Indians, coloureds. The whole of the city was integrated and then in 1969-1971 some Transvaal MP came down there and said "die Kaap is 'n gemors" and then they started introducing group areas in the Cape that late. It didn't apply to blacks but all others and they were all deurmekaar and on the busses it was all and then they got into this horrible situation there would be this Cape coloured bus driver, now if we think we have a lot of shades of colour it's nothing. In Cape Town it's all shades, with all the Asiatic parts which makes things more complicated, and this bus driver would be a mobile race classification scheme, because now he had to drive along and in Cape Town everybody is sort of different shades of brown from medium brown to white, never many blacks in Cape Town and he would drive along and he would see this one person standing at a bus stop and he would sort of move over and he would like think is it Malaysian, white, okay he stopped and then the person would get on and he would say he made a mistake and say he's sorry wait for the next bus, it's a white bus or he is driving a black bus. Guys like that, the race classification was they had]

S.21 This makes so much sense now

J.25 Guys like that sitting, and there was a lot of bull like this. I remember some of the SWAPO guys that were in Cape Town in the late fifties who got themselves classified as coloureds S. was one]

V.41 yes and]

J.26 And quite a few did it because the difference in those days, specially in the Cape between coloured or black was vast because if you were a black you had to be in Guguletu or Nyanga and you were very restricted, whereas because the Cape was so liberal if you were any shade lighter than black, if you were a coloured you had. There was, when I came to Cape Town there was Malay on the city council, even the municipal politics was integrated which was later abolished. So there was I mean these people could make racial distinctions like

physicists could like fly to the moon and I could distinguish like on the street I can tell you which Nama got Damara blood. If I was on the street and somebody says " who is Nama"?, I could say "this one's Nama, this one's Nama-Damara mixture. This one's got", because I grew up with Nama I know how a Nama face looks.

- S.22 Ja, as a child I didn't we never had contact with what is clearly classify as black and I remember my parents always telling me, well the parents of the kids that the black people don't have to worry about them. They they've, but the coloured people there you have to watch out, whatever that meant. Now it makes more sense because there was less distinct kind of classification, basic prejudices and fears and all the rest of it. We ... clear that the blacker the person was more dignified and respect-worthy and all that. When we grow up a couple of years later we found out that black people are actually communists.]
- K.05 When you grew up you grew up in South Africa]
- S.23 Sorry? In the Cape
- J.27 which is very different.
- V.42 In 1962 there was a coloured girl working for *Pink and Blue* in Walvis Bay and this girl her friends, thought most of her boyfriends were white and her friends said, ag come on so and so you can play white because you have everythng about the white and then a year later a woman came from South Africa looking for her daughter a white woman and she was looking for this girl. When she was born the mother was poor so she handed the child over to a coloured woman to bring her up. You see now the girl had to be reclassified from coloured to white.]
- S.24 But this race classification thing ... in Namibia, I got here in the mid-eighties and I hitchhiked from the Cape and the first thing that struck me, I think it was in Keetmanshoop already was that there was a very very more relaxed relationship, heterosexual relationship between the races. Never ever ever seen in the Cape, Transvaal, but I saw it immediately.]
- V.43 Ja, very few people have been charged with the Immorality Act in Namibia and yet the children born from this interracial sexual relationship are quite many and there are incidents like there was an old Herero ... called Kariku who used to tell stories about the German military officers, when they came to the Hereros were kept in concentration camp. A young officer would take M. [woman's name] today for about seven days and keep her there and then bring her back and tomorrow take A. [woman's name] for another seven days and keep her there and then you will find people within one family

having the same grandfather. Incident like that. Go there and you will find this is von Francois because the officer he was busy with so and so.]

A.01 Unfortunately]

G.20 Sorry, say that again A.]

A.02 I said I am from [German surname] from my grandfather's side and [German surname] from my grandmother's side, so it was E [German surname] who came from German Koblenz and they find a place which looks like a Koblenz in Germany and they actually meant Koblenz here in Namibia and so they was staying in that area and they got children he got a child with a Himba

V.44 HmmHmm

A.03 woman with is my great grandmother's side and the other one just a Herero woman from the south which is my great grandfather's side so they end up getting married to each other but both their parents, even now you see. Postcards they used to send from Germany, Christmas cards and all those things.

V.45 Ja

G.21 A., as you were growing up under the previous system, you were aware of this obviously?

A.04 Ja

G.22 What was that like for you then?

A.05 Umm, no those years when we were kids, and we were actually more they were better off they were like the rich people in the village so hmm we everyone would come and get cream, milk buy bread from them so we were like you know hmm, because they got another surname after [German surname] and [German surname] and they were Kasette which was also apparently taken from German's side. I don't know what it meant. So they were we were more like on the white side

G.23 Ah

A.06 and the other kids were more like like because my grandfather was also like the minister in the village and he was the one he started a church there so it was like we were more better off than the other kids. But not that we were not seeing ourselves as black but ... because the Ovahimba people would come and visit claiming that you know this one's our child]

- V46 As for the Ovahimba, yes he had taste. Ovahimba people are very beautiful (laughter), they got beautiful structures you know Ovahimba, its only when they start eating, other foodstuffs and they start going fat that they know they look like that, but for the Ovahimbas but the Ovahimbas traditional attire tell me have you ever seen a Ovahimba woman who is obese, suffering from obesity in the traditional gang. And it's because of what they eat also. But the moment they start eating ice cream and things like that, then you see like this woman in Parliament you see they going fat.
- J.28 They walk less]
- K.06 Ja]
- J.29 They walk and incredibly]
- A.07 Also very slender]
- V.47 ja,ja
- J.30 ... very slender
- V.48 Ja, they retain a very good physique
- K.07 What they eat
- V.49 What they eat
- A.08 and what they do
- V.50 Ja, and what they do. It's what they eat and what they do. You know they are slim, even their men, they are not like me no, I won't qualify for a Ovahimba man (laughter) it's true. Well when you start eating ice cream and all this you know
- J.31 That also used to be on the farm I remember when the blacks on the farm, the Namas, or so they used to walk extraordinary amount and everybody
- V.51 hm
- J.32 they used to walk to a high age. My grandmother did not even have a drivers licence you know and who drove only the farmer, and everybody else walks, and there was only one car it was either donkey car or walk or ride a donkey. People were fit enough, also in those days it was much more powerful than today because there were many more black people on a white farm than there are today extended families. On my grandfather's farm there were about fifty people and

they have been there for three generations. My grandmother, the Nama matriarch of that group was the same age, born the same year as my grandmother. Her daughters grew up with my mother and I grew up with their children and everybody spoke Nama. My grandmother spoke Nama practically better than her own because she spent the whole day with them my grandfather never talked so she only talked the whole day, and I grew up with just my mother speaks Nama fluently

S.25 So do you speak Nama?

J.33 I then it's a pity I spoke as a kid, but then I ended up in Swakopmund too long in the school and holidays were too short and then I lost it but I still sort of when I go south I sort of like look around, these faces they like specially the smaller they are you know I was (interrupted)]

V52 There used to be someone just near to Louis Botha that Frans Esse who used to have a shop, it was just directly opposite our house. His wife spoke Nama-Damara fluently and so did Edward, Herbert Eggar's wife could also speak Damara-Nama fluently.

J.34 My mother spoke it fluently when she met Hage [Prime Minister] for the first time she went [making click sounds typical of the language] off. (laughter) and I thought it was very funny. You probably know the aunt of mine, the one that got murdered, H. H. had a shop here in Bismarck street or something old location time.

V.53 ja

J.35 I remember I used to go and share the big what was called the ...

V.54 ahah

J.36 but this ja the I think to an extent, I think also this talking sort of brings out the - I think the Namibianess of what I feel that's to an extent in some of the interpretation is somewhat abstract, academic which is again a function of this, it's too global

V.55 Ja

J.37 and seen as African black white whereas in fact it's Namibian African.]

V.56 Ja it was narrowed down to that]

J.38 It was a Namibian black which is I think a very different experience from let's say the Nigerian black white experience or for that matter, look for example the Italians left in 1941 in Adisababa that's it end of

colonialism, that was a long time. In Ethiopia, there is no racial interests.

- G.24 I want to ask the rest of the group. I think J. has stated very clearly that as far as this analysis is concerned those are the things that he would want different and that he would want added because I mean in a way it's your voices as well that are speaking there, ja it's my interpretation but it's your voices. What about the rest, where would you feel no heck, no I am not part of this or this is how I would want it differently. How about you Vi?
- Vi01 I was just wondering if I am not wrong you talked a lot about the black and white racial segregation what about mmm segregation among the black.
- S.26 That was new to me. I think that all the black people were uniform.
- J.39 You didn't want to hear this one.
- V.57 Don't quote me on that one. The [important public figure in Namibia] his father is Herero speaking but his mother is Damara speaking and he doesn't like that part of his background, the Damara part of it. He grew up as an Herero and mostly known when he talks about his relatives he mainly talks about his father's relatives. Only when only when the sisters come, he says "oh this is my sister" and you talk with the sister, you realize that her Herero is not that fluent but I have known [public figure] for more than forty years. He never liked his Damara part of ...]
- J.40 The seem applies to ...]
- V.58 And there are many people who are like that who would like to be known as Oshiwambo speaking or whose father is Oshiwambo or mother is Oshiwambo and been brought up as Herero or someone who has been brought up as an Owambo who would not be liked to be known as a Herero there are these things.
- S.27 But why is that?
- A.09 I think it's because especially from the Herero side they make their children believe that other people are not good, they are the best and even I can tell you what happened some few weeks ago. I was in a car and the radio was on, but it was Nama-Damara station so this lady was I could hear she was complaining about something so I asked the guy next to me what is she talking about. He said "no, she's complaining about a child." She has got a child in a Herero man so she was studying and they came to take the child to help her out but now they don't want to bring the child back because they say the child

is going to get Damara manners or whatever, Damara culture so they make the Hereros are people who believe that they are the best.]

K.08 They are too proud]

J.41 But it's the nomadic people, everywhere in the world you will find them. They tend to be because they also like more warlike, pure cattle drivers. Look the Herero didn't plant like the Owambos they were pure cattle drivers that means they fight more they are more war like they more aggressive, they normally more proud and they always, it's like the Israelites

S.28 cowboys

J.42 they always have a sense of superiority most of the nomadic people.

A.10 Because if you call a Herero a Herero you wouldn't have a problem with he won't fight you. But these things they have projected onto the other people, the other races if you call someone Nama-Damara or ..., they will kill you. If you refer to someone as Oshiwambo but when you say Oshihherero or something like that they are like "so what" you know and I mean there's too much fighting.

J.43 Similar with a Zulu it's the Herero behave very much like the Zulu, or visa versa and they have a lot in common to an extent although the Zulu have also settled agricultural production but it's also the sense of being war-like which gives you a natural arrogance. I mean and the Namas were the weakest by far the weakest the political tribal entity and everybody looked down.

K.09 Is true

J.44 The Namas were the the Orlams enslaved them, the Hereros enslaved them, the Owambos didn't want to know about them, everybody treats. They treat the Nama's a bit like they treat the Irish in Britain, the Damara's. They were like I noticed how often I sit there I sit and (interrupted)]

V.59 Ja, it's easy to talk about the various ethnic groups in Namibia their history, this and the other thing and so on but there is one ethnic group where, they're very sensitive and there's no clarity as as to the background, the Damaras. You cannot really say, this is Damara culture so people believe these Damaras was simply enslaved by the Hereros and the Namas and took the Nama language because you will find some Nama-Damara words being used in Herero which have no origin you know like Okuhavara its "gaba" in Nama-Damara, there isn't anything like that and instead they also use some German words. Instead of saying this road is straight they say "imma garade aus" and

for years in Windhoek here those Herero women would stop your car
 "Upaua mitfahana?" (laughter) ... mitfahren

- K.10 those words
- V.60 so you find that German and Damara words are also being used but
 the Damaras the history (interrupted)]
- K.11 knife, in German being a "Messer" so he is saying he found this
 "messe"]
- V.61 You know the Damara history is something that very few people like to
 discuss in public because you don't know what to say and just Justus
 Garoeb is said to have resigned from Parliament to go and write the
 history of the Damaras. He is just going to concoct something, it's not
 bad (laughter)]
- J.45 There is no Damara language]
- S.29 The time is right (interruptions)
- V.62 There is no Damara language]
- J.46 Then there is a small group the Omaruru the Omaruru direction there's
 a small group about twenty or thirty percent of the Damaras who speak
 Herero as home language. All the others speak Nama the fact is not
 one calling Nama-Damara. Damara is a dialect of Nama. So they
 were conquered]
- V.63 They should have made it Nama-Damara to please the Damara
 because the Damara they don't have a culture of their own today,
 they don't have a language.
- S.30 What do you mean, they don't have a culture?
- V.64 There is not distinct Damara culture (speaking altogether). They have
 features that nobody else has got. They behave like Namas]
- A.11 Or Hereros. They try to copy the Herero outfit
- V.65 Smaller ...
- A.12 Smaller ..., and the little shorter ones but similar to the Herero woman
- J.47 Which again classified them as inferior. You couldn't on the farm if you
 had Herero woman who had the full lot. ... Over twelve metres and the
 Damara woman would automatically have less cloth in the skirt the
 skirt would not ... smaller and this sort of thing. If she didn't she was in
 trouble.

- G.25 S., I want to ask you, I'll get back to you now A. Are you satisfied with that?]
- S.31 The reason why I am asking is because I cannot tell the difference I can't look at somebody from far north or the east and tell the difference but I can tell the difference between Nama what I would consider to be Nama people and Damara people. Look I'll be trying to educate ... That's somebody so now I am trying to identify. (interrupted)]
- V.66 Now with blacks, Nama, Damara, Owambo or Herero and so on. You know at times I can't distinguish who is Herero, who is Oshiwambo, but if I speak to the person and ask for a name, I know exactly this one comes from Okavango, or Katima or Herero or he's Oshiwambo ... because of the surname.
- S.32 Hmm
- A.13 But also the
- V.67 ja
- A.14 younger generation now. It's very difficult now to see which one is. But I think somewhere there one could still tell this is pure Nama person that one is pure name or that one is a mix or something that he was saying a mix of Nama or Damara, but I think the young generation, it's now difficult to tell because there are a lot of intermarriages and inter-relationships.]
- V.68 You know years ago I would know a Herero man from a distance because he will be wearing a hat
- A.15 and carrying a
- V.69 and carrying a stick even if he works as a mechanic. When he knocks off at five o'clock he will go and have a shower put on his suit whatever blazer or something his tie put on his hat take his walking stick and go home and you could tell by them that that's a Herero walking there you may find an Owambo dressed like that but you could also tell that this is an Owambo by the way they dressed and then come the others, the Nama, the Damara, the Herero one could distinguish from afar, but it's no longer the case, they will all be wearing blue jeans, you will not find that a Herero with a hat in town only at the wedding or at a funeral when you go to these ethnic]
- K.12 I think they got the style from the Germans]

V.71 Ah but the thing is the Hereros had the thing just like the Jews that you cannot be in the public setting without your ekori like the hat gear that the kaalkop people put on, the woman that is known as ekori which is a hat or something for a hat the Jews always put on the smaller thing, and so on]

G.26 [addressing P] I want to ask you, you've read a lot and written a lot. Is there anything that you feel you want to say about this whole not necessarily what was discussed right now?

P.07 Okay now what actually basically say is that we are discussing actually is different racism in Namibia, and it was rather interesting for me to see to listen what people were saying and their experiences. It's a lot new to me and I find it interesting. That's just ... a relationship to analysis

[Break in recording]

P.08 I was six and the other was and I was]

J.48 Which year was this?]

P.09 1979]

J.49 1983]

P.10 Ja, around about there]

J.50 ja]

P.11 And there was a Nama kids we were just equals, and there were no discussion as to you were like this, okay what happened to with the Nama kids for instance they later on started speaking. We had a language like for instance the mixtures between German and Oshiwambo. They adapted, okay there were a few there were a minority and they adapted as well as the Herero kids. We were all speaking the language and today I would say, we got like a characteristic if we are together the same language.

J.51 Ja, it's like when GDR kids are together they speak]

S.33 How many GDR kids are in fact]

J.52 At the end round about four hundred I would say]

P.12 Ja, four hundred]

S.34 Oh, not more, that's quite big I thought there were many more children]

- J.53 No, no four hundred]
- S.35 The GDR kids are high profile, you know there's always an interesting story, issue or something that there's a GDR kid involved or there's documentaries made on a GDR kid or you know and also very visually we have got]
- J.54 I heard this bizarre conversation I crossed the road from the Bistro and just in front of me walks one of the GDR girls and a German guy from Germany ... and they obviously having a fight. She says to him in perfect German "sprech doch sprech doch anstaendiges Deutsch Du bloeder Hund" (laughter) You know "can't you talk proper German?" Like an idiot, she says to him and she's black and he's white and he talks this thick Austrian accent which I cannot even understand. You would irritate the hell out of me and there's this Owambo eighteen year old Owambo girl saying in perfect German "why can't you speak decent German you asshole" (laughter) and I nearly packed out because you know it was a complete reversal. Your situation is a bit I could sort of feel when I go to Germany when you come here, you black but you detribalized in some way you know you made ... (laughter) and a black person will walk up to you and think you black and treat you as black and talk to you and then you and then you will have a hard time describing in spite of your looks were different actually as some type of German, like when I am in Germany I speak German and everybody assumes I am German and I am not. I am emotionally vastly removed from what the German German is like in Frankfurt and Munich. I am a de-tribalized semi-anglized white African type bastard (laughter) total bastard. I'm, when I am in Germany I become intensely aware of my non-Germaness whereas here everybody says "oh Deutsche". Ja I am nailed down as a German, over there and I eventually got so fed up with the situation and I spoke English only in Germany because then I didn't have to explain and then they say "ah he's a foreigner" because if I said in perfect German I am from Africa they come up with like stupid things, like why aren't you black or something or I didn't know how to use a tram and I tried to explain this in German, they think I am taking the micky out of them they say "bloeder Hund will mich wohl verarschen" oder sowas and then they chuck me over the tram a couple of times then I eventually only spoke German then I get insulted and cursed by a black German Bavarian who was born in Germany and I made a mistake of speaking English to him because I was now in this habit and I didn't think he was a German black, I thought he was an American black but he worked in this youth hostel and I give him my passport and I've been speaking English to him, he can hardly speak English and I showed him my German passport and this guy flips out and he curses me this black he curses me in thick Bavarian. This black guy thinking I am trying to pull a fast one on him because I have got a German passport out then, because it was the early seventies

and I only talk English and I am giving this German passport and on top of that I say "well sorry this sort of animal exists you know a German non-speaking German passport holder from Africa and then on top of that I say I am from South Africa" Wow. (laughter) I get cursed in thick Bavarian.]

S.36 You know another reason why I think GDR kids are so ... is because all of the people who, I am of the opinion that the only problem that exists between races is the language and you communicate more to somebody who can't speak Oshiwambo that's you know, all of a sudden you get this whole new identity.

P.13 a, that's why ... okay hmm. In Germany, I mean I grew up in Germany and I how should I say, I got adaptable]

V.71 Before you start with black people, go on -- socially do you click with the young people from here? Like going out with a girlfriend, for instance from here and you are from Germany. Do you click? (interruptions)

K.13 she has to be from Centaurus High School

P.14 How should I say can I. Ja, I mean ja]

V.72 Like your girlfriend, I met her the other day she's from here]

P.15 She's from here, I am quite adaptable. (interruptions)]

A.16 Which school is she in?]

K.14 Where is she schooling? (laughter)

P.16 No she's not school, she's working]

V.73 Where was she in school before?

P.17 She was schooling in Ondangwa.

A.17 To link onto what he is saying, the GDR kids, they are differently socialized. If you see their life style and everything they did, that is why you can actually walk in Maerua Park [shopping centre in Windhoek] you see who are the GDR kids and who are not just the way they behave. (interruption)]

K.15 I was telling A. that with the women I can see that they are GDR people. I haven't met men. I have not met boys so if they stand there in a crowd say okay but with the women they have distinct styles. (general agreement) coloured hairstyles and like this very distinct styles but whereas you look at a man like him for the first time I

couldn't say "he's a GDR kid", but if it was a woman, ja with a woman you can.

- P.18 What I was saying is. What I was saying. Maybe hmm I regard us very adaptable. We grew up in a socialist country which eventually broke down. We had certain values which we were taught in school keeping the socialist value brought down, capitalism, we had to change (interruptions) and then we had to change. And then we had to come down here and go to our families. There were a lot of struggles I think very adaptable.]
- V.74 It was tough I mean guys like [V's son] is lucky. He comes home to Namibia he's not taken off to Owamboland comes to a father who speaks German. He speaks German, he can directly communicate with the father. There kids who came back who came and who could only communicate in Oshiwambo not that very well with the parents. The parents were not from Windhoek, they not live in houses like this they had to go north, and these kids were expected to adjust to that I think that was too extreme.
- K.16 Ja
- V.75 Some of them came back and said, they don't want to live there, they looking for foster parents]
- K.17 This other girl I know she her parents are still alive but she told us her parents are dead we found out she just didn't want to go to the north.
- V.76 Ja, ja
- K.18 I mean that's really a change for her.
- A.18 I was also working with my second year as a social worker working one of the GDR kids who came back and also one from Cuba but her biggest problem, both of them was the way the one was staying with her brother so the kind of things you will get specially for punishment. If she did something wrong her brother like abusing her beat her up, because for him it was disciplining her and she was expecting like, she should be grounded or you know,
- S.37 discuss the problem.
- A.19 Ja, "he didn't even talk to me at least he can cut out the TV" you know those things and the guy was saying that is not punishment to me. I mean watching TV I can even tell you now you not watching it you just have to go. It shouldn't even be a punishment so there was a big gap and they were not given any chances you know. A lot of the children who were at the Windhoek Village or whatever in Erospark, they were having the same problem with the mothers who were there.]

- V.77 It's a problem]
- J.55 My parents...
- G.27 There's something that tickles me uhh. I pick up amongst you people here. P. is the one person you get really curious about
- V.78 Ja]
- S.38 Hmm]
- G.28 and you want to know about his girlfriend. (laughter) How is that?
- V.79 ja because (interrupted)
- S.39 He's a foreigner
- J.56 a foreigner
(Everybody talking together)
- A.20 If P. was an ordinary Namibian man here you were going to get totally different perceptions and whatever he is saying. A very pure Namibian who grew up here who was not abroad.]
- V.80 You should have had one.]
- A.21 Ja, you are going to hear something totally different, totally different from what was said.
- V.81 Because I was away for twenty-six years.
- A.22 He was away for a very long period.
- G.29 And what would that male have been like A.?
- V.82 Mm
- G.30 I know its a very hard question to ask you.
- A.23 It's coming back to what ... saying ... the whole racial issue now maybe, because.hmm
- Vi.02 Just want to say something related to my experience today in class, I went to the arts studio and I was painting a piece of work and then a few guys were working and the other two and, I asked one to pass me the paint and then he said. He won't be sent by a woman and I couldn't take that and then he started complaining about this painting then he said it is a woman's job and he cannot do a woman's job. And

then I told him you know the best chefs are men, the best uhm whatever tailors around town are men, why, I mean work is just work. You don't have to be a woman to do it.

- K.19 It is a big problem because I was not even sure my friend said that my brother was at UNAM and he was telling me. Why is it now that Namibian women tend to start relationships with foreigners or people from outside people who have been abroad, rather than people who are local here and I think the biggest part is the gender insensitivity of men around here very arrogant very like, you know is just a piece of person.]
- V.83 chauvinistic
- K.20 Ja, very chauvinistic
- J.57 Which is the again typical, I think in all of Africa Asia and]
- S.40 So what is the problem? information.]
- J.59 No, no not information]
- A.24 For them its not a problem (many interruptions)]
- J.60 For example to me as a white man, considering my age I could be considered old fashioned.
- S.41 (laughter)
- J.61 To me I spend enough time with mostly Herero guys and I hear them flirt and chat up women and I nearly go pale and I am not particularly sensitive on this, but they I mean the flirting style
- V.84 ja
- J.62 between let's say Europeans from Europe (interruptions) you know that I see, I always have to laugh, when they say it in Herero, I ask them "what did you say to the woman?" then you go then I say "oh!" you know]
- K.21 I was with a colleague of mine. We travelled to the north Ohangwena, and some girl who was started saying you are, saying oh you have nice legs and I want you almost a beat that guy. So I hate it when you say that, but for us you can't like ... you just pass by because they say anyway they start shouting things you know. Come here I want you and things like that. But the girl almost like hit the guy. I said no, no, no relax.

J.63 Funny enough, I have also been educated and that's one of the problems with most Europeans here and Europeans from Europe, Swedes or Fins. I have spent enough time with people like that to actually get relaxed about it and I realize the victims are not profoundly hurt, in fact and then I had an interesting experience. I knew a black American woman. She was here for a long time. She came here with UNTAG and she stayed here and she was making scornful remarks about the whole sexual intimidation in the States, the harassment because even to American blacks this was ludicrous because flirting and heavy flirting was normal social intercourse and if you didn't do it in fact - you know she came from the south she landed up in New York and then she was here. She was a fully modern liberated black woman, but she said in black circles in America this, although they had been off this continent for two or three hundred years this sort of that you automatically supposed to flirt with every woman, and it's done in a casual and often crude style and everybody has to take it with a sense of humour and if she doesn't want it, she will like tell the guy to get stuffed. You know she doesn't need the law to look after her.

G.31 Uh

J.64 And here too I mean I eventually, I got used to it but hmm it's a less - to most things, it seems it's a less stressful experience to be chatted up heavily to let's say in white circles. That doesn't mean that if you're very sensitive to the issue then she would be profoundly hurt.

S.42 Because in the white society the women are the ones who carry on like this. (Laughter) It's really terrible.

K.22 When I came back from the States, before I went, you know people just come and touch you like this or but over there sexual harassment is like a big thing. Don't touch a woman (interruptions). So when I came here to stay a guy who was driving around just came to fetch me here I was with [a friend] I was so angry. I couldn't take it and she was like "what what's wrong". I said no, no, no because it was like I was used to another way of living nobody would ever touch you unless you know you tell him to. touching your thigh I was really angry.

S.43 It turns to violence so often, specially in Namibia. I mean violence against woman is]

J.65 I mean there's many different sources I think ahh.

S.44 No relation?

J.66 No what's often, -- look you have got an equivalent, specially in the South for example that type of violence is you get exactly that type of

violence in the poorer areas of New York or Hamburg. It's very much a poverty, alcohol, social (interruptions) it's not race related. People are always fond of saying the most horrible things happen here. You know what happens in Hamburg. You know what happens in Detroit, in Chicago in the poor areas, irrespective of race this type of incest, rape and beating up

K.23 and a sense of power also I think

J.67 is very much a class of poverty. (all talk at once) It also comes across from small living quarters, extreme poverty, people jammed on each other and it breeds frustration, unemployment you know and that breeds violence

K.24 ja

J.68 and it's mutual violence, I mean you must hear I mean I heard, as a reporter you hear, women cannot beat up men but what they do is they beat the crap out of them psychologically.

K.25 Oh yes

A.25 hmm

J.69 You know a woman can a stupid man, or a dull insensitive man, a woman can turn into hamburger and then he sits there like a dumb brute and then she takes him apart psychologically and eventually he blows his fuses and he beats her up

S.45 Hm

J.70 and there's actually a lot of mutual violence which is often ignored, because the one violence shows scars and the other doesn't.

G.32 Right

V.85 You know talking about this relationship, man and woman not long ago women in the north in the Ndonga kingdom, members of the royal family. They were the ones - the women - who proposed to men not the man. They pick their man. "P. you come to my hut tonight", if you don't come to her hut then your family or your parents may be kicked out of their cornfield or anything like that.]

S.46 How long ago was this?]

V.86 Well even less than sixty years ago]

J.71 It's a late show (laughter)]

- V.87 You know they propose and the guys go you know]
- J.72 I mean in Caprivi apparently the ...]
- A.26 That sense is still there with the Ndonga people, because the man doesn't say anything in that house, the woman will be the one taking decision you know, the man will just go with whatever is said even though maybe the women are not proposing anymore. When you are development in the rural areas there you notice that you come there if the man is there he will wait for the husband the wife to come from what do you call her mahango fields (all talk together)]
- V.88 Because work is done by the woman you know most of them, because she is in control of the situation
- J.73 ... the husband can't
- V.89 because women in rural areas I think most of the household, more than seventy are fed by women (interruptions)
- K.26 You know you get another situation in the Kaoko where the woman won't say anything at all. You will separate the two groups someone will be talking to the men and someone will be talking to the women but then they will tell you look here the men are saying everything so why do we need to say anything. (interruption)
- S.47 Ja, we've got the men to say it for us
- K.27 Ja, we will go with whatever they are saying.
- J.74 Except on some issues. My father was interesting I don't know whether it's all Herero or just Omaruru, the Hereros where the wife has total control over the money]
- A.27 Oh, yes that's true.
- J.75 Okay, so my old man used to have this strange experience he'd look out and there had been like forty patients sitting waiting for treatment and then the guy will come in and my old man would fix him and he would go out and then the wife would come in and pay for him and then he realized there were not forty patients there were actually only twenty patients and the women were bringing the men and they had the money and the guy would get treated, the woman would pay for it and then my old man]
- S.48 ... Herero
- J.76 Ja, it seems like that

- A.28 You see one old man was telling me even though I am the one sitting in front of you telling ... my wife might be the one you know telling me what I should come and say especially on that issue.
- J.77 Health things and money.
- A.29 Financials and those things, he will say yes you know but then he will go back and in the bedroom he will talk about it and tomorrow morning he might change his mind but he will come out like "I've changed my mind". He will never show that it's the way my wife doesn't want it to know to be sold or whatever, no I am not selling my horses anymore, or whatever it is, you you know "I changed my mind."
- S.49 Is like the Minister of Finance, is he married?
- V.90 Yes
- J.78 ... Herero
- S.50 And his wife?
- V.91 His wife comes from Rehoboth, brought up as a Damara although she looks coloured or baster.
- J.79 The woman also use to. There's is an interesting, my father then eventually asked all the time, and it turns out that the men would actually at the end of the month, when they got their pay they would give the women and the women would give them pocket money.
- S.51 So what is it all about?
- J.80 And she organized the whole finance]
- S.52 Ja but what does it represent in the whole family unit]
- J.81 Well there's an interesting division of labour and the apparent division power is wrong.]
- V.92 Well in other situation (interruption)]
- J.82 It doesn't necessarily look if the guy walks in front she walks behind it doesn't mean that she isn't in power she's got all the money, she decides all health matters and where children and all this. She's like the boss of the family.
- S.53 Does she also stir the cultural cooking pot with the kids telling]
- V.93 Oh yeah]

- S.54 them how amazing the Herero teach and all this?]
- V.94 'Cos kids]
- J.83 Traditionally, and this is the problem with today is the it's not that the men are lazy or what. (interruptions) Their role has been removed in traditional society with the country full of carnivores, you know lions, leopards, hyenas and wild dogs, the woman might plant and produce a lot of food down there but the guy was essential to protect the cattle from being eaten by lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals and to protect the territory to fight. Men were basically machines of violence in protection defence and attack whereas the woman planted the fields and the men prevent the lions eating the cattle. Now that all the lions have disappeared, the hyenas and all that and then he was not allowed to hunt anymore because there was no more game he actually becomes, through a cultural process spare, it's not that woman's, always, I am pretty sure all societies like that had a perfect balance and everybody had their job like kids look after cattle and kids did this and that and grandmothers did that and men did this and if the environment changes to such an extent that one element of the society becomes superfluous in a way]
- S.55 That's why I am saying the protection thing is back again in a big way in our society.
- J.84 Ja, but it's not justified from the environment anymore it's like look if you in New York, if you a woman walking down the street and there's danger you are better off walking with a lawyer than walking with a body builder because the lawyer is going to protect you better probably against muggers you know the requirement to have somebody physically strong next you to protect you from physical danger. That has been removed.]
- V.95 No I was just looking at]
- G.33 Okay,
- J.85 One last thing I also wanted to mention we are very motley group in terms of age.
- G.34 Yes, hmmm
- J.86 And I see I feel like ... in my opinion I always see you know when the approximations in his experience are like I mean our experience age wise is very different and culture is very different but I mean us two are probably closer to each other than them. It's in many ways, the past, independence politics will be seen very differently from you know, I am not a twenty year old or. You know the same with you, asides from

race or gender differences the age difference is staggering. I agree with the very fact that he was in the old location makes the old location

V.96 I am 54

J.87 with the world and anybody who grew up in Katutura can not be ... of ... world is a different world.

G.35 Ja, I want to ask in connection with what J. has just said. Vi. what is it like for you when you listen to somebody like V. or somebody like J. who are that much older than you?

Vi.03 For me it's just things that I hear sometimes I understand sometimes it doesn't make sense, sometimes I think about it like when I was growing up my mother would talk about these things like racial discrimination what happened in her working place, what happened wherever and some times I would see the things and experience it myself but I never really understood why should it happen this way like hmm I was for example not allowed to play with white children, you know we would play together but they would make funny remarks and that would hurt me, but I would not really think about it because I was young but then my mother would be upset then, and then she didn't want me to go there and she never explained to me. Why I couldn't understand and it's only now, by the time I was really growing up and starting to understand everything ended.

V.97 (laughter) beautifully said!

A.30 My aunt grew up in the old location. She used to tell us stories you know the old location was so nice. Well it was shanty houses but they all so neat and you know it was well structured and what we became actually so like really envious, you know like I wish I was there I wish I could also experience, but we were kids and we sometimes kept on talking about this. Why don't you tell other stories, this old location we are tired of it. And then she put up an example like, "you are now here in Katutura. What will happen to you if you were removed like now while you were here and you were removed to total different areas which you don't know what is there and you were dumped there". So you know she she really put us through experiencing what they had really experienced and I think I always enjoy listening to them (murmured agreement) because even my uncle when he passed before he passed away he said he wanted to be buried there and hmm they should first walk around where the family were living they, should walk around that place before they take him to the graveyard. You know I think it's like you were there in Klein Windhoek you grew up there and immediately you have been removed so all your values and whatever you have experienced there it's like going back so I think I really have got empathy with them, feelings what they have experiences but then again we are now in a different situation like us

who grew up in Katutura, we grew up in the life of running, SWAPO meetings you know those things tear gas and that was our life, very fast life, not living peacefully very fast.

- K.28 That was really a slow life and they stood for what they wanted.
- A.31 Ja
- K.29 I don't think that it could happen in Katutura people stand together as they stood together.
- A.32 Ja, they were like one big family, if you listen to the stories they were like one big family.
- K.30 Ja it's true (all speaking together) Those people from the old location. They all know each other. They all spoke.
- J.88 It probably like one big prison camp it seemed to be a very strong community. Everybody I talk to always talks about the old location.
- A.33 And normally when you listen to it it's like good memories that you feel that will never happen in Katutura (agreement) for example they used to have a hall a dancing hall
- V.98 ... or something what was the name.]
- J.89 It was called the International Hall and then they had ... hall.]
- K.31 So when my father tells me about these stories I always see myself you know in that hall, even music that they would play there]
- V.99 We played jazz.]
- K.32 as if I was there but I barely there, I wasn't even born but it's like I wish we people could go back to that and
- J.90 and the school under the tree and old Mrs Kloppers ... and St. Andrews and all that
- K.33 Ja, ja
- J.91 and there was you know hmm the chiefs the relationship like old Mrs Kloppers it wasn't just, where it was an integrated school. This was the important thing, everybody kept on talking all the Nama, Damara, almal saam you know. They were all in one school.
- K.34 Hmmhmm
- J.92 and then later it got split into Damara, Herero.

- A.34 And its very funny, you can tell you know like. I find the people who grew up in Katutura, the old toppies or the old ladies. When they walk in the street you can tell you know this is are the old location people. The way they behave. (all speaking together)]
- J.93 Dignity]
- A.35 ja, dignity]
- V.94 There was fellow who was a driver from the old location he died recently, Ismael, we used to call him sloppy Joe. He was a driver. You find him in town wearing blue suede shoes with matching socks ... and a scarf, very expensive stuff from Otto Muhr and the guy is a driver but the stuff he is wearing is from Otto Muhr he dresses like that, even if they old you can tell this is quality]
- J.95 The old man Shipanga wears green velvet suits, platform shoes and an imported hat and everything.
- G.36 Alright now I know his name finally, I've seen him so often (laughter)]
- J.96 He was the father of this sportsman, Don Shipanga. His son went by old man Shipanga's standards his son went wrong. Don is nothing compared to the old man he still drives this big American car also, in those days that's how he got out of trouble because his old man is influential he has a lot of money.]

APPENDIX E

DATA ANALYSIS: PHASE III: SECOND NORM ORIGINATOR DISCUSSION

3. Describing the objects in the text.
What is the discourse about?

- * Analysis of norm originator discussion.
- * Experiences of people, especially black people in pre- Independence Namibia, under the system of apartheid and in resistance to apartheid, where this resistance was both overt and covert and took many different forms.
 - the places, relationships which constituted pre- Independence Namibia
 - a personal journey from being a cog in the machine of the apartheid system, to being an active opponent of that system.
- * The specificity, the uniqueness of Namibia and the Namibian experience as opposed to the generalities of Africa, specifically the intimacy that characterizes Namibia, and apartheid with acute racial awareness being a concomitant of the latter
 - the implications of the intimacy in Namibia; specifically, it makes for hope for the future and tolerance amongst Namibians.
- * Diversity of and differences/ distinctions, especially racial and ethnic, between Namibians
 - awareness and lack of awareness in respect of racial and ethnic differences, including ones own racial identity.

4. Talking about the Talk

- * Acute racial awareness in Namibia is spoken of with regret, and as something which Namibians cannot escape
 - Racial awareness is spoken of as being unproblematic, like being aware that a person walks with a limp.
- * The lack of awareness regarding race is spoken of as an achievement.
- * Difference between Namibians in terms of race, ethnicity, culture are talked about as clear and easily recognisable.
 - these same differences are talked about as vague, as arbitrary, and the concern with differentiation and classification is constituted as absurd.
- * Relationships between people from different ethnic, racial and cultural groups are talked about as
 - close and intimate
 - marked by a willingness to learn from the other, e.g. language
 - coercive.
- * A question is raised as to whether intimacy and even social contact is possible across the divides of different upbringing and home language or whether alienation is inevitable.

<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text.</u> <u>What is the discourse about?</u></p> <p>more specifically, the relocation policy.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The war in pre-Independence Namibia and the rigidification of divisions it brought about. * Post-Independence Namibia. * Racial identity; the significance/ insignificance of race as part of identity. * Differences between Namibians in terms of cultural and language group. * Identity - as not being "fixed" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is constituted in terms of being "adaptable" - as being a matter of "mentality", which in turn depends on the way a person is brought up - the role of race in identity -- is constituted as "mixed", in terms of cultural origin and race; it is also constituted in terms of one's economic class -- as confused and confusing and as having surprising, unexpected elements for instance a young Oshivambo woman speaking perfect German. * Relationships between people from different racial, ethnic and cultural groups. * (The 'nature' of) Namibian men. 	<p>4. <u>Talking the talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The analysis of the previous norm originator discussion is talked about (as) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - being too abstract and general, and as missing what is unique about Namibia/ns - being too negative in the sense of not reflecting the reasons for hope in Namibia - hesitantly, with uncertainty <p>The analysis is also responded to with silence.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Racial and ethnic distinctions between people in Namibia are talked about <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - humorously and ironically - as bridgeable, as barriers which can be and are transgressed e.g. in the establishment of heterosexual relationships - in terms of the values people attach to different ethnic groups - in terms of the peculiarities, characteristics and habits of the different groups. * Namibian men are talked about <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as chauvinistic - as victims of cultural changes and consequent changes in role definitions. * Relationships between men and
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<p>3. <u>Describing the objects in the text.</u></p> <p>* Namibian women</p>	<p>4. <u>Talking about the Talk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in terms of the distribution of power between them - in terms of what is and what is not acceptable flirting behaviour, and the relations are largely reduced to this - in terms of cultural difference, specifically the relationship between culture and gender -- on the one hand culture is constituted as being determinative of gender relations, and, on the other hand such a depiction is dealt with ironically - in terms of how social class and factors like alcohol abuse and poverty are determinative of the nature of gender relations and specifically of violence between men and women <p>* Namibian women are talked about</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as influential and powerful, even if overtly they seem powerless - as letting the men speak for them. <p>* The past is spoken of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - nostalgically - as a time when there was solidarity between (black) people and a sense of community - as marked by a rich social life, despite poverty
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5. Specifying the subjects

- * Self as highly adaptable in the sense of being able to build relationships across divides of race, ethnicity, culture, and of being able to adopt different value systems.
- * Namibians as highly diverse

4. Talking about the Talk

- even though the idealisation of the past is understood as a psychological coping strategy, it is still possible to draw strength and inspiration from that idealisation
- in terms of the dignity of the people then.
- * Post-Independence Namibia is depicted as a place
 - where people who were on opposite sides during the war co-exist peacefully, and this is regarded as an achievement
 - where the desire for peace, and the memory as well as the experiences of the war make people to withdraw from politics
 - where politics have to be re-defined.

6. Speaking for the subjects

- * It is possible to speak into this discourse as one who not only suffered the effects of apartheid, but who also became aware of the injustice of the system and resisted the system, also out of an understanding of its workings.
- * The discourse invites subjects to speak of how they have transgressed the boundaries and restrictions imposed by large social structures, particularly apartheid
 - It also makes it possible for people to speak about the relationships they have established across racial divides.
- * It is possible to step into the discourse as one who struggles to remain humane in the face of inhumane and overwhelming social structures
 - Remaining humane consists in remembering the other as a specific person with a particular story.
- * People are called upon by the discourse to relate anecdotes, to tell local stories.
- * The discourse invites people to speak of what is unique and what is positive about Namibia, to 'count their blessings' as Namibians.
- * People can participate in this discourse in terms of how they grapple with a history of racial segregation and the effects it has had on their lives.

7. Picture of the world as presented by the discourse

- * Being humane, human experiences across the divides of race (which are enforced by general social structures) are posited as a value and as characteristic of one's world.
- * A picture of the (Namibian) world as small, personal and characterized by close-knit interpersonal relations which develop and persist despite enforced divisions. In this world people and places have names which are meaningful.
- * The fabric of the world is made up of individual, local stories, the characters of which are connected, even if through another story.
- * A picture of the world marked by the tensions and contrasts between different worlds. These different worlds are made to interact in that individual people participate in these contrasting worlds, gain for themselves access to these worlds.
- * A world that is inevitably imprinted by a history of apartheid.
- * A peaceful world marked by tolerance and by a relative lack of violence. As such it is a safe, secure world.
- * A world in which people are divided and intimate, and this brings hope.
- * A future for the (Namibian) world is seen as depending on continued interpersonal connectedness across divisions, on knowing one another.

6. Speaking for the subjects

- this includes losing awareness, at times, of one's own racial group and that of others
- it also includes living with racial difference matter-of-factly.
- * The discourse invites people to speak about the multiple ways in which Namibians are different and about the distinguishing characteristics of different groups of people.
- * The discourse calls upon people to talk of racial and ethnic distinctions as being clear and definitive. However, it is also possible to speak of these distinctions as vague, arbitrary and absurd, and to be sceptical about them.
- The discourse makes room for people to speak with relish about the distinguishing characteristics of different ethnic, cultural, racial and language groups, and about one's ability to make those distinctions.
- It also makes room for people to speak with relish about the surprises, the unexpected, which sometimes happens in respect of ethnic, racial and cultural distinctions, where pre-judgements are undermined.
- * It may well be difficult to speak into the discourse as one who believes that women lack power in certain crucial domains and that women's rights must be guaranteed in law.

7. Picture of the world as presented by the discourse

- * A world picture shaped by the awareness of the potential for violence.
- * A world in which what people look like, the features which one can see and which provide clues as to the person's racial and cultural group identity are foregrounded.
- However, another picture in which these features are pushed into the background as unimportant is also developed.
- * A picture of the (Namibian) world as a very familiar place is painted.
- * A picture of the world marked by a myriad possibilities for mistaken and confused identity which makes for much humour.
- * Picture of the world as changing.
- * Picture of the world in which relations between men and women, particularly the distribution of power between them, are foregrounded.
- * Picture of the world in which the roles and expectations for both men and women, but especially for men are changing.

6. Speaking for the subjects

- * As a woman it is possible to participate in the discourse as one who is quite powerful, and in terms of how one experiences the sexual advances of men.

8. Handling objections to the terminology

- * The construction of men as victims of cultural change may be objected to by arguing that women, too have experienced substantial role changes with cultural change.
- * The depiction of women as powerful on the basis of knowledge pertaining to a time at least thirty years ago may be objected to by pointing out that since that time women's roles, and positions have changed substantially.
 - It may also be objected that this sort of depiction of women as traditionally powerful misses the ways in which, traditionally, women were deprived of power.
- * The focus on "courtship" behaviour/ flirting in the discussion of relations between men and women may be objected to on the grounds of being too narrow and of detracting from the complexity of gender relations.
- * The picture of the Namibian world as characterised by close-knit interpersonal relationships may be objected to by pointing out that people often refuse to engage across racial divides.
- * The depiction of the (Namibian) future as being dependent on continued interpersonal connectedness and people knowing one another may be objected to by pointing to the potential negative consequences of such intimacy e.g. people not being prepared to criticise.

<p>9. <u>Juxtaposing ways of speaking</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The struggle against the system of apartheid might have been articulated in much more ideological terms, rather than in personal terms, i.o.w. the personal experiences of the struggle for Independence might have been articulated in much more abstract terms. * Instead of foregrounding the examples of overcoming racial barriers, the many divisions which persist in Namibian society, the ongoing examples of racism, might have been focused on, and this might have opened another sort of discussion of reconciliation. * Rather than focusing quite strongly on childhood stories, participants might have focused on their lives now, meanings that are salient now. * Instead of focusing on the intimacy and the concomitant security and safety that the smallness of the country's population affords, the smallness might have been evaluated as having an impoverishing effect, with lack of challenges, of interchange, of stimulation. * Participants might have focused on what Namibians have to do to maintain/develop hope for the future, rather than concerning themselves with the smallness of the population and the intimacy this allows for, these being factors which, in a sense are given. * In the place of speaking of the many ways in which Namibians can be 	<p>8. <u>Handling objections to the terminology</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This same depiction may also be criticised on the grounds that a modern nation state requires rather different conditions if the future is to be open. - Furthermore it may be argued that tolerance needs to be built differently. * All the anecdotal talk may be objected to by showing how close this is to gossip and how the anecdotal quality of much of the talk and of life in Namibia may bring in its wake narrow-mindedness, an inability to think beyond the confines of the local. * The construction of self as highly adaptable may be countered on the grounds that it makes it impossible for people to be definitive, to stand their ground, to be agents.
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9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * The distinctions between people - along ethnic, cultural, racial lines are talked about openly and even rendered as that which makes Namibia unique. Instead of this the differences might have been ignored or dealt with as non-existent, or as unfortunate remnants of colonialism.
- * Instead of articulating the negativity of the previous analysis in terms of its focus on race, this negativity might have been articulated in terms of the way the analysis emphasizes the sense of helplessness and powerlessness in respect of the present.
- * The extreme focus on personal stories might have been 'balanced' by a more abstract, general analysis, a focus on larger, structural factors.
- * The confusion and 'mix-ups' in respect of identity, instead of being spoken of with humour and relish could have been depicted as a loss of identity, an unfortunate loss.
- * Gender relations might have been discussed as 'a thing in itself' instead of translating it in other terms e.g. class.
 - Gender relations might also have been discussed more in terms of what is needed so that Namibian women can get a better deal. Thus gender relations might have been discussed from a more feminist perspective.

11. Elaborating the discourse

- * The discussion of the traditional role of men opens up a chance for considering the relationship between changes in roles, and cultural and socio-economic transformations. It also creates possibilities for considering the nature of "tradition" and how "tradition" is often used in a setting such as Namibia to prop up arguments and justify positions, whereby "tradition" then tends to be absolutized.
- * Implied in the talk of gender and how this is related to tradition is the rural-urban division.
- * The discourse of powerlessness, helplessness, so prominent in the previous discussion is here constructed as morally problematic. More specifically it is maintained that it is sad that there should be such a strong focus on "negative" factors when so much is going right.
- * The discourse of intimacy, familiarity, closeness and the positing of these as values opens questions about the place of conflict, confrontation and different opinions.
- * The focus on the uniqueness of one's context, specifically Namibia, opens up the problematic of Africa being constructed as homogeneous entity and of colonialism as cliché.
- * The strong focus on personal stories, which is also a focus on the private, opens questions pertaining to the manner in which Namibians are engaged in public forums. It also raises questions regarding how

9. Juxtaposing ways of speaking

- * It would have been possible to speak of the experiences of the younger generation, not so much in terms of how they did not suffer so badly under apartheid, but in terms of what is happening in their own time, what shapes their lives now.

11. Elaborating the discourse

Namibians engage with one another through the exchange of ideas.

- * If forgetfulness of the past is constituted as a betrayal of oneself, then how might it be possible to 'reconcile'? In other words, how can the injustices of the past be remembered without reverting to blaming, recriminations which would entail stuckness in the past.
- * Implied in the discourse of uniqueness is a discourse of identity; specifically there are questions regarding the way in which Namibia and Namibians are separate, distinct.
- * The struggle for remaining humane includes a recognition of how larger social structures, and resistance against these, can obliterate feeling, empathy.
- * Implied in the construction of identity as moving in different spheres, overstepping boundaries is the loss of identity. Awareness is linked with this; it is enabled by the transgression of boundaries.
- * The discourse of difference raises questions about what allows for interchanges across differences.

<p>13. <u>Historical situatedness of the discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The discourse of intimacy, familiarity is also a story of belonging. A sense of belonging is made possible as people are recognized by others, and recognized as the son or daughter of a particular person. Thus the discourse of intimacy, familiarity is based in, amongst others, constructions of kinship systems. - This discourse is intertwined with questions of loyalties, of being torn across divides and of occupying different positions and having different, sometimes conflicting loyalties. * The intersections of the discourses of familiarity, and connectedness, on the one hand, and of separateness on the other are situated in a history where people have lived and worked in very close proximity and yet have dealt with each other in terms of the ideology and institutions of apartheid. * Awareness of the past as necessarily a consciousness of the injustices committed then: this discourse evolves historically from constructions of 'natives' as ignorant, gullible and thus easily cheated and convinced of arrangements which would be to their disadvantage. It also evolves historically from the black consciousness discourse. * The "local" discourse is historically situated in increasingly loud calls by those who have been lumped under large common denominators such as 	<p>16. <u>Institutions that are subverted by the discourse</u></p> <p>If it is accepted that the institutional order of society involves the ways in which the local actualities of people's everyday lives as lived are organized extra-locally, are objectified and abstracted (Smith, 1993), then the construction of the past as the concrete actions of specific people serves to undermine the institutional order.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Institutions which are built around exclusivity, which restrict membership on the basis of one's racial, ethnic and sexual identity would probably be subverted by the discourse. * Institutions which homogenize people and which are based on clear definitions of people would probably be subverted by the stories of confused and confusing identities. Institutions which embody fanaticism would be undermined by this sort of discourse because such fanatic institutions demand clear-cut identities and definite loyalties. * Institutions which are specifically aimed at attaining to gender equality and at protecting and extending the rights of women might be subverted by the gender discourse. - On the other hand, the very foregrounding of a gender discourse might serve to support such institutions.
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13. Historical situatedness of the discourse

Parallel to discourses of globalization, discourses of/ demands for the recognition of individuality have increased.

- * The discourse of difference has gone through many mutations: specifically as it pertains to race and ethnicity it was entrenched in laws, institutions. Then in the light of the discourses of black consciousness and reconciliation, the discourse of ethnic difference was abandoned or, more accurately banished by those who called for unity. The discourse of racial differences has become a rallying cry for those who demand justice; these demands are often couched in racial terms e.g. affirmative action should be instituted to benefit black people.

15. Institutions that are supported by the discourse

- * Institutions which are representative of different, specific cultural interests would be supported by the intersection of the familiarity discourse with that of distinctiveness/difference.
- * Institutions aimed at promoting inter-cultural contact may well be supported by the discourse of difference and how people have tried to establish contact across big differences.
- * The manner in which the gender discourse is framed might serve to support institutions constructed around 'tradition'. Because modernism is framed as having a negative effect on men, tradition and institutions concerned with tradition would be supported.

<p>17&18. <u>Power relations reproduced by the discourse</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The insistence on remembering the past in terms of oppression and suffering, and the construal of forgetfulness as a betrayal of oneself may serve to reproduce power relations between those who went into exile or resisted the system internally, and those who never offered any form of resistance to the system. The former group may justify their present relative power by arguing that they not only developed an awareness of oppression and injustice; they also resisted it and thus deserve the power they exercise. * Where people are so familiar with one another power may operate in that people have to sanction their behaviour all the time because they are so much in the eyes of others. * When ethnic distinctions are constituted as easily recognizable, as an aspect of a person's identity which others can be certain of and which will inevitably surface this can readily be restricting, amounting to putting people into pigeonholes. Power would be operating in this manner. * Power relations would readily be reproduced where the discourse of difference becomes 'different and unequal' talk. * Unequal power relations between men and women may be reproduced by the reduction of relations between men and women to heterosexual 	<p>19. <u>Connection with other discourses that sanction oppression</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The subordination of a discourse of gender to that of race and rendering the legal protection of women's rights as Eurocentric nonsense connects with the discourse of Afrocentrism which is readily used to sanction oppression. Thus legitimate political issues are quickly labelled as being foreign to Africa and thus irrelevant.
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20. How discourses allow dominant groups to tell their narratives of the past

- * The people who can tell stories about closeness and familiarity across racial divides tend also to be people who have been in exile or who are highly educated and who are in this sense dominant. Really poor, working class people and especially rural people could hardly tell stories like these (and this is acknowledged in the first group discussion).
- * The norm originators are, in a sense, a dominant group in that they exert influence. Consequently it may be expected that the discourses discerned here and the ways in which they are participated in would probably allow dominant groups to tell their stories of the past.